
THE

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A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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VOLUME XL — 1911.

A. M. T. JACKSON,

BY

R. G. BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., LL.D., M.A., &c.

THE diabolical murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, just as he was about to take up the joint Editorship of this *Journal*, sent a thrill of horror into the hearts of members of both the European and Indian communities throughout India. He was by nature a kind-hearted and sympathetic man, and these traits of character were observable in everything that he did both in his official and private capacity. His charities to poor Brâhmaṇas both of Ratnâgiri and Nâśik, who needed help, were unstinted. I know of one such Ratnâgiri Brâhmaṇa, who was given some nominal work in the library of the Bombay Asiatic Society and was paid regularly a monthly allowance from his private resources. He never spoke an angry or unkind word to anybody, and his general character and conduct were saintly. He was an accurate and enthusiastic Sanskrit scholar, and his critical judgment was sound. He made original researches into the ancient history of India, and the introductory volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and his other papers and occasional notes contain the results of these researches. He successfully identified the cities and towns in India mentioned by Greek and Roman authors. He pointed out that the Turkomans of Central Asia settled in the western part of India and adopted Hindu civilisation. He also threw very great light on the origin of the Gujars. He showed that they were a foreign race, that had established a powerful kingdom over the whole of Râjputânâ and further to the north-east up to Kanauj. The Gujars were in power from the first quarter of the seventh to about the end of the tenth century, and were constantly at war with the princes of the Châlukya and Râshṭrakûṭa races that ruled over the Marâṭhâ and Kanarese countries. Mr. Jackson put forth a very original and correct idea as regards the nature of the *Purâṇas*, which awaited further development at his hands. His paper on this subject has appeared in the centenary volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society, and will well repay perusal. He has also contributed several papers to the ordinary volumes of that *Journal*. His essay on 'Method in the Study of Indian Antiquities' shows a very wide knowledge not only of epigraphy and numismatics, but also of a number of other lines of research. This is calculated to be of great use to Indian students; and he also projected for their use a handbook to the study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. To sound scholarship, Mr. Jackson added modesty and sobriety of thought and expression—a combination rarely met with amongst scholars. He freely and fully acknowledged all the good that he found in the writings of native Indian scholars. He often complained that his official duties left him little time for his favourite studies, and I had great hopes that after his retirement from service he would be able to apply himself to them with zeal and ardour, and to throw light upon many a knotty point in Sanskrit literature and Indian Antiquities. The loss that the horrid deed of a fiendish young man inflicted on the cause of Indian research is incalculable.

A. M. T. JACKSON,

BY

D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(POONA.)

It is now just a year since the tragic end of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson took place. I heard and read about it on the 27th of December 1909, when I was in Jaipur, and the news was as surprising to me as it was shocking, because only the day previous I had received a letter from him regarding the book he and I were to bring out. Ample, though certainly not full, justice has been done to this departed worthy in his capacity as District Collector and friend of Hindus in the obituary notices that appeared in various journals and the meetings of condolence that were held at various places. But even this much justice, I am afraid, has not yet been done to him as an antiquarian and scholar. His sympathy and "milk of human kindness" have indeed made a deep impression on the minds of the natives of India that came in contact with him, but his death has also created a gap in the antiquarian world, which it is hard, perhaps, impossible, to fill.

In 1898 when I had just begun my study of Indian Antiquities, I found that every European Officer in the Bombay Presidency spoke very highly of Mr. Jackson as an antiquarian and scholar. And for a long time I wondered why he was at all so called. For no articles of his I had then seen in the *Indian Antiquary*, or the *Journals* of the London and Bombay Asiatic Societies. A happy accident, however, once led me to open the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I. I happened to read the preface written by the late Sir James Campbell, who has therein acknowledged the great assistance given him by Mr. Jackson. On glancing over the pages of that volume, I noticed that, in the text and at the close of almost every chapter therein, he had contributed notes, embodying his own opinion and pointing out where he differed from Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. Again, the greater and important portion of Appendix III and the whole of Appendix VI, to that volume had come from his pen. I read and re-read all these notes and articles very carefully, and I must say, with the greatest possible interest, and much it grieved my mind to think that I once disputed Mr. Jackson's claim to be called an antiquarian. Mr. Jackson, I then found, was not a mere antiquarian, but an antiquarian and scholar of a very high type; and he was what we in Marâṭhî say "a hidden jewel."

Yes, a hidden jewel he was for a long time, and even now most antiquarians have not perceived his full worth and the high quality of his work. The reasons are not far to seek. He wrote his notes in books which the generality of antiquarians do not even dream of reading. The *Bombay Gazetteer* is a model for all other Governments in India to imitate in composing their Gazetteers, and the credit of bringing this series to perfection is principally due to the late Sir James Campbell, another antiquarian civil servant like Mr. Jackson himself. I even go further and assert that nobody can pretend to be an Indian antiquarian without reading at any rate the two parts of the first volume of this Gazetteer. Yet how few antiquarians have actually read them or even known that they are a mine of antiquarian information! Another thing is that Jackson, like the English poet Keats, died before his pen could glean his teeming brain. As a civil servant, he was thoroughly conscientious in his work, as most are. He never neglected his official duties for writing articles

concerning "Indian Antiquities," though that was a subject of surpassing interest to him, and consequently of more than sufficient strength to tempt him away from his office work. Everybody knows how great and almost insupportable is the pressure of work to which the "civilians" are, as a rule, subjected, and my wonder is how, in spite of it, he managed to write some papers and notes that he latterly contributed to the *Journals* of the London and Bombay Asiatic Societies. A small incident that just now occurs to my mind may here be told, which shows how wedded he was to his duty. In *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part I, he had published his transcripts of inscriptions found in Bhinmâl, in the southern part of the Jodhpur State, which is believed to be the capital of the ancient Gurjara kingdom. I do not know on what paper impressions his transcripts were based, but in 1907, when I had been to Bhinmâl, I found that there were several misreadings. Accordingly I took as excellent impressions as possible of the inscriptions and, with the permission of the Government Epigraphist, forwarded them to him at the end of that year, with a request that they may be re-edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He promised to re-edit them with the greatest pleasure and alacrity. I afterwards met him last year in the Wilson Hall, where he had been requested to be president at the time of my lecture on an antiquarian subject. I asked him in the course of our conversation whether he had completed his paper on the Bhinmâl inscriptions. He replied in the negative and probably saw that I was a little surprised. But he coolly added: "Mr. Bhandarkar, duty first and everything else afterwards! I have been hard pressed with work in connection with the *Siṁhastha*. When the *Siṁhastha* is over, rest assured that the paper will be finished and sent to the Epigraphist." Such was Mr. Jackson's devotion to his duty, and such were the arrangements made at Nâsik under his direct supervision at the time of the *Siṁhastha*, complicated and delicate though they were, that nobody could say that there was left anything to be desired. I confess, I was sorry that Mr. Jackson was in the Civil Service, for that left him little time for studying and writing original papers. Dr. Bhandarkar had fully gauged Mr. Jackson's worth, and was very very sorry that he could not make himself more useful and valuable in this sphere. Several times Mr. Jackson himself complained to him that he had no leisure, but seriously promised to devote himself after his retirement to the cause of Indian research. It was only last year that he became co-editor of this *Journal*, and Dr. Bhandarkar and I were immensely glad that an opportunity had at last come for inducing him to seize time somehow to put down in original and erudite papers what he had stored so long in his head. We were consequently full of high hopes about him. But alas! he was cruelly done unto death. The shock this sad event produced on our minds can only be imagined. We at once agreed that we felt it as much as a family bereavement.

I have said again and again that Mr. Jackson was an antiquarian and scholar of a high order. So I shall naturally be asked to substantiate my assertion. In the first place, I would refer those who doubt this to Mr. Jackson's "Method in the Study of Indian Antiquities," which was originally a lecture delivered by him at the Wilson College, Bombay, in 1907, and printed since in the *Times Press* and reprinted afterwards in this *Journal* for March, 1910. Mr. Jackson therein shows his thorough acquaintance with all branches of Indian literature and Indian antiquities, and offers some valuable suggestions for the further progress of each branch. This stamps him at once as an Indologist and not as a mere antiquarian or scholar. He had studied not simply Sanskrit literature or Indian archæology, but also comparative philology, ethnology, folklore

and so forth. One passage from this booklet, which occurs at the end, is so superb that Dr. Bhandarkar last year gave, by reading it out, a finishing touch to his lecture on the "Fusion of foreign tribes in Hindu Society during the pre-Muhammadan period." It runs thus:—"It remains to refer to certain kinds of mental bias that are apt to affect the judgment in questions of Indian history. There is, in the first place, what may be called the patriotic bias, though it is shared more or less by European as well as Indian scholars. It shows itself in a tendency to exaggerate the freedom of India from foreign influences, and to claim entire originality for such inventions as the Indian alphabet, which bear their foreign origin on their face. This school loves to trace the leading castes of the present day to an Aryan origin, and to accentuate the Hindu orthodoxy of the kings and conquerors of old. When these are looked upon as Hindus from the beginning, the most important fact in Hindu history is overlooked. I mean the attractive power of Hindu civilisation, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader, except the Moslem and the European. **Those Indians have indeed a poor idea of their country's greatness, who do not realise how it has tamed and civilised the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkoman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous of the Rajput Royal races."**

How thoroughly conversant Mr. Jackson was with Sanskrit literature may be seen from his paper on "Epic and Puranic Notes," which is published in the centenary memorial volume of the Bombay Asiatic Society. In this connection may also be mentioned his short, but most thoughtful note on the *Harivaṁśa*, which he contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London*, for 1908, page 529 ff. He had also contemplated writing an article on a passage from the *Nirukta*. In one of his letters to me he says: "I am also at work on a passage of the *Nirukta* which seems to me to have been misunderstood by German scholars and to be one main source of their prejudice against Sâyaṇa and the native commentators generally." But Mr. Jackson was not spared to complete this paper. He, however, did far greater work in the field of epigraphy and ancient history of India. His erudition and soundness of work are patent to any one who reads the notes which, as I have said above, he wrote in the body or at the close of almost every chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part I. Appendix VI to this volume, which is devoted to the Early Greek and Roman references to Western India was also written by him, contains several original and thoughtful remarks, and is always worth reading in conjunction with McCrindle's translations. In Appendix III, he establishes the existence of a great Gurjara Empire, and suggests the Gurjara origin of some of the greatest Râjpût classes. This paper interested me most, and set my thoughts going, which were finally reduced to writing in two papers, the views expressed in which have now been countenanced by all antiquarians of repute. I cannot but think that if I had not read this article of Mr. Jackson's and not written these two papers of mine, his views would not have attracted the attention they deserved, and I am, therefore, very glad of being thus the instrument of disclosing the "hidden jewel." When our theory about the Gurjara kingdom was accepted by scholars in Europe, he wrote to me once saying "Our Imperial Pratîhâra kings are coming to their own again at last."

I cannot, however, help saying that his head contained far more information critically sifted and carefully stored than any papers he found leisure to write. This was always the impression of those who had either a personal conversation or correspondence with him. To show that his knowledge far transcended that actually embodied in his notes or papers, I shall cite two or three instances, knowing for certain that they will be useful to antiquarians. When I was engaged

in writing my paper on the Gurjaras, I sent him a letter giving out a summary of my views and asking him what he thought about them. This was the reply he sent: "Many thanks for your letter. I should not be much surprised to learn that the Mahodaya Dynasty also were Gurjaras, but I still think (till I see your evidence) that Bhinmâl must have been their centre, at all events till the great extension of their power took place early in the 9th century. I believe the Chohâns, Parmârs, Parihârs and Solankîs were all of Gurjara origin, though doubtless they also included other Central Asian elements. For instance I would connect the Hâṛâ Chohâns with the Hâra Hûṇas." I think Mr. Jackson's explanation of the name Hâṛâ, a sub-division of the Chohâns, by connecting it with the Hâra Hûṇas, whose existence is attested by the *Mahâbhârata*, is far more acceptable than any legends that are often cited to account for it. In my paper on the Gurjaras, I had called in question the identification of Yuan Chwang's *Pi-lo-mo-lo* with Bhinmâl, but, on thinking about the matter again, I have at last come to the conclusion that the identification upheld by Mr. Jackson is correct. Again, when I sent him a copy of my first paper on Lakulîśa, this is what he wrote: "Very many thanks for the copy of your paper on the Eklingji Inscription. You have successfully proved that the origin of the Lakulîśa sect must be dated not later than the early centuries of the Christian era. The history and relations of the Śaiva sects form an interesting but difficult subject, which cannot be fully dealt with unless account is taken of the vernacular literature of Southern India, especially the Tâmiḷ works, some of which go back to at least the 7th century, while a few may be some centuries older. We, who are accustomed to look at Indian history from a 'Gauḍa' point of view, are perhaps apt to overlook the 'Drâviḍa' evidence, which is not very easy to follow, now that the discontinuance of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* has deprived the Indian scholars of the south of their natural central organ. I cannot pretend to be able to give you a bibliographical list, but you will find one or two papers in the *Indian Antiquary*, some remarks in Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, and Mr. Pillai's book 'The Tamils 1800 years ago,' worth considering in this connection. I believe also that much valuable work has been published by Indian scholars in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* and other similar periodicals." Mr. Jackson no doubt gave me a hint here that I should take up this work of writing out the history and relations of the Śaiva sects upon the lines suggested by him. Such a paper would have been highly interesting and important for the history of religious sects in India. But I am sorry to confess that I have found absolutely no time for it, as one-half of every year I have to spend in touring and of the remaining half no less than four months have to be spent in writing out our Annual Progress Report and doing other work in connection therewith. Would that some young scholar like myself, whether Indian or European, would undertake this work! Though I could not attend to this hint of Mr. Jackson's, I am glad I have been able to follow another suggestion that he threw out nearly four months before his diabolical murder. About the middle of August 1909, I sent him copies of my papers, among which was my article on the Chitorgaḍh *praśasti*. With regard to it he writes: "You refer to the name Sapâdalaksha in your paper in the Chitorgaḍh *praśasti*. I still believe it refers to the Śivâlik hills, which were, I think, the earliest seat of the Chohâns who later moved on to Amber. This is indicated by the distribution of the Chohân class of Gujars, and if I remember rightly, 'Sapardalakshan' is found as the name of a province on some Indo-Sassanian coins (see Rapson). The Svâlakh in Jodhpur territory I should take to have been named after the more extensive territory further north. The close relationship between the sub-Himalayan dialects and Râjasthânî I put down to the presence of Gujars (in the

south transformed into Rajputs) in both." How true and erudite the words are ! What a versatile reading also ! His idea will be found, gladly seized and developed by me in my paper on the "Foreign elements in the Hindu population" which follows this. About the beginning of September 1909 I sent him proofs of my paper on the Guhilots for his favour of opinion. And this was what he wrote : "You have undoubtedly proved your case as to their being Nâgar Brâhmaṇs, and I think it very probable that they belonged to the Maitraka swarm of invaders. As another case of a family of kings claiming Brâhmaṇ descent I would note the Kadambas (see the Tâḷgund pillar inscription). I have little doubt you are right in regarding the Brahma-Kshatrîs as Brâhmaṇs, who have adopted a Kshatriya mode of life. But I do not think it is possible to point to any particular time when the caste system became a rigid one. In theory it was always rigid (subject in early times to the permission to the higher twice-born castes to take wives from the lower) while in practice it was very elastic, owing to the legal fictions by which tribes originally non-Hindu were regarded as Hindus who had neglected their proper rites and ceremonies, but could be brought back into the fold on repentance." In short, the more I think of the valuable hints he threw out from time to time, the more I think that his powerful and critical brain contained far more than what he actually had time to write down. Truly has Dr. Bhandarkar said: "The loss that the horrid deed of the fiendish young man inflicted on the cause of Indian research is incalculable." And I cannot help exclaiming at this moment :—

Jackson ! thou shouldst be living at this hour :
Savants have need of thee.

About the middle of August last year I delivered a lecture, as I have said above, in the Wilson Hall when he was president. At the close of my lecture he addressed the students in the capacity of the president. He regretted that the volumes which our Archæological Department was issuing were very expensive, and were thus beyond the reach of men of limited means. He also desired me to write a book to attract the Indian students to the study of Indian Archæology. A few days after, I wrote to him and asked what sort of book he wished me to write. He replied: "As regards the book on Archæology which I suggested your writing, I have had in mind for a long time the need for something intermediate between Bühler's *Grundriss* and a Hand-book for High School students similar to your Introduction to school classics. The class I aim at reaching is the University student, and I would arrange the subjects more or less on the lines which I followed in my lecture on Method. If you should be willing to join me in such an undertaking, by writing the sections on Architecture, Epigraphy, Iconography and Numismatics, we might discuss the details at leisure. The book must not be too large and must be cheap, to reach the class in question, and moreover it must be illustrated, at any rate, with outline drawings of typical buildings and sculptures." We had thus intended bringing out a "Hand-book for University Students," giving in a small compass elementary notions about the different branches of Indian Research. Need I say I was proud of having the prospect of working in conjunction with a scholar, whose knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Indian antiquities was as deep as it was sound ? We had very nearly settled the chapters we were separately to write, when the news of his cruel murder reached my ears. In the words of Mr. Enthoven, a most intimate friend of Mr. Jackson, "the Nasik tragedy is a grievous affair. We have lost a scholar, a kind-hearted friend, and one who took a warm interest in India. Few had such a grasp of the intellectual life of the country, past and present, and there was hardly a less suitable victim for the insane passion of these political fanatics."

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE HINDU POPULATION.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

[In 1904 I was selected by the University of Bombay to deliver lectures in connection with the Bhagwânlâl Indrâjî Lectures Series. One of these lectures was concerned with foreign elements in the Hindu population. For a long time I had intended publishing it, but it remained a mere intention without being transformed into action. Sir Richard Temple contemplated issuing a special number of the *Indian Antiquary* in memory of the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, whose tragic end all scholars and antiquarians sincerely mourn, though perhaps not so deeply as I do. We often had a chat and correspondence on a variety of antiquarian points ; and I was, therefore, in a position to know that though he was conversant with all branches of Indology, yet in no subject was he more deeply interested than the one with which the present paper deals. I had thus deemed it to be my duty to revise my lecture, and prepare it for publication specially for the memorial number. But though the idea of issuing such a number has now been abandoned, I here publish my article and dedicate it to the memory of that illustrious scholar and antiquarian, whose saintly features will no longer delight our eyes.

In this paper I have handled the subject principally from the epigraphic point of view, and intend supplementing it, if time be found, by another where the question will be treated chiefly in the light of ethnological researches. I need not say that the contents of the lecture, which was delivered six years ago, have been modified and amplified wherever necessary, and that this paper has been made to embody the latest information that is available to me.]

From the orthodox point of view, the Hindu society is split up into the four main castes :— Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras. The Brâhmaṇas occupy the highest grade, because they sprang from the head of the Supreme Being ; next in rank are the Kshatriyas, who were produced from his arms ; after them come the Vaiśyas, who were generated from his thighs ; and lastly come the Śûdras, who were relegated to the lowest rank as they sprang from his feet. The highest and most ancient authority that is adduced in support of this belief is the well-known *mantra* from the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*, which runs as follows :—

ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥

Maṇḍala X, 90, 12.

Translation.

The Brâhmaṇa was his mouth, the Kshatriya was made his arms, what is called Vaiśya (was) his thighs, (and) from his feet sprang the Śûdras.

The following verse from Manu is also quoted as a further authority in favour of the belief :—

लोकानां तु विवृद्ध्यर्थं मुखबाहूरुपादतः ।
ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियं वैश्यं शूद्रं च निरवर्तयत् ॥

Cap. I., v. 31.

Translation.

But for the propagation of the worlds, he caused the Brâhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śûdra to issue from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively.

This has been the belief prevalent all over India. But whereas in north India all these castes are generally supposed to be still extant, in south India the Brâhmaṇas and the Śûdras are regarded as the only two castes now existing, the remaining two—the Kshatriya and Vaiśya—being supposed to have been long since extinct. Thus the *Śûdrakamalâkara* says :—

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वर्णास्त्रयो द्विजाः ।
युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥

Translation.

The Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras are the (four) castes; the (first) three are the twice-born. All exist in every *yuga*, (but) in Kali the first and last (only) obtain.

In order to substantiate the above doctrine the following verses from the *Bhâgavata* are often quoted :—

महापद्मपतिः कश्चिन्नन्दः क्षत्रविनाशकृत् ।
ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिकाः ॥ ८
स एकच्छत्रां पृथिवीमनुल्लंघितशासनः ।
शासिष्यति महापद्मो द्वितीय इव भार्गवः ॥ ९

Bhâgavata, Skandha XII.

Translation.

(8) A certain Nanda, the lord Mahâpadma, will cause the destruction of the Kshatriyas. Thereafter the kings will be well-nigh Śûdras and impious.

(9) That Mahâpadma, with his commands not transgressed, will rule over the earth under one (royal) parasol, as if he were a second Bhârgava.

Here the Nanda prince, Mahâpadma, is compared to Bhârgava or Paraśurâma, and is said to have destroyed the Kshatriyas; and the kings that succeeded him are spoken of as having been Śûdras. The *Bhâgavata-purâṇa* is thus considered as pointing to the annihilation of the Kshatriya caste after the Nandas.

But whether we regard all these four, or only two, castes as at present existing, there are numerous other castes ranging between them, which are said by the Hindu legislators to have sprung from intercourse between persons of two different castes, either by the *anuloma* or the *pratiloma* method. The marriage of a male of any one of the four castes with a female of the lower caste is styled *anuloma*, whereas that of a man with a woman of the higher caste is called *pratiloma*. Though such marriages appear from the works on Hindu law to have once been in vogue, still the issue of such marriages was always relegated to a lower rank. It has consequently been argued that the higher castes at any rate of the Hindu population maintain their purity of blood to the present day, and that it is only the lower castes where an admixture of blood can at all be supposed to have taken place. A Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Vaiśya has been a Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Vaiśya since the days of the *Ṛigveda* when the hymn, from which a verse has been cited above, was composed. Again, it is held by many that Hinduism is a non-proselytising religion, that a **Hindu means an individual born of Hindu parents and not converted to Hinduism**, and that, consequently, Hinduism was always a barrier to foreign races being incorporated into Hindu society. Many will naturally, therefore, ask themselves: how we can at all talk of any foreign element contained in the higher Hindu castes? Let us, therefore, see **how far this popular belief is tenable.** But let us, in the first place, see whether **Sanskrit literature** itself contains any statements, which run counter to this view.

To an orthodox Hindu the most sacred works are, of course, his **Vedas**. Of these the *Ṛigveda* is considered to be the earliest. It consists of ten parts called *maṇḍalas*. Some of these contain hymns composed by different individual *ṛishis*. Now, who were the authors of these hymns? Were they all Brâhmaṇas? Most certainly not. The third *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* was composed by Viśvâmitra and his family, and every Hindu knows that Viśvâmitra originally was not a Brâhmaṇa, but a Kshatriya. The authors of the forty-third and forty-fourth hymn of the fourth *maṇḍala* were Ajamîḍha and Puramîḍha. That these were Kshatriyas will be seen from the following verse from the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* :—

बृहत्क्षत्रस्य सुहोत्रः सुहोत्राद्धस्ती य इदं हस्तिनापुरमारोपयामास ।
अजमीढ-द्विमीढ-पुरुमीढास्त्रयो हस्तिनस्तनयाः । अजमीढात्कण्वः
कण्वान्मेधातिथिर्यतः काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥

Aṁśa IV., Cap. **19.**, v. **10.**

Various other hymns were composed by Kshatriyas, and this subject is no better treated than in Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, to which the reader is referred. But it will be said that although it may be established that some hymns were composed by Kshatriyas, it does not touch the question of the admixture of blood, unless these Kshatriyas are shown to have risen to the rank of the Brâhmaṇas. It is not, however, difficult to prove this. With regard to Viśvâmitra's change of caste, the following verse from the *Anuśâsana-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* is worth quoting:—

ततो ब्राह्मणतां जातो विश्वामित्रो महातपाः ।
क्षत्रियः सोप्यथ तथा ब्रह्मवंशस्य कारकः ॥

Translation.

"Then Viśvâmitra of great religious austerities attained to the state of a Brâhmaṇa. Although a Kshatriya, he became the founder of a Brâhmaṇa family."

Here then is a verse which distinctly says that **Viśvâmitra** was originally **a Kshatriya**, but afterwards became not only a Brâhmaṇa, but the **founder of a Brâhmaṇa family.** This family is the well-known Kauśika *gotra*. Brâhmaṇas of this *gotra* are as much Brâhmaṇas as Brâhmaṇas of any other *gotra*. We thus have a clear instance before us of the fusion of Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya blood. From Ajamîḍha also, referred to above, sprang Kaṇva; Kaṇva's son was Medhâtithi, from whom the Kâṇvâyana Brâhmaṇas descended. And yet Ajamîḍha was a Kshatriya! Many other instances of this nature have been culled together by Dr. Muir in his valuable book, and I, therefore, refrain from adducing them here. Similarly, instances are not wanting of men of the Vaiśya caste having become Brâhmaṇas. To cite one of these, the following verse from the *Harivaṁśa* may be given:—

नाभागारिष्ठपुत्रौ द्वौ वैश्यौ ब्राह्मणतां गतौ । ६५८

Translation.

"The two sons of Nâbhâgarishṭha, who were Vaiśyas, attained to the state of Brâhmaṇas."

Not only men of the Kshatriya and Vaiśya, but also men of the lowest castes are recorded to have become Brâhmaṇas. Amongst the Brâhmaṇas of the present day, **Vasishṭha** *gotra* is looked upon as pure as any other. The originator of this *gotra* is believed to have been the sage Vasishṭha, with whose name the seventh *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* is associated. But what was the origin of this Vasishṭha himself? The following verse from the *Mahâbhârata* throws light on this point:—

गणिकागर्भसंभूतो वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः संस्कारस्तत्र कारणम् ॥

Translation.

"The great sage Vasishṭha was born of the womb of a harlot, but became a Brâhmaṇa by religious austerities. Training of the mind is the cause of it."

This account agrees with, and is probably a later development of the tradition contained in the eleventh verse of the thirty-third hymn of Vasishṭha's own *maṇḍala*, *i.e.*, the seventh *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda*. This verse speaks of Vasishṭha as having sprung from Urvaśî, an Apsaras, *i.e.*, a courtezan of the gods. Such was the vile extraction of Vasishṭha, and yet he was the founder of a Brahmanic *gotra*, second to none in purity. A low origin is likewise attributed not only to the sage **Parâśara**, but also to **Vyâsa**, the reputed compiler of the *Mahâbhârata*. A verse from the *Vanaparvan* of this epic says:—

जातो व्यासस्तु कैवर्त्याः श्वपाक्यास्तु पराशरः ।
बहवोऽन्येपि विप्रत्वं प्राप्ता ये पूर्वमद्विजाः ॥

Translation.

"Vyâsa was born of a fisherwoman, and Parâśara of a *chaṇḍâla* woman. Many others, who were originally not twice-born, became Brâhmaṇas.

What is the upshot of these quotations? Not only the two higher castes, *viz.*, the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas but also the lowest castes, such as fishermen and *chaṇḍâlas*, in short, all castes and classes, have contributed to the formation of the Brâhmaṇa caste, *i.e.*, the caste now recognised to be the highest and purest in India! Most of these quotations are taken from the *Mahâbhârata*, which is regarded by the Hindus as so important and sacred that it has been called the fifth *Veda*. And it is this fifth *Veda* that we have mostly relied upon for tracing some of the sources of the Brâhmaṇa caste just referred to. Perfectly true is the Marâṭhî adage नदीचें पाहूं नये मूळ आणि ऋषीचें पुसूं नये कूळ (neither should the source of a river be sought for, nor the origin of the *Rishis* be investigated).

It may be said that after all the *Mahâbhârata*, from which the above quotations are made, is a conglomeration of legends, which are not of much historical importance, though they cannot be objected to by an orthodox Brâhmaṇa and consequently may be adduced to silence his preposterous pretensions to purity of origin and the consequent highest place in Hindu society. Let us, therefore, see what **the Hindu law-books** tell us, and here also I shall touch on one point only. In Cap. IV of the *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* occurs this verse:—

जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा ।
व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरम् ॥

The translation of the first line, with which we are chiefly concerned, is this: "The exaltation of a caste in the *Kaliyuga* should be understood to take place in the fifth or seventh generation." The sense of it has been made lucid by Vijñâneśvarabhaṭṭa in his celebrated commentary on this *smṛiti* entitled the *Mitâksharâ*. A part of his gloss on the first line runs as follows:—

व्यवस्था च ब्राह्मणेन शूद्रायामुत्पादिता निषादी सा ब्राह्मणेनो-
ढा दुहितरं कांचिज्जनयति ॥ सापि ब्राह्मणेनोढा अन्यामित्यनेन
प्रकारेण षष्ठी सप्तमं ब्राह्मणं जनयति ।

Translation.

"The settled rule is (this): a Nishâdî is produced by a Brâhmaṇa from a Śûdra female; she (*i. e.*, the Nishâdî), if married by a Brâhmaṇa, produces a certain girl; even she (*i. e.*, the girl), if married by a Brâhmaṇa, produces another (girl)—in this manner the sixth (girl) produces the seventh Brâhmaṇa (male)."

Now, what does this mean? A Brâhmaṇa marries a Śûdra woman, and a certain female offspring is produced. This last marries a Brâhmaṇa, and a second female offspring is produced. This last marries a Brâhmaṇa, and a third female offspring is produced, and so on. In this manner, if the sixth female offspring marries a Brâhmaṇa and has a male issue, this issue is looked upon as a Brâhmaṇa in no way differing in point of status from other Brâhmaṇas.

A verse of exactly the same import occurs in the *Manu-smṛiti* also. It is:—

शूद्रायां ब्राह्मणाज्जातः श्रेयसा चेत्प्रजायते । अश्रेयाञ्छ्रेयसीं जातिं गच्छत्या सप्तमाद्युगात् ॥

Cap. X, v. 64.

Translation.

If (a female of the caste) sprung from a Brâhmaṇa and a Śûdra female, bear (children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.

Most of the commentators on Manu interpret this verse in precisely the same manner, in which the verse, from *Yâjñavalkya-smṛiti* quoted above has been construed by Vijñâneśvara. But there are at least two commentators, who put a somewhat different, but even more favourable, interpretation on the verse. According to them, what Manu has ordained is that "if a Pâraśava, the son of a Brâhmaṇa and of a Śûdra female, marries a most excellent Pâraśava female, who possess a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brâhmaṇa."

It is idle to suppose that the Indian law-books at any rate would deal with imaginary cases regarding castes. The consensus of opinion among learned scholars is that they but record the local customs of the various parts of the country. When, therefore, Manu and Yâjñavalkya lay down that the offspring of a Śûdra female from a Brâhmaṇa becomes a Brâhmaṇa in the seventh generation, only one conclusion is possible, *viz.*, that Śûdra blood runs through the veins of the Brâhmaṇas of the present day, if they are descendants of the Brâhmaṇas of the time of Manu and Yâjñavalkya.

It is, however, **the inscriptions** that throw the best light on this question, and actually enable us to trace what foreign tribes were incorporated into Hindu society. As inscriptions are contemporary records, their historical accuracy cannot be questioned or their importance overrated. Indian epigraphy commences with the reign of Aśoka, the Buddhist emperor of India. In his Rock Edict XIII occur the following words[1]:—

एसे च मुखमुते विजये देवानंप्रियस यो धर्मविजयो। सो च पुन लधो
देवानंप्रियस इह च सर्वेसु च अंतेसु आ छसुपि योजनसतेसु यत्र अंतियोको नाम
योनराजा परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरो राजानो तुरमाये नाम अंतिकिनि नाम
मक नाम अलिकसुंदरो नाम।

Here five princes are named, *viz.*, Aṁtiyoka, Turamâya, Aṁtikini, Maka and Alikasundara. They have been universally identified with the Greek kings: Antiochos Soter, king of Syria; Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt; Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia; and Alexander, king of Epirus[2]. Now, it is worthy of note that Antiochos is herein called *Yona-râjâ*, *i.e.*, the Yavana king. **Yavana** was, therefore, a term used in ancient times, to denote **the Greeks**, and was perhaps in the first instance, the Indian form of the word Ionian[3]. The Greeks first penetrated into India with Alexander the Great, but their supremacy about this time was short-lived, as it was completely overthrown by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, soon after Alexander's death. But though the Greeks were thus driven out of India, they maintained their power east of Persia and close to the Hindukush in the province called Baktriana, and succeeded in again establishing their sway over the Panjâb and occasionally extending it as far east and south as the Jamnâ and Kâṭhiâwâḍ, when the Maurya was supplanted by the Śuṅga dynasty. One such Greek prince is referred to by Patañjali (*circa* 150 B.C.) in the well-known passages of his *Mahâbhâshya*, *viz.*, अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम। and अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम्।, which are given by him as instances of *laṅ* or the Imperfect Tense. The Imperfect Tense has thus been defined by Patañjali: परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये, *i.e.*, this tense is used by a person when the event described was not witnessed by him, but is known to the people, and was capable of being witnessed by him. Obviously, therefore, the sieges of Sâketa and Madhyamikâ by the Yavana king took place when Patañjali lived. Sâketa is generally identified with Oudh, and Madhyamikâ with Nagarî, now an obscure village, six miles to the north of Chitoḍ, Udaipur State[4]. Now, the Greek prince, who is identified with this Yavana conqueror, is **Menander**[5], who, according to Strabo, penetrated to 'Isamus' (Jumna) and subjugated Patalene (the Indus Delta) and Saraostos (Surâshṭra, *i.e.*, Kâṭhiâwâḍ). This statement is corroborated by the curious observation of the author of the Periplus (*circa* 89 A.D.) that the coins of Menander and Apollodotus were current in his time at the port of Barygaza (Bharukachha, *i.e.*, Broach). Even to this

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 453-4.

2 Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 173.

3 *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 245.

4 Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 187, 189 and 204.

5 Mr. V. A. Smith also adopts this view. But I think that the Yavana king, contemporaneous with Patañjali was Demetrius. I hold with Percy Gardner that Menander flourished *circa* 110 B. C. (*British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, Introd. p. xxxiii) or perhaps even a little later. This agrees with the statement of the author of the Periplus (*circa* 89 A.D.) that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation in his time in Barygaza, *i.e.*, Broach (*Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 143). This also shows that one was the immediate successor of the other. This agrees with the fact that wherever the coins of Menander are found, the coins of Apollodotus are also found. But the reference to the Yavana king by Patañjali shows that his conquest were ephemeral, and the Greek power certainly did not last for two consecutive reigns.

day his coins are found in Kâṭhiâwâḍ in the south and as far as the Jamnâ in the east. On the obverse of his coins is the legend, *Basileus Suthros Menandros*, in Greek language and characters, and on the reverse the legend *Mahârâjasa Tradarasa Menaṁdrasa* in the Pâli language and the ancient Brâhmî characters[6]. One is the exact translation of the other. Now, we have a Pâli work entitled **Milinda-panho** (Queries of Milinda), in which Milinda is spoken of as a Yavana king and also as having been converted to Buddhism after a very long and interesting discussion, by the Buddhist Doctor Nâgasena[7]. This Milinda has been commonly identified with Menander. The statement of the Pâli work is corroborated by a coin of Menander, which bears the wheel of the law (*dharma-chakra*)[8], the symbol of Buddhism, and which conjoins, with his name in the legend, the epithet *dharmika* (*i.e.*, *dhârmika*) an essentially Buddhist expression, instead of the usual title *tradara*. So dear became Menander to the Buddhists that, according to a legend mentioned by Plutarch, no less than seven cities fought after his death for his ashes[9].

Let us now see how **private individuals** from amongst the Yavanas were disposed towards Buddhism. In inscriptions of the caves of West India, we find Yavanas frequently mentioned as making gifts in connection with Buddhist *stûpas* and monasteries. In the Kârlî caves near Poona we have the following[10] :—

1. धेनुकाकटा यवनस सिहधयान थंभो दानं

[The gift (*viz.*) a pillar of a Yavana from Dhenukâkaṭa (named) Siṁhadhayya.]

2. धेनुकाकटा धंमयवनस

[(The gift) of a Yavana (named) Dhaṁma from Dhenukâkaṭa.]

Now, these Yavanas are from Dhenukâkaṭa, and the names of both are Hindu. Siṁhadhayya corresponds to Siṁhadhairya, and, that Dhaṁma corresponds to Dharma, goes without saying.

The following inscriptions from the Junnar caves are worthy of note[11] :—

1. यवनस इरिलस गतान देयधम बे पोढियो

[Two cisterns,—the religious benefaction of the Yavana Irila of (*i.e.*, belonging to) the Gartas.]

2. यवणस चिटस गतानं भोजणमटपो देयधम सघे

[The dining hall,—the religious benefaction to the Saṁgha of the Yavana Chiṭa of (*i.e.*, belonging to) the Gartas.]

3. यवनस चंदानं देयधम गभदार

[The door of an interior apartment,—the religious benefaction of the Yavana Chaṁda.]

Of these Yavana names, only Irila appears to be foreign. Chiṭa corresponds to Chitra, and Chaṁda to Chandra, both undoubtedly Hindu names.

There is only one Yavana inscription in the Nâsik caves[12]. It runs thus :—

सिधं ओतराहस दतामितियकस योणकस धंमदेवपुतस इंद्राग्निदतस धंमात्मना
इमं लेणं; &c., &c.

[This dwelling (was granted) by the religious-souled Indrâgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, a Yavana, a northerner and a resident of Dattâmitra.]

Now, the owner of this cave-dwelling is a Yavana, *i.e.*, Greek. But his name is Indrâgnidatta and his father's, Dharmadeva, both decidedly Hindu names. He is a resident of Dattâmitra, a town, according to the *Mahâbhâshya*, in Sauvîra, contiguous to modern Sind and supposed to have been founded by the Greek prince Demetrius[13].

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6 Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 22 ff.

7 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXXV and XXXVI.

8 *Ante*, Vol. XXXII, p. 430.

9 *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 283; *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 337.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 53 and 55.

11 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 92 ff., Nos. 5, 8, 16.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 90.

13 *Trans. Inter. Cong. Or.* for 1874, p. 345.

What are the facts then? The West Indian cave inscriptions give us names of certain private **Yavana or Greek individuals**, who made gifts to the Buddhist *chaityas* and monasteries and consequently were unquestionably Buddhists. And not only did they embrace Buddhism, but all except one **borrowed Hindu names** also; in short, if the word Yavana had not been mentioned in these inscriptions, their foreign extraction would have remained undetected.

For a long while the antiquarians were under the impression that the Greeks had become Buddhists only and that none of them had embraced Hinduism. But this impression is now proved erroneous by the discovery of a pillar inscription of about the second century B.C. and found at Besnagar in the Gwalior territory in Mâlwâ[14]. It records the erection of a *garuḍa-dhvaja* in honour of Vâsudeva, god of gods, by Heliodora, son of Diya, come from the king Antalikita (Antialkidas) to the court of the king Bhâgabhadra. Heliodora is called a *Yavana-dûta*, *i.e.*, a Greek ambassador, and his and his father's name, *viz.*, Heliodora and Diya, undoubtedly correspond to the Greek Heliodoros and Dion. The very fact that he erected a *garuḍa* column shows that, **though a Greek, he had become a Hindu and a Vaishṇava**; and if any doubt is still entertained, it is completely set at rest by the fact that he is actually styled *Bhâgavata* in the inscription.

So far with regard to the Yavana or Greek princes and private individuals. The Yavanas were succeeded by the **Śaka kings**, who also were foreigners. The Imperial dynasty was reigning in the Panjâb and eastern parts of Afghânistân, but their might had overshadowed the northern, central and western parts of India also.[15] The remoter provinces of the kingdom were governed by its viceroys called **Kshatrapas, i.e., Satraps**, who, however, before long, succeeded in setting aside the suzerain power and declaring their independence. One such Kshatrapa family was settled round about Takshaśilâ, the Greek Taxila, which was identified by Cunningham with Shâhdheri in the Panjâb, and another at Mathurâ. A third held sway over Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Mâlwâ, and a fourth over the Dekkan. Now, it is all but certain that most of the members of the imperial Śaka dynasty were Buddhists. Thus Spalirises, Azas, and Moas, the second, third, and sixth princes of this dynasty, and Spalahores and Spalgadames style themselves on their coins *dhramika*, *i.e.*, *dhârmika*, an expression, which, as said above, is peculiarly Buddhistic.[16] Their coins also bear the symbol of a wheel, which reminds us of the Buddhist *dharma-chakra*. Of the Kshatrapa families, two were converts to Buddhism. The well-known Mathurâ Lion-capital inscription[17] records the erection of a *stûpa* over a relic of Buddha by Nadasi-kasa, wife of the Mahâkshatrapa Râjûla, and the various benefactions connected therewith by the other members of his family such as Abûholâ, Hayuarâ, Hana and so forth. The Mahâkshatrapa Râjûla here referred to ruled over eastern Panjâb, north-east Râjputânâ and the province round about Mathurâ. There was another Kshatrapa

[14] *Jour. R. As. Soc.* for 1909, p. 1089; *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 104.

[15] Mr. Smith speaks of this family of kings as an Indo-Parthian dynasty, probably because some of them bear Iranic names. But if many foreign kings, as we know, adopted Hindu names, there is no wonder that some of these Śaka kings assumed Iranic names. The very fact that they have such names as Moas and Azas amongst them, which are believed to be Scythian, shows that they are Indo-Scythian, and not Indo-Parthian. Their Śaka extraction is indicated, I think, by the mention of Sakastana in the Mathurâ Lion-capital made with patriotic feelings. In spite of what some scholars have said to the contrary, I maintain with Mr. F. W. Thomas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 139) that it refers to the "country of Śakas," which perhaps in those days did not merely designate the modern Sistan, but included the Indo-Skythia referred to by the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy. Gondophares' dynasty, however, was, in all likelihood, Indo-Parthian, as there is not a single Scythian name therein. I still stick to my old view regarding the order of succession of this Śaka dynasty founded by Vonones. I also stick to my view that the Mathurâ date 72 of Śoḍâsa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahi date 103 of Gondophares, and the Panjtar date 123 of a Gushana prince, whose name is lost, are years of one and the same era. But I am now inclined to refer them all to the Vikrama era. The dates of Kanishka and his successors I would now refer to the Śaka era. This is not the place to discuss this subject but I shall seize an early opportunity of advancing arguments in support of these views.

[16] *Ante*, Vol. XXXII., p. 429.

[17] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 141 ff.

family, as I have said above, reigning at Takshaśilâ. One of the Kshatrapas of this family, called Kusulaka, was Liaka. And a copper-plate inscription found in the Panjâb describes his son Patika as raising a *stûpa* over the relics of the Buddha and making a grant of land for its upkeep.

The other two Kshatrapa families were, however, followers of the Brahmanic religion. I have said above that one was holding Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Mâlwâ and the other the Dekkan. The inscriptions of this last Kshatrapa family are found in the Nâsik, Kârlî, and Junnar caves. A part of an inscription relating to them at Nâsik may be quoted as follows[18] :—

सिद्धं राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदा-
तेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन............देवताभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन
अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीभोजापयित्रा
प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन &c., &c.

The donor referred to in this inscription is Ushavadâta, *i.e.*, Ṛishabhadatta or Vṛishabhadatta. His wife's name, as given in another Nâsik inscription, is Saṁghamitâ, *i.e.*, Saṅghamitrâ. Both of these are indisputably Hindu names. But in a third Nâsik inscription we are distinctly told that he was a Śaka.[19] His foreign origin is also indicated by the names of his father and father-in-law. The former is called Dînîka and the latter Nahapâna, as will be seen from the inscription just quoted. It will easily be admitted that neither Dînîka nor Nahapâna is an Indian, *i.e.*, Hindu, name. Nahapâna again is styled a Kshatrapa, and is said to be of the Kshaharâta family, Kshaharâta is a non-Hindu name. And Kshatrapa also is not a Sanskrit word ; at any rate, it is unknown to Sanskrit literature. It is the Sanskritised form of the old Persian title Kshatrapâvan, which has been anglicised into Satrap. All these things unmistakably point to the alien origin of Ushavadâta and, in particular, to his having been a Śaka, though his and his wife's names are distinctly Hindu. Now let us see what the remainder of the inscription tells us. Ṛishabhadatta is called *tri-go-śata-sahasra-da*, *i.e.*, the giver of three hundred thousand kine. He is further spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brâhmaṇas. He is also stated to have furnished eight Brâhmaṇas with the means of marriage at the holy place Prabhâsa, *i.e.*, Somnâth-Paṭṭan in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, in other words, he incurred the merit of accomplishing eight Brâhmaṇa marriages. And, to crown the whole, he is said to have been *anuvarshaṁ Brâhmaṇa-śata-sâhasrî-bhojâpayitâ*, *i.e.*, to have annually fed one hundred thousand Brâhmaṇas. This reminds us, as Dr. Bhandarkar has aptly said,[20] of the grand feast given, not many years ago, to Brâhmaṇas by the late Mahârâjâ Sindhia of Gwalior. These charities undoubtedly stamp Ushavadâta as a very staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. Yet in origin he was a Śaka and, therefore, a foreigner !

The rule of this Kshatrapa family, called Kshaharâta, over the Dekkan did not last for a long time. It was speedily overthrown by Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi and his son, Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi, of the Śâtavâhana or Śâlivâhana dynasty. Another Kshatrapa family, I have said, ruled over Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Mâlwâ. Its capital was Ujjain. It produced no less than nineteen rulers and its sway endured for no less than 270 years up to A.D. 388. The founder of this family was Chashṭana and his father was Ghsamotika, both indubitably foreign names. But the names of all his successors are Hindu, *e.g.*, the son of Chashṭana himself was Jayadâman, his son was Rudradâman. Though perhaps the ending *dâman* may be supposed, as Prof. Rapson says, to be the same as the suffix *dames* in such names as Spalgadames and so forth,[21] the first components such as Jaya- and Rudra-, are unquestionably Hindu. About this Rudradâman his rock-inscription at Junâgaḍh says[22] :—

शब्दार्थ गान्धर्व-न्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारण—
धारण—विज्ञान—प्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना

[18] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 78. [19] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6. [20] *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 41.
[21] *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Introd., p. cv. [22] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 44, l. 13.

(Who has obtained profuse fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of grammar, music, logic and other great lores.)

Rudradâman thus not only bore a Hindu name but had also made himself thoroughly conversant with Hindu sciences. But he was by origin a stranger! So perfectly Hinduised these Śaka Kshatrapa families had become that the other royal Hindu families did not think it polluting or degrading to contract matrimonial alliances with them. The Sâtavâhana dynasty, whose other variant Sâlivâhana is so well-known to the people of Mahârâshṭra, and whose Hindu origin is incontrovertible, was thus connected with this Kshatrapa family. A Kaṇherî cave inscription says[23]:

...............[वा]सिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीसातकर्ण्णिस्य देव्याः कार्द्दमकराजवंशप्रभवाया

महाक्षत्रपरु(द्र)पुत्र्या...............

.........इय विश्वस्यस्य अमात्यस्य शतेरकस्य पानीयभाजनं देयधर्म्मः [॥]

The inscription records the gift of one Śateraka, the minister of a certain queen, whose name is lost. But she is said to have been the wife of Vâsishṭhîputra Śrî-Sâtakarṇi, a Sâtavâhana king, and daughter of a Mahâ-Kshatrapa called Ru(dra). This Rudra has rightly been supposed to be Rudradâman by the late Dr. Bühler. Here then we find that a Sâtavâhana prince named Vâsishṭhîputra Śrî-Sâtakarṇi, who, as shown by me elsewhere[24], was the second son of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi, the exterminator of the Kshaharâta Kshatrapa family, had actually been married to a daughter of the Mahâ-Kshatrapa Rudradâman. These Śaka kings had thus become so **thoroughly Hinduised** that another Hindu royal dynasty had no scruples whatever, social or religious, in entering into matrimonial relationship with them.

Let us now see what the predilections of **private Śaka individuals** were. At Nâsik, there are two cave inscriptions which speak of their benefactions. One is as follows[25]:

सिद्धं शकस दामचिकस लेखकस वुधिकस

विष्णुदतपुतस दशपुरवाथवस लेण

पोढियो च दो.........

The inscription records the gift of a dwelling cave and two cisterns by Vudhika, *i. e.*, Vṛiddhika, son of Vishṇudatta, a Śaka and a resident of Daśapura, *i. e.*, Mandasaur in the Gwalior State. The names Vṛiddhika and Vishṇudatta are Hindu, and both would have passed for Hindus, if their Śaka extraction had not been specified. The other inscription refers itself to the reign of a king called Îśvarasena, and then runs as follows[26]:

............शकाग्निवर्म्मणः दुहित्रा गणपकस्य

रेभिलस्य भार्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य

मात्रा शकनिकया उपासिकया विष्णुदत्तया

....

गिलानभेषजार्थं अक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता

The inscription records the gift of a permanent endowment for procuring medicine to the sick, by one Vishṇudattâ. She is called an *upâsikâ*, a female Buddhist lay-worshipper. She is styled Śakanikâ, and is stated to have been the daughter of a Śaka called Agnivarman. She was the wife of a Gaṇapaka Rebhila and mother of a Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman. Now, it is worthy of note that Vishṇudattâ's father is called Śaka Agnivarman. He was, therefore, a Śaka. But his name, *viz.* Agnivarman, is distinctly Hindu, and what is strange is that, as the ending suffix *varman* shows, he was at that time looked upon as a Kshatriya. Gaṇapaka too, like Śaka, must have been a tribal name, but we have no means of determining whether it was the name of an indigenous or foreign tribe. Being the daughter of a Śaka, Vishṇudattâ is called a Śakanikâ, though married to a Gaṇapaka. This reminds us of the present Râjpût princesses, who are known at their

[23] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V., p. 78.

[24] *Jour. Bom. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII., pp. 72-3.

[25] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., p. 95.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

husband-chiefs' homes by the tribal name of their father. Thus the ruling dynasty of Jodhpur is Râṭhoḍ, but the first queen of the present Mahârâjâ is styled Hâḍîjî, *i. e.*, the daughter of a Hâḍâ, a sub-division of the Chohâns, to which belongs the Bundi family from which she has sprung.

Almost synchronous with the Sakas were the **Âbhîras**, another foreign horde, which made incursions into India both south and east, and gave their name to the provinces where they settled. We have thus a tract of land in the United Provinces called Ahraurâ, which is a corruption of the Sanskrit Âbhîravâṭaka. There is another province not far from Jhânsî, doubtless called Ahirwâṛ after the Ahîrs established there. The Âbhîras carried their arms even so far south as the Dekkan. The *Purâṇas* are unanimous in saying that after the Ândhrabhṛityas the Dekkan was held by the Âbhîras, and quite in consonance with this, an inscription has been found at Nâsik, which is dated in the reign of an Âbhîra king. Now that the Âbhîras are foreigners is indubitable. Both in the *Vishṇupurâṇa* and the *Musalaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*[26] they are branded as *dasyus* or banditti and *mlechchhas* or foreigners, in the story which says that Arjuna, after he had cremated the dead bodies of Kṛishṇa and Balarâma in Dvârakâ, was proceeding with the Yâdava widowed females to Mathurâ through the Panjâb, when he was waylaid by these Âbhîras and deprived of his treasures and beautiful women. But like all other tribes, most of them soon gave up their predatory habits, though these were not altogether unknown even so late as the 9th century A. D. Thus an inscription[27] found at Ghaṭiyâlâ, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur, and on a pillar erected by Kakkuka, a prince of the feudatory Pratîhâra dynasty, and dated V. E. 918, contains the following verse :

रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्व्वमासीद्दनाश्रयः ।
असेव्यः साधुलोकानां आभीरजनदारुणः ॥

Here we are told that the village of Rohinsakûpaka, *i. e.*, Ghaṭiyâlâ, had become desolate, and unworthy of habitation for the good people in consequence of the Âbhîras. The Âbhîras of the present day, however, are free from these predatory instincts. The inscription at Nâsik just alluded to, is the same as that which specifies the grant of the Sakanikâ Vishṇudattâ. The first three lines of it, with which alone we are here concerned, are :—

सिद्धं राज्ञः माढरीपुत्रस्य शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
आभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य संवत्सरे नवम ९ गि-
म्हपखे चौथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १३

This record is dated in the reign of the king Mâḍharîputra Îśvarasena, son of Sivadatta. Both Îśvarasena and Sivadatta are called Âbhîras, and yet their names are distinctly Hindu. And what is more interesting is that Îśvarasena is here called also by his metronymic, *viz.*, Mâḍharîputra, just as all the Kshatriyas of the time are in the cave inscriptions. At Gundâ in Kâṭhiâwâḍ another Âbhîra inscription has been found[28]. This is dated [Saka] 102 = 180 A. D., and refers itself to the reign of the Mahâkshatrapa Rudrasiṁha, son of Rudradâman. It speaks of a grant made by the *senâpati* or commander-in-chief of the name of Rudrabhûti, son of the *senâpati* Bâhaka. Herein Rudrabhûti is called an Âbhîra, but his name, it need scarcely be added, is unmistakably Hindu.

The Âbhîras are, no doubt, the same as the Ahîrs of the present day, who are spread as far east as Bengâl and as far south as the Dekkan. Most of them are cowherds, but some have pursued other callings also, and are distinguished in some places from other persons of these callings by the distinctive appellation of Ahîr. Thus we have simple Sonârs and Ahîr Sonârs, simple Sutârs and Ahîr Sutârs and so forth, existing side by side in Khândesh. Âbhîra Brah-

[26] *Vishṇupurâṇa, aṁśa* V *adhyâya* 38 ; *Mûsalaparvan, adhyâya* vii.

[27] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IX., p. 280.

[28] *Ante*, Vol. X., p. 157.

maṇas are also reported to be existing in Khândesh, Gujarât and Râjputânâ[29]. The Ahîrs were such an important tribe that they gave rise to a separate dialect. Thus in Khândesh their dialect is known as Ahirâṇî, which, though on the whole resembling the Marâṭhî of that district, has peculiarities of its own to such an extent as to be recognised as a separate dialect. The Ahîrs of Kâṭhiâwâḍ and Kachh also have their own Gujarâtî dialect. In olden times also the dialect of the Âbhîras was not unknown, and it is distinctly referred to by Daṇḍin in his *Kâvyâdarśa*.

After the Śakas, the **Kushanas** wielded imperial power over northern India. The first prince of this dynasty was Kujula-Kadphises. In the legends of his coins he is styled *sacha-dhamma-thita*, *i. e.*, *satya-dharma-sthita*. He thus appears to have been a Buddhist[30]. His successor was Wema-Kadphisés, who was, without doubt, a follower of the Brahmanic religion, and; in particular, a devotee of Śiva. The legend on the reverse of his coins is *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima-Kathphiśasa tratarsa*[31]. Here the word *mahiśvarasa* may possibly stand for the Sanskrit *mâheśvarasya*, *i. e.*, "of a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva)." But that he was a Śaiva is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the reverses of his coins bear the image of Nandin, sometimes accompanied by a figure holding a trident and a tiger skin, *i. e.*, doubtless Śiva. He was succeeded by Kanishka, Huvishka and Vâsudeva, though perhaps not of his lineage. And though on their coins the figures of the Greek and Iranian deities are found, those of the Hindu divinities are not wanting. Thus the coins of Kanishka bear the figure of the Buddha, both in the sitting and standing posture. And, in fact, it is on his coins only that we for the first time find the Buddha actually figured. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the northern Buddhists assert as to Kanishka being their patron. During his regime and under his auspices a conference of monks was convened to settle the Buddhist canon again, and it was at this time that the Mahâyâna school of Buddhism assumed a definite form. On the coins of his successors occur the figures of "Skando" (Skanda), "Mahaseno" (Mahâsena), "Komaro" (Kumâra), "Bizago" (Viśâkha) and "Oesho" (Śiva),—all from the Brahmanic pantheon. That these Kushana kings are foreigners is indisputable. The names Kujula-Kadphises, Wema-Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka by no means sound Indian. The numismatists are at one in saying that the costume of these kings, as determined from their coins, is Turki and their features Mongolian. And yet we find them doing homage to the Hindu divinities!

The well-known **Maga or Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas**[32] must be assigned to about this period. An inscription stone of Śaka 1059=1137-38 A.D. has been found at Govindpur[33] in the Nawadâ sub-division of the Gayâ District, Bengâl, which begins with the following stanza, descriptive of this community :—

देवो जीयात्त्रिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः
शाकद्वीपस्स दुग्धाम्बुनिधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रा मगाख्याः ।
वंशस्तत्र द्विजानां भ्रमिलिखिततनोर्भास्वतः स्वाङ्गमुक्तः
शाम्बो यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥

Translation.

Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śâkadvîpa, where the Brâhmaṇas are named Magas! There a race of twice-born (sprang) from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,[34] whom Śâmba himself brought hither-Glorious are they, honoured in the world!

[29] Wilson's *Indian Caste*, Vol. II., pp. 23, 120, 177.

[30] *Ante*, Vol. XXXII, p. 429.

[31] Smith's *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 68.

[32] The late Professor Weber has written a learned paper on Magas, but I am sorry to say that it has been a sealed book to me, as I do not know German and could not induce anybody to translate it for me.

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 330 ff.

[34] Compare *bhrami-likhita-tanor°* of the text with *Śâkadvîpe bhramim kṛitvâ rûpaṁ nirvartitaṁ mama* of the *Bhavishya-purâṇa, Brâhmaparvan*, Cap. 129, v. 13.

But a detailed account of these Magas is given in the *Bhavishya-purâṇa*[35]. Therein they are said to have sprung from the union of Sûrya and Nakshubhâ, daughter of the sage Ṛijihva, belonging to the Mihira *gotra*. The account here is rather involved and not quite lucid. But the main points are clear enough. She had a son named Jaraśabda according to one manuscript, but Jaraśasta according to another. He was the originator of the Maga Brâhmaṇas. They were originally dwelling in the Śâkadvîpa, but were brought into Jambudvîpa, it is said, by Śâmba, son of Kṛishṇa. Śâmba was suffering from white leprosy, and Nârada advised him to erect a temple of Sûrya on the river Chandrabhâgâ in order that he might be cured of his disease. This was accordingly built[36], but no Brâhmaṇas undertook to perform the duties of *pujârîs*. Thereupon on the advice of Gauramukha, Śâmba set out for Śâkadvîpa, and brought ten Maga families. Various details are further given of these Brâhmaṇas. But it is sufficient here to note that they were also called Bhojakas and that they wore round their waist what is called an *avyaṅga*, which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vâsuki. A little reflection will tell us that these Magas are no other than the Magi of old Persia, who were the priestly class there. The name of their originator, we have seen, was Jaraśasta, which bears a close correspondence in sound to Jaratusta (Zoroaster). *Avyaṅga* again is the Indian form of the Avestâ word *Aiwyâônghan*. The *gotra* of the grandfather of Jaraśasta, as we have seen, is Mihira, which again is the Sanskritised form of the old Persian word Mihr.

We have already seen that Magas are mentioned in the Govindpur stone inscription of 1137 A. D. But an earlier epigraphic reference to them is to be found in the Ghaṭiyâlâ inscription of Kakkuka dated 918 V.E.=861 A.D. The text of the inscription is therein said to have been drawn up by the Maga Mâtṛiravi. Varâhamihira (*circa* 505 A.D.) in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Cap. lx, v.19, speaks of the Magas as the proper persons to install and consecrate the image of Sûrya. To about this time (550 A.D.) belongs the manuscript found in Nepâl, in which, it is said, that in the Kaliyuga, Magas and Brâhmaṇas would be regarded as of the same status[37]. Again, it is worthy of note that a short account of Śâkadvîpa together with its population, including Magas, occurs in the *Mahâbhârata*, *Bhîshmaparvan*, Cap. xi[38]. This may be an interpolation, but it must be remembered that the epic acquired its present character by about 450 A.D.[39], and consequently Magas must be supposed to have come into India before the middle of the fifth century. I think they came with Kanishka[40] (*circa* 78 A.D.), who appears to have been the first Indo-Scythian prince that had espoused the Avestic faith[41]. What is specially noticeable in this connection is that it is on his coins that the name and figure of the deity Mihira for the first time are met with. Mihira was a form of the god Sûrya, was the name of Ṛijihva, grandfather of Jaraśasta, and is even now an epithet borne by many Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas. Magas, in all probability, first came into India with Kanishka as his Avestic priests.

Such was the origin of Maga Brâhmaṇas. Yet how thoroughly they had imbibed Hindu faith and literature! The Govindpur inscription referred to above speaks of one Gaṅgâdhara as having built a tank. He was also the composer of the inscription. He gives us a short description of his

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35 *Brâhmaparvan*, Caps. 139-42. In some MSS. instead of Nakshubhâ we have Nikshubhâ, and instead of Ṛijihva, Sujihva or Ṛijvâhva. So also some MSS. have Jalagambu or Jaraśabda instead of Jaraśasta.

36 Chandrabhâgâ is a name of the river Chenâb, and the temple was built at Mûltân, one of whose names is Śâmbapura; the place, where the image is installed, is called Mitravana in the *Bhavishya-pur âṇa*. For further details, see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I., p. 232 ff.

37 *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1902, p. 3.

38 The same verses are repeated in the *Bhavishya-purâṇa*, *Brâhmaparvan*, Cap. 139, v, 74 ff.

39 According to Professor Macdonell, the epic acquired its present character by about 350 A.D. (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 287). But the mention of Hûṇa in it requires us, I think, to assign it to 450 A. D.

40 I have now come to regard that Kanishka, in all likelihood, flourished about this time and that he was the originator of the era, which was afterwards known at *Sakakâla*.

41 *Ante*, Vol. XVII., p. 89 ff.

relatives, from which it appears that his was a poetic family. His father, Manoratha, is styled *nûtana* Kâlidâsa, and his grandfather Chakrapâṇi is compared to Vâlmîki. Many others are praised more or less for their poetic talents. His is not a mere empty praise because they were his relatives, for the work *Sadukti-karṇâmṛita* of Śrîdharadâsa (1205 A.D.), an anthology culled chiefly from Bengâl poets,[42] makes mention of no less than six of these (including him) and cites their verses also. Nay, Varâhamihira, one of the most celebrated astronomers of India, appears to have been a Maga Brâhmaṇa. Bhaṭṭotpala, who has commented on his works, tells us that he was a Magadha Brâhmaṇa.[43] Magadha here does not, I think, mean an inhabitant of Magadha, but a Maga himself. The *Bhavishya-purâṇa* distinctly tells us that *Magaṁ dhyâyanti te yasmât tena te Magadhâḥ smṛitâḥ*.[44] This is corroborated by his and his father's names, *viz.*, Varâhamihira and Âdityadâsa, one of whose components is a name of Sûrya.

In the Jodhpur State there is a class of **Brâhmaṇas known as Sevak and also Bhojak**, most of whom are religious dependents of the Osvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas, and keep images of Sûrya in their houses, which they worship on Sundays, when they eat once only.[45] Formerly they used to wear a necklace resembling the cast-off skin of a serpent, no doubt corresponding to the *avyaṅga*, which was supposed to be the cast-off skin of Vâsuki. But this practice has recently fallen into desuetude.[46] The Parâśarî Brâhmaṇas of Pushkar were also originally known as Sevaks and Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas. At any rate they were so known till the time of the Jaipur king Jayasiṁha II.[47] The Sevaks say that their caste people are called Śâkadvîpî in the east, Sîtâpatrî in the south, and Paṇḍe round about Delhi and Âgrâ. The *pujârîs* of the temples of Jagadîśa and Jvâlâmukhî in north India are, it is said, Śâkadvîpî Brâhmaṇas.

After the overthrow of the Kushanas, the **Haihayas** poured into India. The *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vishṇu-purâṇa*[48] state that they seized the kingdom of the indigenous Indian king Bâhu and that they were assisted in this expedition by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pâradas, Kâmbojas, Pahlavas and Khaśas. Bâhu retired to a forest and killed himself. One of his wives, who was pregnant at that time, went to the hermitage of Aurva-Bhârgava, and was there delivered of a son called Sagara. The latter, in course of time, learnt the use of various miraculous weapons from the former, and made a fearful slaughter of the Haihayas. He then turned his arms against the Śakas, Yavanas, etc., but the sage Vasishṭha intervened, and Sagara had to content himself with depriving them of the true religion and degrading them as Kshatriyas. Now, as the Haihayas are here classed with Śakas, Yavanas, Pâradas, Kâmbojas and so forth, there can be little doubt that they were regarded as *mlechchhas*, *i.e.*, foreigners, at about the close of the fourth century A.D., when the *Harivaṁśa* was composed. It does not seem difficult to determine which part of India they held. In the *Anuśâsana-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* and also in the *Harivaṁśa*,[49] we are informed that the thousand-armed Haiyaya king Kârtavîrya-Arjuna reigned over the whole earth at Mâhishmatî, which, I think, has been rightly identified by Dr. Fleet with Mândhâtâ in the Central Provinces.

Kalachuris of Central Provinces in many of their inscriptions call themselves Haihayas, and trace their lineage to Kârtavîrya.[50] They were probably a sept of the Haihayas. Their power, however, does not date earlier than *circa* 875 A.D. A branch of this family went to western India, and established itself at Kalyâṇî, under the leadership of Bijjala, by supplanting the Châlukya dynasty.[51]

42 *Zeit. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 511.

43 *Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 477, note.

44 *Brâhmaparvan*, Cap. 117., v. 55.

45 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), for 1891, Vol III., p. 320 ff.

46 For this information I am indebted to Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur.

47 I owe this information to Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer.

48 *Harivaṁśa* (Bengâl) vs. 764-776 ; *Vishṇu-purâṇa, aṁśa* iv, Cap. 3, v. 16 ff.

49 *Anuśâsanaparvan, adyâya*, 153, v. 3 ; *Harivaṁśa*, v. 1868.

50 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., pp. 37, 263 ; Vol. II., p. 5 ; *Vide* also *ante*, Vol. XII., pp. 253, 268.

51 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 225 ff. and p. 463 ff.

This is seen from the fact that the formal preambles of their records always style them "lord of Kâlañjara, the best of towns." Kâlañjara is unquestionably the celebrated hill-fort Kâliñjar in the Banda District, Bundelkhaṇḍ, in the United Provinces, in the very heart of the territory of these Kalachuris. But the earliest Kalachuri family, of which records have been found and which appears to be the imperial dynasty, was that ruling over the Nâsik and Khândesh districts, Gujarât and Mâlwâ, and reigning in all likelihood at Mâhishmatî. One copper-plate grant of this dynasty has been found at Âbhoṇ in the Nâsik district, and is dated in the year 347 (595 A.D.) in the reign of Kaṭachchûri king Śaṅkaragaṇa.[52] The grant was issued by the Kalachuri prince when he was at Ujjayanî. Another was discovered at Sarsavṇî[53] in the Pâdrâ sub-division of the Baroḍâ State, is dated in the year 361 (609-10 A.D.), and refers itself to the reign of Buddharâja, who is no doubt the same as the Kalatsûri prince of that name represented in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription to have been defeated by the Châlukya prince Maṅgaleśa.[54] Besides the Kalachuris, there appear to be some chieftains, at any rate in southern India, who were known simply as Haihayas. Thus in the time of the late Châlukya prince Someśvara I., one of his feudatories, was the *Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara* Revarasa, with the title of " lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns," and described as belonging to the family of Kârtavîrya.[55] During the regime of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI., a portion of the Nizam's Dominions round about Kammarawâḍî was governed by his feudatory Yânemarasa, with the title of " lord of Mâhishmatî, the best of towns," and belonging to the Ahihaya-vaṁśa.[56] Similarly, a feudatory of the Châlukya sovereign, Perma-Jagadekamalla II, was one Revarasa with the same title and pertaining to the same family.[57] The Ahihaya vaṁśa here referred to must undoubtedly be the same as Haihaya, as is clearly proved by the mention of Mâhishmatî, the old capital of the Haihayas.

All the records of the Kalachuri dynasties, whether of Chedi, Ratanpûr or Gujarât-Mâlwâ, are dated in an era of their own. This era is also employed by princes of other dynasties such as the Uchchhakalpa, Traikûṭaka[58] and so forth, who were in all probability their feudatories. The epoch of this era is A.D. 249, when, therefore, the power of the Haihayas must be supposed to have been firmly established. The legends of Paraśurâma freeing the earth of the Kshatriyas are too well-known to be repeated here. But if we read between the lines, we find that he bore a grudge only against the Haihayas, with whose slaughter he was chiefly concerned. Paraśurâma is, in the *Mahâbhârata*, represented as residing in the Mahendra mountain, and in the *Harivaṁśa* in the Sahya. And if there is a grain of truth in the legends, what they perhaps imply is that Paraśurâma, or some Brâhmaṇa hero in the south, put an effectual stop to the further incursions and encroachments of the Haihayas, who wanted to occupy southern India.

Traces of the name Kalachuri are still found amongst the Marâṭhâs[59] and Râjpûts of the Central Provinces. The Kâyastha Prabhus[60] of Mahârâshṭra at any rate claim descent from Sahasrârjuna. There is a sept of the Sûryavanśî Râjpûts in Bihâr called Harihobans,[61] who appear to be the same as Haihayavanś. There are Hayobansas also in the United Provinces.[62]

After the power of the Kushanas was overthrown and that of the Guptas established, India enjoyed respite for about two centuries. It was during the first half of the 6th century that the Hûṇas penetrated into India with the allied tribes Gurjaras, Maitrakas and so forth,

[52] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 297 ff. [53] *Ibid* Vol. VI., p. 297 ff. [54] *Ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 17-18.
[55] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 439. [56] *Ibid.* p. 451. [57] *Ibid.*, p. 457.
[58] The Traikutakas were probably not feudatories, as they seem to have struck coins ; but were a sept of the Haihayas, like the Kalachuris.
[59] Birje's *Who are the Marâṭhâs ?* p. 108. [60] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Pt. I, p. 87.
[61] Risley's *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I., p. 317.
[62] Elliot's *The Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol. I., p. 128.

eclipsed the Gupta power, and occupied northern and central India. The two Hûṇa sovereigns, whose names have been preserved, are Toramâṇa and his son Mihirakula.[63] Both these names are non-Indian. Mihirakula no doubt apparently looks like a Hindu name, but is, in reality, the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihrgul "Rose of the Sun."[64] We do not know whether Toramâṇa had become a Hindu, but certain it is that Mihirakula had become a convert to Hinduism. On some of his coins we have, on the reverse, a bull—the emblem of Śiva—with the legend *jayatu vṛishaḥ*, "victorious be the bull!"[65] Again, in a Mandasaur inscription, he is said to have bent his neck to none but Śiva.[66] This is an unmistakable indication of his having become a Hindu and adopted the worship of the god Śiva. When he was defeated and driven out of north and central India by the conjoint effort of Narasiṁhagupta-Bâlâditya in the east and Yaśodharman in the west, he, according to the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, retired to Kâshmîr, established an empire there, and was the founder of the family, Hûṇa of course, which for long held that country and were staunch adherents of Brahmanism.

That the Hûṇas are **Huns or White Ephthalites** and consequently foreign barbarians is incontrovertible. And yet as early as the 11th century they had come to be regarded as Kshatriyas; and an inscription informs us that a Chedi king Yaśaḥkarṇa married a Hûṇa princess of the name of Âhalladevî. The Hûṇas have become so thoroughly Hinduised that they are looked upon as one of the thirty-six Râjpût families believed to be genuine and pure. But so far as my inquiries go, they have no longer any separate existence as a clan like the Chavâṇs, Pavârs and so forth. Hûṇa is now-a-days found only as a family name in the Panjâb, or as the name of a sub-division of such castes as Rebhârî.[67]

I have stated above that another foreign horde that came into India with the Hûṇa was **the Gûjar**, which has been Sanskritised into Gurjara or Gûrjara. The modern province of Gujarât in the Bombay Presidency and the districts of Gujarât and Gujarânwâlâ in the Panjâb are no doubt called after the Gûjaras, who came and settled there. The name Gujarât is not a corruption of Gurjara-râshṭra as is too commonly supposed, but of Gurjaratrâ. In inscriptions of about the 9th century found near Jodhpur, a province called Gurjaratrâ is mentioned, and the Daulatpurâ copper-plate grant of Bhoja I and a Kâlañjara inscription enable us to infer that it embraced at least the modern districts of Ḍiḍwâṇâ and Parbatsar of the Jodhpur State.[68] A fourth Gujarât (*i.e.*, Gurjaratrâ) is mentioned by Al-Bîruni (A.D. 970-1031).[69] To the south-east of Kanauj, he says, lay Guzarât, the capital of which was Bazan, also known as Narayan, which is identified with Nârâyaṇpur in the north-easternmost part of the Jaipur territory. In fact, the Gûjars still abound in this part of Jaipur, and the southern portion of the Alwar State. And this province was no doubt in old days held by a dynasty named Gurjara, Pratîhâra, as is shown by an inscription found at Râjor.[70] Therein Mathanadeva, a prince of this family, is represented to have granted the village of Vyâghrapâṭaka to the god Lachchhukeśvara named after his mother Lachchhukâ. The fields of this village, it is said were cultivated by the Gurjaras,—which shows that the Gûjars had occupied and settled in that country in the 10th century at the latest. But it was in western Râjputânâ that they appear to have established themselves first. For, as informed by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan-Chwang, who came to India in the earlier part of the seventh century, that part of Râjputânâ was

63 *Gupta Inscrs.*, by Fleet, pp. 159 and 162.

64 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 75, note 6.

65 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, by V. A. Smith, p. 236.

66 *Gupta Inscrs.*, by Fleet, p. 146.

67 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), for 1891. Vol. III., p. 570.

68 *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 414-5.

69 *Al Bîruni*, by Sachau, Vol. I., p. 202; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 520.

70 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III., p. 263.

known as the Kieuchelo (*i.e.*, Gurjara) country, with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo, *i.e.*, Bhinmâl in the Jaswantpurâ district, Jodhpur State.[71] Yuan-Chwang tells us that the king was looked upon as a Kshatriya. This is interesting because it shows that as early as the first half of the seventh century, *i.e.*, about a century after their coming into India, the Gûjars had become Hindus and actually acquired the rank of Kshatriyas. About the middle of the 8th century, they had extended their supremacy far beyond Râjputânâ, carried arms as far eastward as Bengal, and established themselves at Kanauj. They are commonly styled as the imperial Pratîhâra dynasty. They have been called Juzr kings by the Arab travellers and writers, Abu Zaid, Al Masûdi and others, and are spoken of as constantly fighting with the Râshṭrakûṭas in the south.[72] This agrees with the allusions to the Gurjaras made in the Râshṭrakûṭa records. If any further proof is needed to show that Pratîhâras were Gûjars, it is supplied by the phrase Gurjara-Pratîhâra itself, occurring in the Râjor inscription just referred to. The phrase must, of course, be interpreted to mean "Pratîhâras who were Gurjaras." There can, therefore, be no doubt that the imperial Pratîhâra dynasty, reigning at Kanauj, were of the Gûjar race.

Gûjars are still found in numbers in the Panjâb, United Provinces, Râjputânâ and Central India, but mostly as cultivators or cowherds. In the north-west of the Panjâb, however, they are still "a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."[73] The Gûjars are not, however, found in Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency, though there are unmistakable indications of this tribe having been merged into the Hindu population there. Thus, we have Gûjar and simple Vâṇiâs (traders), Gûjar and simple Sutârs (carpenters), Gûjar and simple Sonârs (goldsmiths), Gûjar and simple Kumbhârs (potters), and Gûjar and simple Salâṭs (masons).[74] The first-mentioned of these castes are Gûjars, who, taking to different callings, have formed separate castes. The Gujarât Kaṇbis or husbandmen are divided into the main sections, Lewâs and Kaḍwâs, and though here the name Gûjar has not survived, there can be little doubt that they belong to the Gûjar stock. For the husbandmen of Khândesh belong to two main divisions, local and Gûjar Kuṇbis. The latter include eight classes, two of which are these Lewâs and Kaḍwâs. There is also a Brâhmaṇa caste called Gûjar-Gauḍ, the members of which are found principally in Râjputânâ. The conjoint name Gujar-Gauḍ means, I think, Gauḍ Brâhmaṇas of the Gûjar race, *i.e.*, Brâhmaṇas of Gûjar extraction originally settled in Gauḍa, which does not here denote Bengal but the province round about Ṭhâṇesvar, as first pointed out by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.[75] Amongst the Râjpûts the word Gûjar has survived in the name Baḍ-Gûjar (Birgujar) of a clan, which is one of the thirty-six royal families looked upon as pure and genuine in Râjputânâ.[76] Gûrjar is still the name of a Marâṭhâ family, which was once famous in the modern history of Mahârâshṭra. This name is also to be found among the Karhâḍâ Brâhmaṇas. The late Sir James Campbell has said that "the commonness of the name Gurjjara among Karhâdes shows that it is something more than a special surname

[71] *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by Beal, Vol. II., p. 270; *ante*, Vol. VI., p. 63.

[72] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 422-4.

[73] *Census of the Panjab*, by Ibbetson, p. 263.

[74] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 4.

[75] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, for 1905, pp. 163-4. For long it was a puzzle to me how the Gauḍ Brâhmaṇas, who abound in the Jaipur State and form one of the sub-divisions of the great Gauḍa, as distinguished from the Draviḍa stock, came to be so called, especially as no legends in any way connected them with Bengal. The puzzle is now solved by Al Biruni's "Guḍa-Tânêshar," to which our attention was drawn by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. But it must be remembered that it was the tribe Gauḍa that gave this name to the province and not *vice versâ*. For we have not only Gauḍ Brâhmaṇas but Gauḍ Râjpûts and Gauḍ Kâyasthas, all in Râjputânâ and Central India. This points to Gauḍa having originally been a stranger tribe, which was afterwards merged into the Hindu society.

[76] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Tod (Lahiri & Co.), Vol. I., pp. 109-10.

held by the descendants of individuals employed in Gujarát, and the fact that the surname is common on the coast, especially in the Rájápur sub-division and is rare in Dakhan families, and that where it occurs it can in most cases be traced to a connection with the Konkan, all support the view that the Karhâde Brâhmans of Ratnágiri are largely of Gújar origin[77]." The earliest record in which this surname has been traced is a copper-plate grant in the possession of a Karhâḍâ family in the Konkan and surnamed Gurjara. The name of the grantee is therein thus given :—

उदधितटवर्तिकौंकणदेशे काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेति-त्रिप्रवरो-
पेत-निध्रुवगोत्रोत्पन्न--गुर्जरसमुपाभिधान--गोविंद--पट्टवर्धन-
--हस्ते &c.[78].

The donee here is Govinda, surnamed Gurjara and Paṭṭavardhana. The date of the grant is 1191 A. D., *i. e.* to say no less than 700 years have elapsed since the charter was issued. That the Karhâḍas came from the north may be shown in another way also. Two of their surnames are Ojhe and Râwat, corresponding to Ojhâ and Râut found in Gujarât and Râjputânâ, but nowhere in Mahârâshṭra.

So far with regard to the names of Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya families, in which the word Gûjar has survived. But there are many tribes, in whose names the word Gûjar is not found, but which nevertheless are of Gûjar origin. Such *e. g.*, was originally the **imperial Pratîhâra dynasty of Kanauj**, as shown above. And yet how thoroughly they had become Hinduised! Not only did they borrow Hindu names, such as Vatsarâja, Nâgabhaṭa, Râmabhadra, and so on, but they also adopted the various Hindu faiths. Thus, whereas some style themselves *parama-vaishṇava, i.e.,* devout worshippers of Vishṇu, others call themselves *parama-mâheśvara, i.e.,* devout worshippers of Śiva, or *parama-bhagavatî-bhakta, i.e.,* ardent devotees of Bhagavatî or Pârvatî[79]. Nay, what is more, two of these kings, *viz.,* Mahendrapâla and Mahîpâla, who were the patrons of the poet Râjaśekhara, are in his plays actually called *Raghu-kula-tilaka* (ornament of the race of Raghu), *Raghu-grâmaṇî* (the leading person of Raghu's family), &c., &c. !![80] So that by the time of Râjaśekhara, the Gûjar kings had not only adopted the Brahmanic mode of worship, but also traced their descent from an epic hero. They, however, traced their origin not to Râma, as one is apt to presume, but to his younger brother Lakshmaṇa, who, it is said in a Gwalior inscription, was called Pratîhâra from his act of repelling *(pratiharaṇa-vidheḥ)* the enemies in his battle with Meghanâda[81]. Here *Pratîhâra* is derived from *prati + har*, to repel, and as this *pratiharaṇa* is spoken of as having been achieved in a battle with Meghanâda, the word *pratîhâra* cannot be taken in the usual sense of "door-keeper." But, at other places, we are told that, because the function of a door-keeper (*pratîhâra*) to Râmabhadra was performed by Lakshmaṇa, the family came to be known as Pratîhâra[82]. This discrepancy is enough to show that the account is fabulous, and the connection with Lakshmaṇa was concocted when the Pratîhâras were settled and perfectly Hinduised in India and were in dire need of carrying back their genealogy to some epic hero, in order to pass off their dynasty as a genuine indigenous one. The true origin appears to be that given in a Jodhpur inscription of the feudatory Pratîhâra family. Therein we are informed that there was a Brâhmaṇa named Harichandra and surnamed Rohilladdhi, that he had two wives, one a Brâhmaṇa, and the other a Kshatriya

[77] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 498.

[78] *Prabhâs* for Śaka 1829 Âshâḍha—Âśvina. This copper-plate grant seems to have been known to Mr. A. M T. Jackson (*vide Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 498, note 3).

[79] For these epithets indicative of their religious predilections, see, *e. g*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V., p. 211-2. That Bhagavatî in these epithets signifies Pârvatî has already been shown by me in *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Survey, West. Circle*, for 1907-8, p. 47.

[80] *Râjaśekhara: his life and writings*, by V. S. Apte, p. 9; *Râjaśekhara's Karpûramañjarî*, by Konow and Lanman, pp. 178-9.

[81] *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, for 1903-4, p. 280, v. 3.

[82] *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1894, p. 4 ff.

woman, and that the children from both were called Pratîhâras, those from the first being styled Brâhmaṇa Pratîhâras and those from the second Kshatriya Pratîhâras. This is not a merely traditional account, for in the same inscription, that describes the exploits of the Pratîhâra chieftain Bâuka, we are distinctly told in verse 27 that in his fight with king Mayûra, he was assisted by the Brâhmaṇa Pratîhâras as well as Kshatriyas. The marriage of a Brâhmaṇa with a Kshatriya woman, with the result as related in this inscription, is curious; and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation. The *Smṛitis*, no doubt, allow a Brâhmaṇa to marry a Kshatriya woman, but the offspring of such a union is relegated to the class of mixed castes, and has nowhere therein been styled Kshatriya, as appears from the inscription to have been the case with these Pratîhâras.

The modern representatives of the Pratîhâras are the Paḍihârs, who form one of the four *agnikulas, i. e.*, fire-sprung tribes. In fact, Pratîhâra is only the Sanskritised form of Paḍihâr. Paḍihârs are found both in Râjputânâ, Panjâb and Bihâr[83]. But no trace has yet been found of the Brâhmaṇa Pratîhâras referred to in the Jodhpur inscription. It is, however, worthy of note that among the Pokarṇâ Brâhmaṇas of the present day, there is a *khâṁp* or sub-division called Paḍiyâriyâ[84]. May not the Pokarṇâs of this *khâṁp* be the descendants of the Pratîhâra Brâhmaṇas of the inscription?

The second Râjpût tribe, which is, in all likelihood, of Gûjar origin, is **Châlukya** or Chaulukya. There is no epigraphic evidence in the present case, but there can be no doubt that Gujarât of the Bombay Presidency bore this name only after the Chaulukyas conquered and occupied it. If the Chaulukyas had not been of Gûjar extraction, it is inconceivable how that province could have been named Gujarât (Gurjaratrâ), when it was up till their advent known as Lâṭa[85]. There were two hordes of this tribe which emigrated at two different periods. The first came forth in the last quarter of the sixth century from the Savâlakh mountains, as I shall show further on, spread as far south as the Madras Presidency, and was generally known by the name Châlukya. The second emigrated about the middle of the tenth century from Kalyâṇakaṭaka, *i. e.*, Kanauj, but did not go south beyond Gujarât. It was generally known by the name of Chaulukya or Solaṅkî. Some antiquarians are of opinion that they do not represent one tribe, as the first swarm of the invaders were called Châlukyas and the second Chaulukyas. But this view, I am afraid, has not much ground to stand upon. Because, the first have been called also Chaulukyas in several manuscripts of the *Vikramâṅkadeva-charita* by Bilhaṇa, the *vidyâpati* of Vikramâditya VI of the Châlukya family reigning at Kalyâṇî. The same Bilhaṇa again speaks of the Solaṅkî sovereigns of Gujarât as Châlukya in his play entitled *Karṇasundarî*[86]. There, therefore, seems to be no reason to hold that they were two different tribes. Like the Kadambas, as we shall see further on, the Châlukyas are represented as Hâritîputras, of the Mânavya *gotra* and as meditating on Shaḍânana and the seven Divine Mothers. This indicates their Brâhmaṇa, or rather priestly origin, though we cannot perhaps say that they and the Kadambas belonged to one tribe. In their later records the Châlukyas are spoken of as originally having been at Ayodhyâ, but I shall soon show that they really emigrated from the old Sapâdalaksha country, which was in the Himâlayas.

The Châlukyas are at present represented by Solaṅkîs in Râjputânâ, by Châlkes and Sâlunkes in the Marâṭhî-speaking districts,[87] and by Chalhuks in Bihâr[88].

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[83] *Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân*, by Tod, Vol. I., pp. 93—4. *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by Risley, Vol. II., p. 165.

[84] *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), for 1891, Vol. III., p. 159.

[85] *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 425—6.

[86] *Karṇasundarî* (Kâvyamâlâ Series), p. 5, v. 20; also p. 52, v. 15.

[87] "*Who are the Marâṭhâs?*" by Birje, pp. 106 & 110.

[88] *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by Risley, p. 175.

Like the Paḍihârs, the Solaṅkîs are also regarded as an *agnikula*, *i. e.*, fire sprung tribe. The remaining two are the Châhamânas and the Paramâras. This legend about the *agnikula* is first narrated in the *Pṛithvîrâja-râsâ*, a work of doubtful authenticity. So far as the inscriptions go, it is only the Paramâras who can claim to be an Agnikula. Wherever in their records an account of their origin is given, there their progenitor is invariably represented as having arisen from the *agnikuṇḍa* or fire-altar of Vasishṭha on Mount Âbû. But not a single epigraphic record has been found of the Pratîhâra, Châlukya or Châhamâna family, in which their origin from the fire-altar is even so much as hinted at.

I have just shown that the Pratîhâras and Chaulukyas were of the Gûjar race. We do not know to what stock the **Paramâras** belonged, though it is morally certain that they were of foreign extraction. Evidence can, however, I believe, be adduced in support of the foreign origin of the Châhamânas. "There are found in North-Western India coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nāgarī, Sassanian, Pahlavi, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians. These have been sometimes attributed to the later Hūṇas, but apparently without sufficient reason. They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlavi—ruling over Sind and Multan, which the earliest Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sind. It may be noticed that the region had at other periods been in the hands of the Persian conquerors. For one of these issues, which has the name *Śrī-Vāsudeva* only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portion of its legends is Sassanian Pahlavi, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusru II. Parvīz in the thirty-seventh year of his reign = 627 A.D.". The above passage has been extracted from Professor Rapson's *Indian Coins*[89]. The Nâgarî legend referred to by him consists of two parts, one *Śrî-Vahmana* to right and the other *Vâsudeva* to left[90]. There is another type of this king's coins, the legends on which are important. On the obverse the legend is in the Sassanian Pahlavi, and reads *Saf Varsu Tef—Śrî-Vâsudeva* in the inner circle to right, and, on the margin, *Saf Varsu Tef—Wahman* × *Multân Malkâ*[91], meaning Śrî-Vâsudeva Vahmaṇa, king of Multân. On the reverse we have *Śrî-Vâsudeva* in Nâgarî characters and the Pahlavi legend, *Tukân Zâûlastân Sapardalakshân* = Ṭakka, Zabulistan and Sapâdalaksha[92].

Now, who was this Vâsudeva Vahmana, reigning at Multân over India, Zâbulistân, and Sapâdalaksha? The word *Vahmana* is commonly taken to be equivalent to Bahmana, and Vâsudeva is consequently supposed to have reigned at Bâhmanwâsî = Brâhmaṇâbâd in Sind[93]. But Vahmana does not here stand as the name of a city or province. We have just seen that on one type of Vâsudeva's coins, we have simply *Śrî-Vahmana* and *Vâsudeva*. Here *Śrî* is prefixed to *Vahmana*, but never to Tukân, Zâulistân or Sapardalakshân. Again, there is no such word as *malkâ* here to denote that Vâsudeva was the ruler of Vahmana. It is, therefore, natural to conclude that Vahmana must here be the name of the family or tribe to which Vâsudeva belonged. And this name we easily obtain by reading the word as Chahmana or Châhmâna, and not Vahmana. The letters *v* and *ch* in old days were so close to each other that one might easily be mistaken for the other. In fact, the first letter of the name has actually been read *ch* by Cunningham, though he is, of course, wrong in reading the next two letters as *ngâra* or *ndâra*[94]. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to Chahmana being the correct reading. Chahmana, it need scarcely be said, stands for **Châhamâna**; and what the legend on the coin means to say is that Vâsudeva was a Châhamâna. Now, it is worthy of note that the work entitled *Pṛithvîrâja-vijaya* says that the first prince of the Châhamâna family was Vâsudeva, who obtained the gift of the salt-lake, which he placed under the protection of the

89 P. 30, § 109. 90 *N. Chron.* for 1894, p. 290. 91 *Ibid.* pp. 292—3. 92 See note 17 on page 29.
93 *N. Chron.* for 1894, p. 268; *Indian Coins*, by Rapson, p. 30, § 109. 94 *N. Chron.* for 1894, p. 290.

goddesses Âśâpurî and Śâkambharî[95]. The same is stated in the colophon of Râjaśekharasûri's *Prabandha-kośa*, which contains a list of thirty-seven kings, belonging, it is said, to the *Sapâdalakshîya-Châhamâna-nṛipa-vaṁśa*, *i.e.*, to say "the Châhamâna royal family of the Sapâdalaksha country"[96]. This list too begins with "Râjâ-Vâsudeva," for whom the date 608 V.E. is also specified. It is, therefore, in every way reasonable to hold that Vâsudeva Châhamâna of the coins is identical with Vâsudeva, the first king of the Châhamâna dynasty. But the date 608 V.E.=551 A.D. assigned for him by the *Prabandha-kośa* is rather early, and the proper date to be assigned to him appears to be 627 A.D., concluded from one type of his coins being an exact copy of that of Khusru II. Parvîz, as mentioned above. Cunningham held that Vâsudeva was a later Hûṇa, but Professor Rapson is of opinion that he was a Sassanian. Probably he was a Khazar, and this would also adequately explain, I think, why some legends on his coins are Sassanian Pahlavi. But, this much is incontrovertible, that Vâsudeva was of foreign blood, and consequently the Châhamâna family to which he pertained was also a foreign tribe.

The next earliest prince of this dynasty was Sâmanta, with regard to whom the Bijoliâ inscription says that he was a Brâhmaṇa (*vipra*), belonged to the Vatsa *gotra* and came originally from Ahichchhatra[97]. This shows that Ahichchhatra was the original habitat of the Châhamânas and that they were Brâhmaṇas[98], that is to say, they originally belonged to some priestly class of foreign tribes. Like the Guhilots of Mewâṛ, who were originally Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, they exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits, and were afterwards merged into the Kshatriya caste. It is on the supposition that they were Brâhmaṇas that the poet Râjaśekhara's marriage with a Châhamâna lady becomes intelligible. In his *Karpûramañjarî* we are informed that his wife was Avantisundarî, "the chaplet of the Chaühâṇa (Châhamâna) family." On the other hand, the facts that his surname was Yâyâvara, and that he styled himself *upâdhyâya* or *guru* of Mahendrapâla and Mahîpâla-Vinâyakapâla shows that he was a Brâhmaṇa. He, therefore, could marry Avantisundarî, only if the latter were of the Brâhmaṇa family. Later on, however, their Brahmanic origin was forgotten, and instead of as belonging to the Vatsa *gotra* they were regarded as having sprung from the eye of Vatsa *Ṛishi*[99].

Like the Châhamânas were the **Kadambas**, who were also originally Brâhmaṇas but became Kshatriyas afterwards. The very fact that in their copper-plate inscriptions they are styled *Hâritîputras* and *Mânavya-sagotras* is enough to show that they were of Brâhmaṇa origin. But this matter is now set beyond all doubt by the Tâḷgund inscription, the earliest record of their family[100]. Therein we are told that "there was a high family of twice-born (*dvija*) in which Hâritîputras trod the path of the three Vedas, and which had sprung from the *gotra* of Mânavya, the foremost of Ṛishis" and that these Brâhmaṇas (*vipra*) were called Kadambas, because they tended a *kadamba* tree near their house. In this family arose Mayûraśarman, who, being enraged at the oppressions of a Pallava king over Brâhmaṇas, fought with them and wrested from them a portion of their territory. The name Mayûraśarman here is noteworthy, for he is no doubt identical with Mayûravarman, the name of their ancestor specified by the later records of the Kâdambas. The Tâḷgund inscription, however, attaches to his name the honorific suffix *Śarman*, which is affixed to the names of Brâhmaṇas only. This also

[95] *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol., VII., p. 190.

[96] *Reports of Sk. Mss. in South Ind.* by Hultzsch, No. III., p. 114.

[97] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LV., Pt. I., p. 41, v 12; Kavirâj 'Syâmaldâs, who edited this inscription, has wrongly read *Vipra-śrî-Vatsagotre-bhûd.*° The original stone, which I inspected in 1905, clearly has *Vipraḥ Śrî-Vatsa*°, &c. The estampage, which I had then prepared with my own hand and I consulted before writing this note, supports this reading.

[98] Cf. also the expression *dîkshita-Vâsudevaḥ* of the *Hammîra-mahâ-kâvya*, canto, 1, v. 27.

[99] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 74.

[100] *Ibid.* Vol. VIII., p. 31 ff.

shows that Mayûraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, was a Brâhmaṇa. But what is very strange is that his very son is in the same inscription called Kaṅgavarman, that is, with the title *varman* assumed by Kshatriyas. Be that as it may, the Brahmanic origin of the Kadambas remains indisputable.

I have stated above that, like the Kadambas, the Châlukyas also are known as *Hâritîputras* and *Mânavya-sagotras*. They must have been somehow intimately connected with each other. There can be no question that the Châlukyas came from the north. The Kadambas also, therefore, seem to have emigrated from the same quarter. This also explains, I think, how the son of Mayûraśarman became a Kshatriya. What actually happened in the case of the Pratîhâras, must have occurred here also. The custom of the offspring of a Brâhmaṇa and a Kshatriya woman being called Kshatriya, which the Pratîhâras followed, though not a Hindu custom, appears to have been followed by the Kadambas also, as will be shown subsequently. This also indicates the northern and foreign origin of the latter.

A stone inscription at Kargudari, in the Hangal *tâlukâ* of the Dhârwâṛ district, represents this Mayûraśarman, or Mayûravarman (I) as he is therein called, as three-eyed and four-armed, as a son of the god Siva and the Earth, as having "bound his infuriated elephants to a shining pillar of a rock of crystal of (the mountain) Himavân," and as having brought from Ahichchhatra eighteen Brâhmaṇas whom he established in the Kuntala country[1]. Another Tâḷgund record[2] speaks of Mukaṇṇa-Kadamba,—"the three-eyed Kadamba"—, supposed to be identical with Mayûraśarman as having brought twelve-thousand Brâhmaṇas, of thirty-two *gotras* purified by performing the *Agnihotra* sacrifice, from the *agrahâra* of Ahichchhatra and as having established them in the *agrahâra* of Sthâṇugûḍhapura, *i.e.*, Tâḷgund itself in the Shimogâ district, Mysore. The Brâhmaṇas brought here from the north are said to have made an effort later to leave the province. "But they were brought back again, and in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to have unshorn a lock of hair on the forehead, as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the present Haiga or Havika Brâhmaṇas of the north-west of Mysore, who wear their hair in that fashion. Ethnologically, their colour and features support the tradition of a northern origin"[3].

Another foreign tribe, which came from the north to the south, is **Sinda.** An interesting record of this family has been found at Bhairanmaṭṭi[4] in the Bâgalkoṭ *tâlukâ*, Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency. It says that there was a Sinda prince named Pulikâla, born in the race of the Nâgas, who had the *nâga-dhvaja* or hooded-serpent banner, and the hereditary title *Bhogavatîpura-parameśvara, i. e.*, "supreme lord of the town Bhogâvatî," which was, according to Hindu mythology, the capital of the Nâga king Vâsuki in Pâtâla or lower regions. From a desire to see the earth, there came from these regions the serpent-king Dharaṇendra, and to him there was born at Ahichchhatra in the island of the river Sindhu (the Indus), a son, "the long-armed Sinda," the progenitor of the Sinda family. The Sindas thus were a clan of the Nâga tribe, and came from Ahichchhatra.

We have seen that Sâmanta, one of the earliest princes of the Châhamâna dynasty, came from Ahichchhatra. Mayûraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba family, we know, proceeded to the Himâlayas, and brought with him a colony of Brâhmaṇas from Ahichchhatra. The implication is that Ahichchhatra was somewhere in the Himâlayas. The ancestor of the Sindas also, we now find, came from Ahichchhatrapura. Ahichchhatra thus appears to be the original

1 *Ind Ant.*; Vol. X., pp. 251 and 253.

2 *Ep. Carnat.*, Vol. VII., Pt I., p. 121.

3 *Mysore and Coorg*, by Rice, p. 26. The Havig Brâhmaṇas of Kârwâr still say that they were originally brought by Mayûravarman (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV., Pt. I., p. 117); cf. also the *Sahyâdrikhaṇḍa*, by Da Cunha, p. 334.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol III., p. 232.

habitat in India of these foreign tribes, before they migrated southward or eastward. This Ahichchhatra is no doubt identical with the 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo' of the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang[5]. Cunningham has identified this place with Râmnagar, about 22 miles north of Badâun, in the United Provinces[6]. But this identification does not seem to be correct, as Yuan Chwang distinctly states that the country of **Ahichchhatra "is naturally strong, being flanked by mountain crags."** This description does not at all suit the position of Râmnagar, which is on the Gangetic plains, and is not surrounded by hills. On the contrary, it perfectly agrees with what we are told in the Kadamba and Sinda inscriptions, *viz.*, that it was in the Himâlayan range. The Jaina works[7] also mention one Ahichchhatra as the capital of Jâṅgala, which in the *Mahâbhârata*[8] is once placed near Mâdreya, which was situated between the Chenâb and the Sutlej[9]. The Jâṅgala, *i.e.*, the jungly country near Mâdreya, can only be the southern part of the Himâlayas, where Ahichchhatra must consequently be located. To speak more clearly, there appear to have been at least three Ahichchhatras in northern India. One, as seems from the *Mahâbhârata*[10], was to the north of Pañchâla. And this may now be represented by the ruins near Râmnagar, as Cunningham says. This may also be the Adisdara (for Adisadra) of Ptolemy which was in the Prasiakê[11], *i.e.*, the Prâchya, country. The second was Adeisathra[12] of the same Greek geographer, which must have been in the Adeisathroi territory, though, curiously enough, he disjoins one from the other. This, I think, is the same as the Adhichhatra of a Pabhosâ inscription[13]. The third, as just shown, was in the Himâlayas, is to be identified with Yuan Chwang's 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo,' and was probably the only Ahichchhatra flourishing in the mediæval times.

Now, the question arises: what was originally the name of this mountainous territory? The southernmost limit of it is formed by what is called the Siwâlik (properly Sawâlakh) range. At present it is supposed to run parallel to the Himâlayas for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges. But in the olden days it must have covered a far wider region. Two inscriptions found at Gayâ mention one Aśokavalla as the lord of the kings of the Sapâdalaksha mountains and as the overlord of a tributary named Purushottamasiṁha of the Kamâ, *i.e.*, Kamâun, country[14]. Another inscription of this king has been found in Gaḍhwâl. A reference to these hills is found also in the Mughal Emperor Babar's autobiography. Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur informs me that according to Babar's account, this range commences with the Indus and runs through many parts of Kashmîr, such as Pakhli and Sahmanak. The same hills are called Hindukush in Kâbul, and after turning a little southward run straight off to the east. This range, says Babar, was called Sawâlakh, because it contained no less than 125,000 hills. This whole hilly region must, therefore, widely speaking, be supposed to have been originally known by the name of Sapâdalaksha, but in particular it included the districts of Kamâun, Gaḍhwâl, Kâṅgḍâ, Hoshiârpur, and so forth, in fact, all that part of India between the Chambâ State and Nepâl. As foreign inroads extended southwards, it embraced also a portion of the sub-montane region along this line. This also explains

5 *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by Beal, Vol. I, p. 200.

6 *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I., p. 359 ff.

7 Weber's *Die Sk. and Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, pp. 562 and 854.

8 *Bhîshmaparvan*, Cap. IX. v. 39; see also v. 56 of the same *parvan* and *Uddyogaparvan*, Cap. LIV. v. 7.

9 Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, p. 185.

10 *Âdiparvan*, Cap. 138, vs. 76-7. On the strength of this *adhyâya*, it is asserted that Ahichchhatra was the capital of north Pañchâla. But this is not actually borne out. Ahichchhatrâ is here called the capital, not of north Pañchâla, as it would have been stated, if it had really been so, but of *Ahichchhatra-vishaya*. In fact, north Pañchâla or Pañchâla proper was the country between the Ganges and Jamnâ. This agrees with what Râjaśekhara says in the *Bâla-Râmâyaṇa*, Act V. v. 86.

11 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 352-3; *vide* also *Kâśikâ* on Pâṇini I. 1-75, where both Ahichchhatra and Kanyâkubja are included in *Prâchya*.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., p. 361.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 243.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X., pp. 342-6; *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI., p. 358.

how, with the migrations of the Châhamânas southward, the boundaries of Sapâdalaksha came to be extended or rather the country over which they ruled came to be called *Sapâdalaksha*. It has been stated above that Râjaśekharasûri, author of the *Prabandha-kośa*, speaks of them as *Sapâdalakshîya-Châhamânas*, *i.e.*, Châhamânas of the Sapâdalaksha (country). From inscriptions, and early Muhammadan writers, it seems that Sapâdalaksha included Hânsi in the Punjâb, Ajmer, Maṇḍor, the old capital of Mârwâṛ and 6 miles north of Jodhpur, and Mâṇḍalgaḍh in Mewâṛ[15]. All this was exactly the territory held by the Châhamânas, and there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to this province being called Sapâdalaksha only after their occupation. And what can be more natural than that they should give it the name of their original habitat? How else are we to explain again the fact that the district of Dhârwâṛ over which a branch family of the Châlukyas ruled was known as Sapâdalaksha, as the author of the *Pampa-Bhârata*[16] informs us? Here too one conclusion only is possible. The original habitat of the Châlukyas, like that of Châhamânas, was the mountain region called Sapâdalaksha, and they too gave this name to the territory which they conquered in the south though it was far removed from the Himâlayas. Thus the mountainous territory called Sapâdalaksha was the original country where the Châhamânas and Châlukyas were settled. It is with this Sapâdalaksha that the Sapardalakshân of Vâsudeva's coins referred to above must be identified, and not with Râjputânâ, as is done by Cunningham, because, northern Râjputânâ came to be called Sapâdalaksha about the middle of the eleventh century, and was in the time of Vâsudeva known as Gurjara-deśa only[17]. In this connection it is worth noticing that the so-called White Hun coins collection of Mr. Rawlins, so ably and lucidly noticed by Mr. V. A. Smith, came from the Plateau of Manaswâl situated on the outer range of the Sawâlakh hills in the Hoshiârpur district[18]. In fact, this whole mountainous region had been occupied by the Hûṇas and Gûjars before they spread southward and eastward.

Not only the fighting tribes such as Châhamânas, Châlukyas and Sindas, but also Brâhmaṇas, came from Ahichchhatra, the capital of old Sapâdalaksha. We have seen above that Mayûraśarman, the founder of the early Kadamba family, brought twelve-thousand Brâhmaṇas of thirty-two *gotras* from this place, and some of these at any rate are represented by the modern **Havigas.** The *Keralotpatti* tells us that the Brâhmaṇas in the south were brought by Paraśurâma from Ahichchhatram[19]. In inscriptions as well as in the colophons of old MSS., Brâhmaṇa

15 *N. Chron.* for 1894, p. 271. There can be no doubt that the kingdom of the Châhamânas was called Sapâdalaksha. At the end of his work, entitled *Dharmâmṛita*, Âśâdhara says that he was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country of Sapâdalaksha, the ornament of which was Śâkambharî (R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 390). Śâkambharî is no doubt Sâmbhar, the capital of the Châhamâna kingdom. Sapâdalaksha here can, therefore, denote the Châhamâna territory only. This Sapâdalaksha included, as Âśâdhara informs us, Maṇḍalakara *durga*, *i.e.*, Mâṇḍalgaḍh in Mêwâṛ. This was, I think, its south-eastern limit. A Lâḍṇû inscription informs us that it included Nâgapattana, *i.e.* Nâgaur, and I have elsewhere stated that there is still a tract of land in the Nâgaur district, known as Svâlakh or Savâḷakh, which is famous for bullocks. This formed its western boundary. How far its other boundaries extended is not clear. In this connection it may be stated that the last story of the first *tantra* of the *Pañchatantra* speaks of Sapâdalaksha and also Pallîpura (Pâlî), but in such a way as to show that Pâlî did not fall under Sapâdalaksha, at any rate, at the time when the work was composed.

16 *Pampa Bhârata (Bibliotheca Carnatica)*, by Rice, "Analysis of the Poem," p. 1. My attention to this was drawn by Mr. R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore.

17 The names of the countries that occur on the coins of Vâsudeva are Tukan, Jâülistan and Sapardalakshan. Cunningham's identification of Jâülistan with Jâbulistan is incontrovertible. But Sapardalakshan is to be identified, as I have just shown, not with Râjputânâ, but with the mountainous region comprising Kamâun, Gaḍhwâl, Kângḍâ, Hoshiârpur and so forth. Tukan has been, indentified by Cunningham with the Panjâb (*N. Chron.* for 1894, p. 269), but without sufficient grounds. On some coins instead of Tukan we have Takan. Again, the ending *an* is here tautologous, like that in Sapardalakshan. The true name thus appears to be Ṭâk=Ṭakka, doubtless, the name of the province between the Indus and the Beas known as early as the eighth century (Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, translation, Vol. I, p. 205, Note 150). Tukan, *i.e.*, Ṭakkadeśa, thus was contiguous with the old Sapâdalaksha.

18 *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1907, p. 91.

19 *Ante*, Vol. VII., p. 281.

grantees or authors originally of Ahichchhatra are mentioned. Thus the Ujjain plates of 974 A.D. speak of the grantees Vasantâchârya as having emigrated (*vinirgata*) from Ahichchhatra, *i. e.*, belonging to the Ahichchhatra Brâhmaṇa community[20]. Mahîdhara, the author of the *Mantra-mahodadhi*, speaks of himself as having emigrated from the territory of Ahichchhatra, which he calls *dvija-chchhatra, i.e.*, shelter of the twice-born[21].

Linguistic considerations also lead us to the same conclusion. There is a group of languages called Pahâḍî, which, as Dr. Grierson tells us, are offshoots of Râjasthânî[22]. They are spoken in the Himâlayas from Chambâ in the Panjâb to Nepâl. Dr. Grierson, however, accounts for this close resemblance by saying that bands of Râjputs at various times invaded these hills, settled there, and intermarried with the original inhabitants, on whom they imposed their language. I am not aware of any evidence that can be adduced to show that the Râjpûts, who conquered the hills, were from Râjasthân (Râjputânâ), as he, I think, clearly implies. On the contrary, what little I know runs counter to this view. For the Râjpût tribes known in Râjasthân are Châhamânas, Paḍihârs, and so on, but those which exist in the hilly districts of the Panjâb are Katoch, Pathânia, Jaswal[23], &c.,—quite unheard of in Râjasthân. On the other hand, the principal Râjpût tribes of Râjasthân have themselves come, as I have just shown, from this hilly country, which was in olden times known as Sapâdalaksha. The Châhamânas and the early Châlukyas came from this region and the Bhâṭîs also appear to have come from here, for they have a sub-division amongst them called Sawâlakhiâ, which is found even among the Bhâṭî Mâlîs[24]. There may be many other Râjpût clans, such as Paramâras and Paḍihârs, who also came from Sapâdalaksha, although we know nothing about them just now in this respect. The close resemblance between Râjasthânî and Pahâḍî has, therefore, to be explained by the fact that the predominant tribes of Râjputânâ, who alone could influence Râjasthânî, themselves came from the hilly tracts where Pahâḍî is spoken. In this connection it deserves to be further noticed that another offshoot of Râjasthânî, as Dr. Grierson informs us, is Gujarî, "the language of the Gûjars wandering with their herds over the mountains of Kâshmir and the Swat valley." This doubtless connects the principal Râjpût tribes of Râjputânâ, who have influenced Râjasthânî, with the nomadic Gûjar race, a conclusion by no means startling. These tribes are what are called the *agnikulas, i. e.*, Châhamânas (Chavâns), Paramâras (Paṁvârs), Chaulukyas (Solaṅkis), and Pratîhâras (Paḍihârs). Solaṅkis and Paḍihârs we know for certain to be of Gûjar origin. And though no proof can as yet be actually brought forward, there is every likelihood of the Chavâns and Paṁvârs also being Gûjars. With regard to the Châhamânas (Chavâns) in particular, we have seen above that we have strong evidence in support of their foreign origin. I believe that as legend has brought these four Râjpût tribes together and classed them under *agnikula*, they all came from Sapâdalaksha and were of Gûjar race.

That the Gûjars were foreigners has now been admitted on all hands. They have been dentified by the late Sir James Campbell[25] with the Khazars who occupied a very prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia especially in the sixth century A. D. It is worth noticing here that Khazar is called Gazar to the north of the sea of Asof, that Ghyssr is the name for Khazars who have become Jews, and that Ghusar is the form of Khazar in use among the Lesghians of the Caucasus[26]. All these forms, *i.e.*, Gazar, Ghyssr and Ghusar approach so closely the Indian name Guzar, that it would be well-nigh impossible to dissent from Sir James Campbell's view. Reminiscences

[20] *Ante* Vol. VI, pp. 50 and 52.

[21] *Oxford Catalogue*, by Aufrecht, p. 100.

[22] *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pp. 364 and 368.

[23] *Census of the Panjâb*, by Ibettson, for 1881, pp. 248-51.

[24] *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), for 1891, Vol. III, p. 89; Sawâlakhiâ is also a *khâṁp* among the Baid-Kâyasthas (*Ibid.*, p. 404).

[25] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 471 ff.

[26] *Ibid*, p. 472.

of their immigration to India are preserved in the names of the various provinces called after them. Thus in the first place, we have a tract of land called Gurjistân, apparently in the neighbourhood of the White Hûṇa capital Badeghiz[27]. A modern trace seems to remain in Ujaristân, the initial *G* being dropped, beyond Arghandâb west of Hazârâ. A third Gujaristân is near Ghaznî. There are other provinces named after them, which are too numerous to mention. But the three instances I have here given are sufficient to show that the Gûjars were originally outside India. Now, ethnologists of repute are of opinion that Khazars, though perhaps not of the same stock as the White Huns, were certainly most intimately connected with them[28]. This explains why the advent of the Gûjars was almost synchronous with that of the Hûṇas in India. The earliest mention of Gurjara occurs in the Aihoḷe inscription, Bâṇa's *Harshacharita* and Yuan-Chwang's itinerary[29], which are practically of the same period, *i. e.*, the first half of the seventh century. But then the Gûjars had been so firmly settled in Râjputânâ that this last was called Gurjaradeśa after them. And it would be interesting to know whether they were known by this name only even at the time when they entered India. In Chapter XIV of his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Varâhamihira places a tribe called Kachchhâra in conjunction with Hûṇa in the northern division of India[30]. It need scarcely be said that Kachchhâra comes so close to Khazar that it seems extremely tempting to hold that one is an Indian form of the other. An Ephthalite coin, found in the old Sapâdalaksha, has been described by Mr. V. A. Smith, which on the obverse has (Khi)jara and on the reverse Śrî-Prakâśâditya[31]. Khijara here is doubtless a mistake for Khajara, another Indian form of Khazar; and the coin shows that Prakâśâditya was a Khazar by race. Inscriptions in southern India have been found of certain chiefs, who are therein described as of the Jîmûtavâhana lineage and of the Khachara race[32]. Thus Kachchhâra, Khachara, Khajara and Gurjara are all names denoting one tribe just as we have the names Châhamâna, Chohân, Chavhân, Chavân and Chhâhamâ for the family to which the celebrated Pṛithvîrâja belonged. "The Khazars were fair-skinned, black-haired, and of a remarkable beauty and stature; their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad[33]." This satisfactorily answers, I think, those who maintain that there is no admixture of foreign or aboriginal blood in the Brâhmaṇas or Râjpûts simply because they are fair and clear-featured.

We now come to the **Maitraka** tribe. For long it was thought that Maitrakas were the enemies of Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty. But the correct interpretation of the passage wherein they are mentioned requires us to suppose that they were the tribe to which Bhaṭârka belonged[34]. I have elsewhere said that Bhaṭârka is to be placed *circa* 500 A. D., *i.e.*, exactly the time when the might of the Hûṇas had overshadowed northern India. I have little doubt that they entered into India with the Hûṇas. I have also said that the Maitrakas were the same as Mihiras, the well-known tribe of Mers, as in Sanskrit both *Mitra* and *Mihira* mean the same thing, *viz.*, the sun. This itself is enough to stamp the Valabhi dynasty as originally foreign barbarians. In consonance with this view is the fact that the name Bhaṭârka and perhaps the name of his son Dharasena are hardly indigenous or Hindu, but have all the look

27 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 478.

28 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XIV., 'Article on Khazar.'

29 *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol XXI., p. 425.

30 *Ante* Vol. XXII., pp. 172 and 179. Khacharas also are mentioned by Varâhamihira further on in this list. But here the word has to be translated with Dr. Fleet by "the roamers in the sky," as they are placed between *Keśadharas* and *Svamukhas.*

31 *Jour. Roy. As Soc.*, for 1907, p. 95.

32 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., pp. 439, 443, 450, 452, 476 and 523.

33 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XIV., p. 59.

34 In my paper on the 'Guhilots' (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* for 1909, p. 183) I have given credit to Prof. Hultzsch for having first proposed this interpretation, but I now find that, as a matter of fact, Dr. Fleet was the first to suggest it (*ante* Vol. VIII., p. 303), though he afterwards gave it up (*Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 167).

of being the Sanskritised form of foreign names. And it is, no doubt, these princes who brought from the north the word *divira* in *divira-pati*, which occurs in their copper-plate charters, but is a Persian word. With the Maitrakas are closely associated the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas; at any rate, they make their appearance first during the regime of the Valabhi dynasty. Mr. Vallabhji Haridatt Acharya of Râjkoṭ has kindly supplied me with a verse which sets forth what are called the 'Sarmans,' *i.e.*, name-endings, of the various *gotras* of the **Nâgar Brâhmaṇas.** It has been found by him in three MSS. of the work *Pravarâdhyâya* connected with the Nâgars. One of the MSS. is dated *Saṁvat 1788 Vaiśâkha śuda 8 Bhṛigu*, and all distinctly and unmistakably state that the *gotras*, *pravaras*, &c., therein specified are those which were in existence before Saṁvat 1283. This verse, which is of great importance, runs as follows :—

दत्त-गुप्तौ नन्द-घोषौ शर्म-दासौ च वर्म च ।
नागदत्तस्त्रात--भूतौ मित्र--देवौ भवस्तथा ॥

Here is a list of thirteen 'Sarmans,' which were in use amongst the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas nearly 700 years ago. Even now they are affixed to their names, when they perform the religious ceremonies. Here, however, we are concerned with three of them, just to show that the list is not a fiction, but has some foundation in fact. These three 'Sarmans' are Mitra, Trâta, and Datta. In the *Pravarâdhâya*, Mitra has been assigned to two *gotras, viz.*, Sarkarâksha and Gâṁgyâyana. In my paper on the "Guhilots" I have given extracts from three copper-plates all found at Alînâ,[35] in which the names of the Brâhmaṇa grantees as well as of their fathers end in *mitra*. Here then we have three instances of *Mitra* 'Sarman.' That they were Nâgar Brâhmaṇas is clearly proved by the fact that they all originally belonged to and came from Ânartapura or Ânandapura, which is identical with Vaḍnagar. And the *gotra* of these donees, as given in the copper-plates, is Sârkarâkshi, the same as Sârkarâksha, specified in the *Pravarâdhyâya*. The latter again gives for *Trâta* 'Sarman' the *gotras* Bhâradvâja and Âtreya. Let us see whether this also is borne out by any inscription. The Vâvaḍiyâ-Jogiâ plates[36] of Dhruvasena I, and dated 221 G.E. speak of the grantees thus:

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्य--ब्राह्मण--स्कन्दत्रात--सुहत्रातात्भ्यां भरद्वाज-
सगोत्राभ्यां छन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिभ्यां &c., &c.

The name Ânandapura shows that the grantees here also were Nâgar Brâhmaṇas. Their names, it is worthy of note, end in *Trâta*, and both are of the Bharadvâja *gotra*, which thus perfectly agrees with the information contained in the *Pravarâdhyâya* about this 'Sarman.'

Another Valabhi grant[37] has the following :—

आनन्दपुरविनिर्ग्गत-वलभिवास्तव्य-त्रैविद्यसामान्य-गार्ग्यसगोत्र-
—अध्वर्यु-ब्राह्मणकिक्ककपुत्र-ब्राह्मणमगोपदत्त &c., &c.

Here also the donee is a Nâgar Brâhmaṇa, as he is said to have emigrated from Ânandapura. His name is Magopadatta, which ends in the Sarman' *Datta*, and his *gotra* is Gârgya, which agrees with the *Pravarâdhyâya*, the last giving no less than nineteen *gotras* for this 'Sarman,' of which Gârgya is undoubtedly one.

It is thus evident that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas figure first in the time of the Valabhi princes, and that the same 'Sarmans' that are now, were even then, current amongst them. Now, the question arises: what can these 'Sarmans' be ? These 'Sarmans' cannot possibly be in all cases mere name-endings. For the name-endings that we generally meet with are the names of gods such, *e. g.*, in Maṇiśankar, or some terms descriptive of being devotees of those gods, such, *e.g.*,

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[35] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* for 1909, pp. 181—2.

[36] *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. VII., p. 299.

[37] *Ante* Vol. XI., p. 309.

in Ambâdâs. But in the present list, most of them, such as Nanda, Varman and so forth, are certainly neither of them. On the contrary, even a moment's reflection will convince us that no less than ten of these thirteen 'Śarmans' are found as family names among Kâyasthas in Bengâl, corresponding to Datta, Gupta, Nandi, Ghosh, Śarmâ, Dâs, Barmâ, Bhut, Mitra and Deb[38]. And of these the names Gupta, Varman, and Mitra are by no means unfamiliar to Indian epigraphy as those of royal families. Several coins have been found in Oudh, Rohilkhaṇḍ, and Gorakhpur, the legends on which give the names of kings ending in *mitra ;* and these have consequently been rightly assigned to the Mitra dynasty[39]. The Gupta family is too well known to require any mention. All the kings of the Maukhari dynasty have their names ending in *varman*, and have, therefore, been styled also as the Varman dynasty[40]. Again, if these 'Śarmans' are mere name-endings, it is inconceivable how Varman could have found a place in their list. For *Varman* is a suffix attached to the names of Kshatriyas only, and cannot possibly be affixed to the names of Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, as they are Brâhmaṇas. But the very fact that Varman is included in the list shows that it is not a mere honorific suffix but a family name, whose existence is attested by the Maukharis also called Varman, and by the surname Barmâ actually current in Bengâl among the Kâyasthas[41]. Mr. Âchârya has told us in one place that, at the time of performing religious ceremonies, it is customary to say *Bhagvanlâla-trâta* for *Bhagvânlâl*, *Maṇiśaṅkar-gupta* for *Maṇiśaṅkar* and so forth[42]. Here at any rate *Trâta* and *Gupta* cannot be taken as mere suffixes. For as suffixes they would be tautologous, as we have them already in *lâl* of Bhagvânlâl and Śaṇkar of Maṇiśaṅkar. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that at least ten of these 'Śarmans' represent the names of families or tribes that were incorporated into the Nâgar Brâhmaṇa caste. This seems to point to a racial identity or affinity between the Kâyasthas of Bengâl and the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas of Bombay Gujarât.

If this line of reasoning has any weight, Mitra, one of the 'Śarmans' amongst the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, really represents one of such tribes or clans amalgamated into that caste. And we have already seen that the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, first came to notice during the rule of Valabhi kings who were Maitrakas. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, as I have stated elsewhere, that Maitraka and Mitra denote one and the same tribe, just as we know that the Solaṅkîs of Gujarât have been called by one and the same poet at one time Chulukyas and at another time Chaulukyas.

Besides the Mitras, there were, of course, as I have just stated, other families or tribes that were incorporated into the Nâgar Brâhmaṇa caste. In this connection the following learned words of the late Sir James Campbell deserve to be noticed :—"The facts that there are Nágaras among Gujarát Wániás ; that Nágaras are 50,000 strong among the Gúrjaras of Bulandshahr (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, III, 48) ; and that Nágaras appear as Nagres among Jats (*Sialkot Gazetteer*, 45) add to the doubt of the correctness of the Gujarát Nágara claim to be Bráhmaṇs" [43]. Nâgars thus appear not to have been indigenous to Gujarât, but came there from the north. When they did come into Gujarât, they doubtless established themselves at

[38] *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by Risley, Vol. II., Appendix pp. 74-5.

[39] *Indian Coins*, by Rapson, §§ 44 and 53 ; *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, by V. A. Smith, p. 184.

[40] *The Chronology of India*, by C. Mabel Duff, p. 308.

[41] The Kâyasthas of Bengal are, according to traditions, supposed to have come from Kanauj in the time of Âdiśûra (*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 438). And that the Nâgars also came from the north, will be shown further on. Nothing, therefore, goes against the view of their racial affinity, if not, identity. It is again worthy of note that the Śrîmâlî Brâhmaṇas of Mârwâṛ also have no less than nine 'Sarmans' in common with the Nâgars; *viz.*, Nanda, Trâtaka, Mitra, Bhûta, Dâsa, Gupta, Ghosha, Datta and Deva (*Census Report of the Jodhpur State*, for 1891, Vol. III., pp. 141-3). This shows that the Nâgar and Śrîmâlî Brâhmaṇas and the Bengal Kâyasthas originally belonged to the same race.

[42] *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. VII., p. 296.

[43] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., p. 438, note 9.

Ânandapura or Vaḍnagar. It is in the Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of Kumârapâla (1143-1174 A.D.) that the place is for the first time called Nagara, and also the caste name Nagara of these Brâhmaṇas mentioned. When Vîsnagar was founded and some of them settled there, the old place came to be called not simply Nagara, but Baḍâ-Nagar, the old Nagar, which was Sanskritised into Vṛiddhanagara as well as Vaṭanagara. I believe all their present sub-divisions except one, are the offshoots of the first swarm of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, who were settled at Ânandapura. The exception is that of the Prashṇorâs, who, it is worthy of note, call themselves Ahichchhâtrâs or Ahichchhatrajñâtîyas[44]. This points to the conclusion that not only Nâgars in Bombay Gujarâ., but even Gurjar Nâgars of Bulandshahr and Jâṭ Nargres were so named after some place called Nagar, which was **not far from Ahichchhatra.** For, if this Nagar had not been in the close neighbourhood of Ahichchhatra, the Nâgars and Prashṇorâs would not have belonged to the same stock; and consequently the latter, when they emigrated from Ahichchhatra and came into Gujarât, would not have been admitted into the Nâgar caste. Now, there is such a place in the Sawâlakh hills, called Nagar or Nagarkoṭ[45], which was the old name of **Kâṅgḍâ**, the principal town of the district of the same name, Punjâb. There is a temple of Devî here, which was one of the most ancient and famous shrines in northern India, and was largely resorted to by pilgrims from the plains. The riches of the temple attracted the attention of Muhammad of Ghaznî, who in 1009 A.D. took the fort and plundered the temple. It is this Nagarkoṭ, I conjecture, that was like Ahichchhatra, the cradle of a caste of Brâhmaṇas called Nagar or Nâgar, who spread everywhere in India. Thus we have Nagar or Nâgar Brâhmaṇas, not only in the Bombay Gujarât, but in Mysore and also in Nepâl. There are again sub-divisions named Nâgar, Nagarî or Nagariâ among the Kâshmîrî, Kanojiâ and Maithil Brâhmaṇas[46].

Looked at even from the orthodox point of view, the present Nâgar Brâhmaṇa caste is a curious combination of Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic elements. Two of their "Sarmans," *viz.* *Śarman* and *Deva* are, as laid down by the *Smṛitis*, name-suffixes of the Brâhmaṇas, one, *viz.*, *Varman* is that of the Kshatriyas, two others, *viz.*, *Datta* and *Gupta* are those of the Vaiśyas, and one, *viz.*, *Dâsa* of the Śûdras. All these elements, it may, therefore, be argued, combined to form the Nâgar caste. But the correct view appears to me to be to take all these "Śarmans" as the names of tribes or clans that were amalgamated into the Nâgar caste, with more or less a Gurjara strain in it, as we have just seen. The following words are worth quoting in this connection from a letter from Mr. N. B. Divatia, B.A., Assistant Collector, Ratnâgiri: "Nor can it be argued against your theory of clan-indicators that, after all, these suffixes are merely individual name-suffixes like *lâl*, *Śaṅkar*, *Râm*, *rây*, &c., in use amongst the Gurjarâtîs at present (*e.g.*, Motilâl, Amṛitlâl, Mohanlâl, Premśaṅkar, Bhavânîśaṅkar, Mahîpâtrâm, Rûprâm, Mukundrây, Îśvarray, &c.), or *râu* amongst the Marâṭhâs, and that, therefore, these "Sarmans" are no more clan-indicators than are these *lâl*, *Râm*, &c. For, while these *lâl*, &c., pertain merely to individuals, each "Śarman" was the peculiar property of a certain separate group of individuals, that group was wedded to that particular "Śarman" in the matter of naming their members.

"This principle has survived even the dropping of the 'Śarman' suffix, as is evidenced by the fact that the Nâgars, although they have not these suffixes tacked on to their names now, are supposed to own particular hereditary 'Sarmans.' Thus, then, the invariable possession of a common 'Śarman' by a large number of families would naturally presuppose an underlying common basic idea, and that idea must be the clan, as it fits in all-round.

44 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 15, notes 1 and 2.

45 The antiquities of Nagar-koṭ have been described by Cunningham in *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. V., p. 155 ff. Nagar-koṭ is referred to and described by Yuan Chwang (Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I., pp. 187-). Another name by which it was famous was Suśarmanagara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol I., p. 100, and Vol. II., p. 483). Nagara, as the name of a town, was known to the author of *Kâśikâ* (see his gloss on *Pâṇini*, IV., 2.95).

46 Wilson's *Indian Caste*, Vol. II., pp. 61, 96, 148 and 152.

I dare say one noteworthy feature has attracted your attention: *viz.*, that while 'Sarmans' (*e. g.*, Mitra, Gupta, Datta and others) have taken the place of surnames in Bengâl, amongst the Nâgars the Sarmans are only historical heritages, not in use now for generations past, and for surnames the Nâgars have separate *avaṭaṁkas*. This also will indicate, in a way, that 'Sarmans' at one time indicated more than a family. Thus the Bengâl Kâyasthas reduced their 'Sarmans' to the position of surnames (just as the Scotch clan-names are now family names, that is surnames), whereas we Nâgars dropped the 'Sarmans' for all practical purposes, keeping them only as ornamental mementos of a social state long gone by, just like the *gotra*, and adopted the *avaṭaṁkas* for the surnames. Even the *avaṭaṁkas* would have disappeared from practice, in fact they were not in daily use, till the University practice requiring surnames gave occasion for their revival, though of course the surnames were not as defunct as the 'Sarmans.'" With regard to the presence of *Sarman* in the list of the thirteen 'Sarmans,' Mr. Divatia says as follows: "I think the terminal *Sarman* was claimed (as their peculiar 'Sarman') by such of the Nâgars as had no real clan-indicating 'Sarman,' either because, having had one, it had long been forgotten or dropped, or because they did not descend from any definitive clan. An exact parallel of this process is at present found in the case of the surname amongst us Nâgars. There are a certain number of families who possess no real surname at all, and, therefore, they have given themselves Mehtâ as, their surname; and, as all Nâgars know, Mehtâ is a term applied to Nâgars in a general way, thus:—Mehtâ Nandśaṅkar, Mehtâ Bâpûbhâî, and so forth. This was the practice in addressing Nâgars in writing, now gone out of use, except in business account books."

I have proved elsewhere, conclusively I hope, that the **Guhilots** were originally Nâgar Brâhmaṇas[47]. To this tribe belongs the celebrated Udaipur dynasty, looked upon as the purest Râjpût family in the whole of Râjputânâ. I have also shown there that the Guilots have been styled **Brahma-Kshatrî** in one inscription and also in one bardic chronicle. The Sena Kings of Bengâl bore the same caste name. Mr. R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore has kindly drawn my attention to at least three such instances in the south. Thus Śrâvaṇ-Beḷgoḷa, No. 109, of about 983 A.D. says that Châmuṇḍarâya, the celebrated Jaina minister of the Gaṅga king, Râchamalla, belonged to the Brahma-Kshatra family. The same fact is mentioned in the *Châmuṇḍarâya-purâṇa* (978 A.D.) also. Udayâditya, a Gaṅga chief, of the eleventh century is described as of *Brahmakshatra-vîr-ânvaya*[48]. Sirigirinâtha Oḍeyar, governor of Âraga, under Devarâya II. of Vijayânagar, was a Brahma-Kshatra[49]. We have thus no less than five royal families that have been designated Brahma-Kshatrî. The question here arises, what can be the meaning of this composite name, Brahma-Kshatrî? I have elsewhere suggested that Brahma-Kshatrîs denote families which were Brâhmaṇas first, but afterwards exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits and were fused into the Kshatriya class. I still maintain that this is at least one explanation. It is supported by the very nature of the compound Brahma-Kshatra, which has to be dissolved as *âdau Brahmâṇaḥ paśchât Kshatrâḥ, i. e.*, those who were Brâhmaṇas first and became Kshatriy as afterwards. The legends of the *Chhîpâ* caste in Mârwâr, to which allusion has been made elsewhere, also show that they came to be called Brahma-Kshatrîs only after they gave up their Brahmanhood for their new profession. But a second explanation is not impossible at least in some cases. It may be asserted that some families became Brahma-Kshatrîs by intermarriages between the Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya classes. We know that Harichandra, the progenitor of the feudatory Pratîhâra family, was a Brâhmaṇa, and had two wives, one a Brâhmaṇa, and the other a Kshatriya woman. Offsprings from the first were styled Pratîhâra

[47] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, for 1909, p. 167 ff.

[48] *Ep. Carnat.*, Vol. VII., Shikârpur; Nos. 109, 110 and 130.

[49] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII., Tîrthahaḷḷa; No. 23; here the phrase Brahma-Kshatriya is used.

Brâhmaṇas, and from the latter Pratîhâra Kshatriyas. We have a similar instance also, I think, in the case of Kadambas. The founder of this family, as we have seen above, was Mayûraśarman. That he was a Brâhmaṇa is clearly shown by his honorific suffix *śarman* and by the actual use of the word *vipra* in the well-known Tâḷgund inscription. But his own son bears the designation of *varman* appropriate to a Kshatriya only. This shows that Mayûraśarman too, like Harichandra, must have married a Kshatriya woman, and consequently was the originator of a Kshatriya family. But against this view is the fact that the Pratîhâras and Kadambas are nowhere in inscriptions or elsewhere known as Brahma-Kshatrîs. A third explanation also can be adduced with regard to the origin of this composite name. In the *Purâṇas* we find at least two old royal families that are called Brahma-Kshatra. Thus the *Vâya-purâṇa* in chapter 99 has the following verses :

अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोऽयं गीतो विप्रैः पुराविदैः ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ॥ २७८
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ।
इत्येष पौरवो वंशो यथावदनुकीर्तितः ॥ २७९

In the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* occurs the following verse at the end of *Aṁśa* IV., chapter 21 :

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो राजर्षिसत्कृतः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं स संस्थां प्राप्स्यते कलौ ॥

Here the Paurava family is called Brahma-Kshatra, and with regard to its signification, the commentator on the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* says: ब्रह्मणः ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रियस्य च योनिः कारणं पूर्वं यथोक्तत्वात् । This means that from the Paurava family emanated both the Brâhmaṇa and Kshatriya families. We know that the parents of Puru, who was the progenitor of the Pauravas were Yayâti and Śarmishṭhâ, both unquestionably of the Kshatriya caste. Hence the question will naturally arise, how and what Brâhmaṇa families could have sprung from Puru ? Chapter 19 of Book IV of the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* answers it. In part 9 of the chapter we have गर्गाच्छिनिस्ततो गार्ग्याः शैन्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः. in part 10 occur the words अजमीढात्कण्वः कण्वान्मेधातिथिर्यतः काण्वायना द्विजाः and in part 16 the words मुद्गलाच्च क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः. The expression क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः is explained in the commentary by क्षत्रिया एव केनचित्कारणेन ब्राह्मणाश्च बभूवुः . From these quotations it is clear that no less than four Brahmanic families originated from Puru, *viz.*, Gârgya, Śainya, Kâṇvâyana and Maudgalya. This is the reason why the Paurava family is styled Brahma-Kshatra. Yayâti and Śarmishṭhâ had also another son called Anu. One of his descendants called Vijaya is spoken as a Brahma-Kshatra. The verse in the *Harivaṁśa* runs thus :

जयद्रथस्तु राजेन्द्र यशोदेव्यां व्यजायत ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्रोत्तरः सत्यां विजयो नाम विश्रुतः ॥ १७०७

The prose passage in the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* corresponding to it, is :

ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्तरालसंभूत्यां [60] पत्न्यां विजयं नाम पुत्रमजीजनत् ।

The passage is explained by the commentator in the following words :

प्रातिलोम्येन ब्रह्मक्षत्रयोरन्तराले संकरे संभूतिर्जन्म यस्याः
तस्याः सुतायां पत्न्यां । ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियाज्जातः
सूत इति स्मृतेः । अतो मातृवद्वर्णसंकरा इति वचनाद्विजयः
सूत एव । अतश्च कर्णोऽपि तद्वंश्यत्वात्सूतत्वेन ख्यातः ।

There is a little confusion in the commentary here, but what the commentator means is that Vijaya's mother's mother was born of a Kshatriya father and Brâhmaṇa mother, and that he is, therefore, called Brahma-Kshatra, *i. e.*, Sûta, after the caste of his mother. This

60 In the *Bhâgavata*-purâṇa, Saṁbhûti is given as the name of Vijaya's mother. But this is a mistake. His mother's name was Satyâ, as given by the *Harivaṁśa* and *Vâyu-purâṇa*.

explains, he says, why Karṇa also, who was brought up by Adhiratha, a descendant of Vijaya, was called 'son of Sûta.' I do not know where the commentator obtained his information from, regarding the origin of Vijaya's mother. The fact was probably something like this: In the *Harivaṁśa* (l.1776) we are told that Bṛihanmanas, father of Vijaya, had two wives named Yaśodevî and Satyâ, both daughters of Vainateya. And from Satyâ sprang Vijaya. Vainateya, being a son of Kaśpapa, was a Brâhmaṇa; the queens of Bṛihanmanas were consequently Brâhmaṇa girls. Vijaya had thus for his father a Kshatriya and for his mother a Brâhmaṇî, and was thus a Brahma-Kshatra. There can be little doubt that a something derogatory is here implied, as clearly shown by the term *sûta* which is applied to Adhiratha in 1,1709. Thus we see that, even in the old *Purâṇas*, the meaning of the phrase Brahma-Kshatra was not definitely settled, and that at one place it is applied to a Kshatriya dynasty from which Brâhmaṇa families sprung up and at another to princes, one of whose forefathers, although a Kshatriya, married a Brâhmaṇa woman. There can, however, be no doubt, I think as to the sense in which the expression is used in inscriptions. It is applied, as I have stated above, to families that were Brâhmaṇa first but became Kshatriya afterwards.

[This was how I had concluded my lecture that has been transformed into this paper:—"To sum up what we have said so far, **there is hardly a class or caste in India, which has not a foreign strain in it.** There is an admixture of alien blood not only amongst the warrior classes—the Râjpûts and the Marâṭhâs, but also amongst the Brâhmaṇas, who are under the happy delusion that they are perfectly free from all foreign element. If the Brâhmaṇas have not escaped this taint, as we have seen, and yet call themselves Brâhmaṇas, it excites the risibility of the antiquarian or the ethnologist when he finds some Brâhmaṇa castes strenuously calling in question the claims of certain warrior classes to style themselves Kshatriyas. The grounds of this strenuous opposition, as stated by the Brâhmaṇa castes, are that pure unmixed Vedic Aryan blood does not run through the veins of those warrior classes. Yes, this is quite true; but it is equally true that pure Vedic Aryan blood does not run through the veins of the Brâhmaṇas also. Looked at from the antiquarian or ethnological point of view, the claims of either community to such a purity are untenable and absurd. As the chief thing valued by the members of the higher castes, *viz.*, purity of blood, *i.e.*, absence of any admixture of aboriginal or foreign blood, has been proved to be hollow and non-existent, the caste jealousies and controversies, which cause immense mischief, are really useless and meaningless. It is to be sincerely hoped that the knowledge furnished by ethnology and the study of ancient inscriptions will spread among the people, and open their eyes to the emptiness and worthlessness of the thing they are fighting for, and put an end to all caste animosities and disputes, which are the bane of India.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

IS TOBACCO INDIGENOUS TO INDIA?

SIR,

In a letter published in the *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1909, p. 176, headed "Is tobacco indigenous to India?" I pointed out, in view of the assertion made by Mr. V. A. Smith that tobacco and the *hukka* were unknown in India before the sixteenth century, when the drug was introduced by the Portuguese, that an earthen *hukka* was obtained from the ruins of the Sārnāth monasteries, the dates of which range from the third century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D. In support of my contention that the practice of smoking tobacco was well-known in India long before the sixteenth century, I now proceed to adduce some evidence from Sanskrit literature.[1]

1

In the *Kādambarī* (P. 35, line 4, Kāśināth Pāndurang Parab's 2nd Revised Ed., Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1896) the poet Bāṇa, who lived in the seventh century at the court of king

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[1] I may state at the outset that I am a non-smoker and have no particular interest in proving that my countrymen have been smoking tobacco from the earliest times.

Harshavardhana of Kanauj, in describing king Śūdraka, says—

परिपीतधूमवर्तिरुपस्पृश्य च गृहीतताम्बूल...

'The king after finishing his royal dinner drunk (*i. e.* smoked) 'smoke-stick' or cigar and took betel.

To this day the expression for "smoking" in all north Indian languages is "धूमपान" *i. e.* "smoke-drinking," and the habit of chewing betel and smoking after dinner is a common Indian habit.

2

The term धूमवर्त्ति in the sense of a cigar occurs also in Charaka's *Chikitsāsthāna*, Chap. 26:—

एरण्डनलदक्षौमगुग्गुल्वगुरुचन्दनैः ।
धूमवर्त्ति पिबेद्गन्धैरकुष्ठतगरैस्तथा ॥ ९६ ॥

(The patient) should smoke from smoke-pipes furnished with smelling substances like *eraṇḍa*, *nalada*, *kshauma*, *guggulu*, *aguru* and *chandana*, but not with *kushṭha* and *tagara*.

3

There are, besides, elaborate descriptions, in the medical works of Suśruta, Vāgbhaṭa and Charaka himself, of the process of manufacturing a cigar or धूमवर्त्ति. Vāgbhaṭa says—

जले स्थितामहोरात्रमिषिकां द्वादशांगुलाम् ।
पिष्टैर्धूमौषधैरेवं पञ्चकृत्वः प्रलेपयेत् ॥
वर्त्तिरंगुष्ठवत् स्थूला यवमध्या यथा भवेत् ।
छायाशुष्कां विगर्भान्तां स्नेहाभ्यक्तां यथायथम् ॥
धूमनेनातिपां पातुमग्निप्लुष्टां प्रयोजयेत् ॥

'Take *ishikā* or *kuśā* grass, 12 *aṅgulas* (or finger-breadths) long, wet with water for a day and night. Anoint it five times with ground 'smoking-drugs.' When the वर्त्ति (or cigar-stick) is made as thick as the thumb and a little thicker in the middle like a barley-corn, it should be dried in the shade, and so on.'

4

Suśruta gives almost the same process in the following words—

तत्र प्रयोगिके वर्त्तिं ह्यपगतशरकाण्डां निवातातपशुष्कामङ्गारेष्ववदीप्य नेत्रमूलस्रोतसि प्रयुज्य धूममाहरेति ब्रूयात् ।

'After making a pipe from the stem of a reed, drying it completely in a windless sunny weather and heating it in a charcoal fire the patient should be asked to smoke (therefrom).'

5

So also Charaka—

पिष्टां लिम्पच्छरेषीकां तां वर्त्तिं यवसन्निभां ।

'Prepare the pipe by grinding the smoking-ingredients with water into a paste and smearing with it a reed-stem shaped like a barley-corn.'

6

Passages describing the efficacy of smoking also occur in these medical works. **Suśruta** prescribes smoking for persons suffering from headache, etc., and says—

नरो धूमोपयोगाच्च प्रसन्नेन्द्रियवाङ्मनाः ।
दृढकेशद्विजश्मश्रुः सुगंधिविशदाननः ॥

'By smoking a man's senses, speech and mind become gentle, the hair, teeth and beards become firm, and the mouth becomes fragrant and cheerful.'

7

Again, in his *Chikitsāsthāna*, Chap. 40, Suśruta says—

कासश्वासप्रतिश्यायान्हन्याद्धनुशिरोरुजः ।
वातश्लेष्मविकारांश्च हन्याद्धूमः सुयोजितः ॥
वैरेचनः श्लेष्माणमुत्क्लेश्यापकर्षति
रौक्ष्यात्तैक्ष्ण्यादौष्ण्याद्वैशद्याच्च । चिकित्सास्थानम् ४०

'By smoking, asthma, lock-jaw, stiff-neck, head-ache, hemiplegia, hemicrania become relieved. *Vairechana*-smoke (*vairechana* means that which is inhaled for promoting evacuations of every kind) forces out phlegm by virtue of its *raukshya*, *taikshṇya*, *aushṇya* and *vaiśadya*.'

8

Charaka *Sūtrasthānaṁ*, Chap. 5, has the following—

स्नात्वा भुक्त्वा समुल्लिख्य क्षुत्वा दन्तान् विघृष्य च ।
नावनाञ्जननिद्रान्ते चात्मवान् धूमपो भवेत् ॥

'After bathing, after eating, after bringing out the phlegm in the throat by artificial means; after sneezing, after cleansing the teeth, after purging the cerebrum by having taken snuff; after applying collyrium to the eyes, and after waking from sleep:—the man of prudence will take to smoking.'[2]

9

Again in the *Charakasthāna*, Chap. 8, Charaka prescribes smoking for people who feel in their

[2] 'After sneezing' implies sneezing by the use of artificial means, such as the application of a blade of grass or stiff thread of cotton. 'After cleansing the teeth' implies the morning, for that is the time when the people of our country wash their teeth. By doing this the parts of his body above the collar-bone will not become liable to disease of the wind, or of the phlegm, or of both wind and phlegm. He should, however, drink the smoke three times, etc.

mouth a distaste for everything, and yet again in the *Sūtrasthānam*, Chap. 5, Charaka has a regular inventory of the advantage of smoking—

गौरवं शिरसः शूलं पीनसार्द्धावभेदकौ ।
कर्णाक्षिशूलं कासश्च हिक्काश्वासौ गलग्रहः ॥
दन्तदौर्ब्बल्यमास्रावः स्रोतोघ्राणाक्षिदोषजः ।
पूतिघ्राणास्यगन्धश्च दन्तशूलमरोचकः ॥
हनुमन्याग्रहः कण्डूः क्रिमयः पाण्डुता मुखे ।
श्लेष्मप्रसेको वैस्वर्य्यं गलशुण्ड्युपजिह्विका ॥
खालित्यं पिञ्जरत्वञ्च केशानां पतनस्तथा ।
क्षवथुश्चातितन्द्राच बुद्धेर्मोहोऽतिनिद्रता ॥
धूमपानात् प्रशाम्यन्ति बलं भवति चाधिक ।
शिरोरुहकपालानामिन्द्रियाणां स्वरस्य च ॥
चरक सूत्रस्थानम् ५ अः ।

'Heaviness of the limbs, headache, inflammation of the schneiderian membrane (with loss of sense of smell), hemicrania, otalgia, opthalmalgia, cough, hiccough, asthma, hoarseness (of voice), weakness of the teeth, otorroea, discharge from the nose, discharge from the eyes, ozoena, foetid smell in the mouth, odontalgia anorexia, lock-jaw, stiff-neck, itching, worms, paleness of the face, mucous discharges, discordence of voice, enlarged tonsil, inflammation of the ranula, morbid baldness, reddish yellowness of the hair, falling of the hair, sneezing, sleepiness, dulness of the understanding, long sleep or coma,—all these relieved by inhalation of the smoke of tobacco. Such smoke also enhances the strength of the hair, the forehead, the senses, and the voice'.[3]

All the medical works above referred to are certainly pre-Muhammadan and certainly before the sixteenth century. According to Dr. Hoernle's *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, Charaka flourished between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D.[4] and Suśruta flourished as early as the sixth century B.C.[5] The latter was the court physician of the celebrated 'Indo-Scythian' king, Kanishka. Vāgbhaṭa flourished early in the seventh century or about 625 A.D.[6]

10

The habit of smoking seems to have been so wide-spread as to have been regarded by the authors of the Puraṇas as a national vice to be severely condemned. Thus we have in the Skanda-Purâṇa, *Mathurâ Khaṇḍa*, Chap. 52, a long indictment against the practice of smoking—

धूम्रपानेन भो प्रेताः प्रेतत्वञ्चैव जायते ।
कलौ तु कलिरूपं हि तमालमेव जायते ॥
घोरे कलियुगे प्राप्ते सर्व्वे वर्णाश्रमाः नराः ।
नरकेषु पतिष्यन्ति तमालस्य च पानतः ॥
उपासन्ते तमालं वै कलौ तु पुरुषाधमाः ।
क्षीणपुण्या पतिष्यन्ति महारौरवसङ्गके ॥
अभक्ष्यभक्षणात् पापमगम्यागमनाच यत् ।
मद्यपानाच्च यत् पापं धूम्रपानस्य मात्रतः ।
स्कन्दपुराण, मथुराखण्ड, ५२ अः ।

'Smokers after death will be turned into ghosts. During the Kaliyuga, Kali himself will be incarnated as the *tamāla* leaf.

'On the advent of the Kaliyuga all the castes will be cast into hell on smoking tobacco. The worst type of men will fall victims to tobacco. Thus, losing their *dharma*, they will fall into the Mahāraurava hell. The eating of forbidden food, illicit intercourse with women, the drinking of wine and the smoking of tobacco cause the same amount of sin'.

As to the antiquity of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* Mr. V. A. Smith has the following note in his

[3] For those who desire to know the Sanskrit names of the diseases mentioned here, but from want of acquaintance with Sanskrit, are disinclined to consult the original, the Sanskrit names are given below in the order in which their English equivalents occur:— Gaurava, Çirahçūla, Pīnasa, Arddhāvabhedaka. Karṇaçūla, Akshiçūla, Kāsa, Hikkā, Çvāsa, Galagraha (in verse 19), Dantadaurbalya, Çrota-āsrāva, Ghrāṇasrāva, Akshisrāva, Pūtighrāṇa, Āsyagandha, Dantaçūla, Arochaka (in verse 20), Hanugraha, Manyāgraha, Kaṇḍū, Krimi, Mukhapāṇḍutā, Çleshmapraseka, Vaisvaryya, Galaśuṇḍi, Upajihvikā (in verse 21), Keçakhālitya, Keçapiñjaratva, Keçapatana, davathu, Tandrā, Buddhimoha, Atinidratā.

[4] *Vide* Mr. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 225-6; Dr. Fleet, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p, 979 ff.; Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in *J.*, *Bombay Branch R. A. S.*, Vol. xx., p. 259 ff..

[5] Hoernle's *Medicine of Ancient India*, Part 1, 1907, p. 8, 106.

[6] Hoernle, *Medicine of Ancient India*, Part 1, 1907, p. 11.

Early History of India, 2nd Ed., p. 20. "Independent proof of the existenceof the Skanda-Purāṇa at the seventh century is afforded by a Bengal manuscript of that work, 'written in Gupta hand,' to which as early a date as the middle of the seventh century can be assigned on palæographical grounds."

11

It is to be noticed that the particular drug mentioned in this passage is called tamāla (तमाल). This leads to a consideration of the Indian name for the drug tobacco. It is well-known that the Bengali term for tobacco is tāmāku (तामाकु), which I believe is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *tāmrakūṭa.* The occurrence of this word *tāmrakūṭa* (ताम्रकूट) in old Sanskrit works is proved by the following quotations and reference:—

संविदा कालकूटञ्च ताम्रकूटञ्च धुस्तुरम् ।
अहिफेनं खर्ज्जुरसः तारिका तरिता तथा ॥
इत्यष्टौ सिद्धिद्रव्याणि यथा सूर्य्याष्टकं प्रिये ।
इति कुलार्णवे ।

Here *tāmrakūṭa* is mentioned along with opium, *gānjā* and other intoxicants and therefore must mean 'tobacco.' There are eight intoxicating drugs mentioned in the '*Kulārṇava-Tantra*' of which tobacco is one.

12

The *Śabdakaldaūruma* (शब्दकल्पद्रुम) refers to the *Vishṇusiddhāntasārāvali* (विष्णुसिद्धान्तसारावली) and says—

यथा विष्णुसिद्धान्तसारावल्यां वैद्यके। अथ धूम्रपर्णी धूम्रपान गुणाः ।
कलञ्ज-संवेष्टन-धूमपानात् स्याद्दन्तशुद्धिर्मुखरोगहानिः
कफघ्नमामज्वरहानिकृच्च गान्धर्व्वविद्याप्रवणैकसेव्यम् ।

'Tobacco[7] serves the purpose of smoking. The smoke stick made of tobacco makes the teeth clean and cures all mouth-diseases, drives away cough and acute fever. It is good for those who wish to be good singers.

My contention is that the Sanskrit word *tāmrakuṭa* (ताम्रकूट) and its corruption, the Bengali तामाकू (*tāmākū*) are the same as the word तमाल (*tamāl*) occurring in the passage quoted above from the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. In support of this, I may mention that this very *tamal* leaf is prescribed as a medicine for head diseases in the old medical works.

13

Then as to the *hukkā* or hubble-bubble. Here is a passage from the Charaka's *Saṁhitā Sūtrasthānam*, Chap. 5, which describes the preparation of smoking pipe, the prototype of the modern *hukkā.*—

ऋजु त्रिकोषाफलितं कोलास्थ्यग्रप्रमाणितं ।
वस्तिनेत्रसमद्रव्यम् धूमनेत्रं प्रशस्यते ॥
५ अः ३४ पृष्ठ ।

'The pipe should consist of three straight limbs. The bottom of the first limb should be of the measure of the seed of a jujube. In the construction of a smoking pipe the use is applauded of materials employed in constructing enema pipes.'

14

Finally as to the prevalence of tobacco smoking before the days of Portuguese expansion into the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, which are believed by scholars like Mr. V. A. Smith to have received tobacco from the Portuguese at the same time as India, we may quote a European authority.

Prof. Alfred Haddon, F.R.S., who in his *Head Hunters* says—"Although smoking was practised in these Islands (Papua and New Guinea) before the Whitemen came, and they grew their own tobacco, they never smoked much at a time. The native pipe is made of a piece of bamboo from about a foot to between two and three feet in length . . . , . They enjoy it greatly and value tobacco very highly, they usually sell almost anything they possess for the same.'

GANAPATI RAY,
Librarian, Bengal National College Library, Calcutta.

NATIONAL COLLEGE, CALCUTTA,
The 21st March, 1910.

[7] *Kalanja* = *tāmrakuṭa* (tobacco).

THE CHALUKYA GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO THE KANNADA POET RANNA.

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ONE of the greatest poets in Kannaḍa was **Ranna or Kavi Ranna.** He was the author of several works, though only two of them, the *Gadā-yuddha* or *Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijaya* and the *Ajita-purāṇa,* have come down to us. The former he wrote in A.D. 982 and the latter in A.D. 993. He was **a renowned poet at the court of the Chāḷukya king Taila II.** It is satisfactory that, unlike other poets, Ranna gives in his works several interesting particulars regarding himself. He was **born in A.D. 949 at Muduvoḷal** in the Jambukhaṇḍi 70 of the Beḷugali 500 in the Beḷugare-nāḍu ; and the Beḷugali-dēśa was situated, he tells us, to the north of Toṟagale and to the south of Taddavāḍi, with the Gaṭṭage (? Gatprabha) and the Perdoṟe, "the great river," *i.e.*, the Krishṇā, flowing through it.[1] He was a **Jaina, of the Vaiśya caste,** the family profession being that of the bangle-sellers. His mother was Abbalabbe, father Jinavallabhēndra, brothers Rēchaṇa and Māramayya, wives Jakki and Śānti, son Rāya, and daughter Attimabbe. He was also patronized by Chāvuṇḍa-rāya, the celebrated Gaṅga general, who set up the colossal statue of Gommaṭa at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa. His *guru* was Ajitasēnāchārya, who was likewise the *guru* of Chāvuṇḍa-rāya. At first honoured by *sāmantas*, then by *maṇḍalikas*, he rose to great eminence at the court of the emperor Taila II, who bestowed upon him the title *Kavi-chakravarti* and presented him with a (?) *madanāvatāra*, a parasol, a chowri, an elephant, and a (?) *bhattagāve*. As among kings the Nijabhuja-chakravarti Taila, the "emperor by (*the strength of*) his own arm," required no assistance for victory in battle, so among poets the Kavi-chakravarti Ranna, "the emperor among poets," required no assistance for composing poems. He was well versed in both the grammars, the Jainēndra and the Śabdānuśāsana. Among the poets that preceded him, he mentions Pampa, author of the *Ādi-purāṇa*, and Ponna, author of the *Śānti-purāṇa*, and says that his own work, the *Ajita-purāṇa*, which he styles *Purāṇa-tilaka*, can be compared only with theirs. Pampa, as we know, also wrote the *Vikramārjuna-vijaya* and was patronized by the Chāḷukya prince Arikēsari. Ponna, as we learn from his *Śānti-purāṇa*, received the title Kavi-chakravarti from the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kannara, Krishṇa III. Ranna tells us that Pampa, Ponna and himself formed three jewels that illuminated the Jaina religion ; that by composing the *Ādi-purāṇa* and the *Ajita-purāṇa* Pampa and himself became pre-eminent among the Jaina Brāhmaṇas and the Jaina Vaiśyas respectively ; and that, as Pampa and Ponna acquired fame in the Raṭṭa kingdom, so he himself acquired fame in the Chāḷukya kingdom. From the last statement, that Pampa, the protégé of Arikēsari, acquired fame in the Raṭṭa kingdom, we may perhaps infer that Arikēsari's 1¼ lakh country (*sapāda-laksha-kshiti*) was also included in the Raṭṭa dominions.[2]

The **circumstances in which Ranna wrote his two works** may now be considered. There was a Jaina Brāhmaṇa, named Nāgamayya, in Puṅganūr of the Kamme-dēśa in the Veṅgi-maṇḍala. He had two sons : Mallapa and Ponnamayya. Mallapa was not only a great warrior, but also a liberal patron of literary merit. On the death of their *guru* Jinachandra-muni, the two brothers caused the *Purāṇa-chūḍāmaṇi*, *i.e.*, the *Śānti-purāṇa*, to be written by Ponna. Mallapa's brother Ponnamayya fought on behalf of king Taila with Gōvindara, who had marched against him allied with traitors, and fell on the bank of the Kāvērī. Mallapa had five sons and three daugh-

[[1] Regarding these places see Dr. Fleet, above, vol. XXX, (1901), p. 380 f. Two of them are Mudhōḷ and Jamkhaṇḍi, within the limits of the Belgaum District. Toṟagale is Torgal, about twenty-six miles towards the south from Mudhōḷ. Taddavāḍi is Taddewāḍi, in Bijāpūr, about eighty miles towards the north-north-east from Mudhōḷ.—ED.]

[2] The "Jōḷa country" mentioned by some scholars in connection with Arikēsari has no existence in fact. It was brought into existence by a misapprehension of the meaning of the expression *jōḷada-pāḷi* in the original, which simply means 'obligation or indebtedness.'

ters. Two of the latter, Attimabbe and Gundamabbe, were given in marriage to king Taila's great minister Dallipa's son Nāga-dēva. Mallapa's eldest son Gundamayya gained a victory over Gōnara. Nāga-dēva, surnamed Orataramalla and Subhata-Trinētra, had a son by Attimabbe, named Padevala Taila. Having been an eye-witness of the valour displayed by him in the war with the Kumaras, king Taila made Nāga-dēva his general. The latter also defeated the army of Pāñchāla, and, by order of Ballaha (Taila), drove out Mallama from Karahada, *i.e.*, Karhād, Karād, in the Sātārā District. On his death, his second wife Gundamabbe, who was childless, became a *sati* : the other wife Attimabbe spent her life in the observance of religious rites and the performance of charitable deeds. Attimabbe's son Padevala Taila became in course of time a commander of Taila's army. It was at the request of Attimabbe that the *Ajita-purāṇa* was written by Ranna. He extols her liberality in a number of verses, calling her *dāna-chintāmaṇi*, "a wishing-stone of gifts," and says, incidentally, that she excelled by far four men who were justly renowned for their liberality, namely, Būtuga, Nolambāntaka, Chāvuṇḍa-rāya and Śaṅkaragaṇḍa. Of these, the first is no doubt identical with the Gaṅga prince of that name (A.D. 938-953); the second can hardly be any one except the Gaṅga prince Mārasiṁha (A.D. 961-974), who had the title Nolamba-kulāntaka ; the third is well known ; and the fourth is perhaps identical with a chief of that name who belonged to the Chellakētana family and was a feudatory of Amōghavarsha I.[3] With regard to his other work, the *Gadāyuddha*, Ranna says that, in admiration of the valour, liberality and other virtues of king Taila's son Satyāśraya, he took him for his hero, and, identifying him with the Pāṇḍava prince Bhīma, composed the poem. As stated above, he wrote this work in A.D. 982, only a few years after his patron Taila II restored the Chālukya power. Satyāśraya is eulogized in a number of verses at the beginning of the poem. The titles applied to him are Iriva-bedaṅga, Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Chālukya-kaṇṭhīrava, Chālukya-mārtaṇḍa, Chālukya-Kandarpa, Sāhasa-Bhīma, Kumaraṅka-Rāma, Akalaṅka-charita, Ammana-gandha-vāraṇa and Sāhasāṅka ; and it is from his title Sāhasa-Bhīma that the work was named *Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijaya*. A few of the particulars given by the poet regarding Satyāśraya may be noted here. He was the son of Āhavamalla and Jākavve.[4] On his being conceived by his mother, the vehicles and other valuables of enemies came into the possession of Āhavamalla ; on his birth, the glory of an emperor became the portion of his father ; and on his becoming able to fight, his father's fame spread to the points of the compass. By order of king Taila, he, seated on an elephant, marched against the Ghūrjara army and defeated it. He also routed the lord of the Koṅkaṇ, and extended the kingdom as far as the sea. With his one elephant he fought against the whole force of the Ghūrjara elephants and conquered it. He cut down the enemy (? the Ghūrjara king), who had taken a vow that he would not bathe until he had slain the foe (Satyāśraya), who had killed his dear younger brother. When Aparājita, seized with fear, fled and entered the sea, he desisted from slaying him, since it is not consistent with true valour to kill men who embrace a *liṅga*, enter water, put on a woman's garments, or ascend an anthill. Hemmed in by the ocean on the one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, Aparāditya trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire. Satyāśraya burnt Amśunagara in Aparāditya's country and received twenty-one elephants from him. The Aparājita mentioned above is the Śilāhāra king of that name, of the Northern Koṅkaṇ ; and the name Aparāditya evidently refers here to the same person, inasmuch as it cannot refer to either of the chiefs of that exact name in the same dynasty, since they were later than Satyāśraya by nearly a century and a half. Incidentally Ranna mentions a Kēśi-daṇḍanāyaka, known as Brahmā (*Vanaruha-bhava*), who revised his poem. He was apparently a great literary character.

[3] Duff's *Chronology*, pp. 73, 80.

[4] In some manuscripts the name appears as Chākavve : but the inscriptions always give the name with *j*.

The **colophon at the end of the work**,[5] in which the poet gives some of **his patron's titles**, runs thus:—Idu samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ śrī-prithvī-vallabhaṁ mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraṁ parama-bhaṭṭārakaṁ śrī-Satyāśraya-kula-tilakaṁ śrīmad-Āhavamalla-dēva-śrī-pāda-kalpapādap-āśray-āsannavarti kavi-chakravarti Kavi-Ranna-virachitam appa Chāḷukya-chakravarti-śrī-Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijayadoḷ Bhīmasēna-paṭṭābhishēka-varnanaṁ daśam-āśvāsaṁ sampūrṇam.

In the second *āśvāsa* of the work Ranna gives **the pedigree of his hero's family**, which may be summarized thus:—Among Satyāśraya's ancestors were **Satyāśraya-vallabha**, also known as Vishṇuvardhana, lord of **Ayōdhyāpura** and an abode of truth and other virtues; **Jayasimha-dēva**, a lion to the elephants, the Rāshṭrakūtas; **Raṇaraṅgasiṁha**, a Rāma in war; **Pulakēśi-dēva**, lord of **Vātāpipura**, a performer of horse-sacrifices, with a glory extending to other *dvīpas*; **Kīrtivarma-dēva**; his son **Satyāśraya-dēva the Second**; his younger son **Maṅgaḷārṇava**; **Satyavrati the Second**, also known as Satyāśraya; his son **Ādityavarma**; his son **Vikramāditya**; his son **Durdharamalla**; his son **Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭāraka**, known as Nīravadya; his son's friend **Koṅkaṇi-Vikramāditya**, also known as Vikramārṇava; his son's friend, **Kīrtivarma**; his younger son **Bhīmaparākrama**; his son **Kīrtivarma the Second**; his son **Tailapa the Senior**; his son **Kundiya-Bhīma**, who killed Mukundi; his son **Vikramāditya-dēva**; his son **Ayyaṇa-dēva**, also known as Raṇaraṅgamalla; his son **Vikramāditya**, also known as Uttuṅgamalla; to him of the Chāḷukya family and to **Boṅkā-dēvi**[6] of the Chaidya family was born **Āhavamalla-dēva**, also known as **Nūrmaḍi-Tailapa**, (described with a large number of titles,[7] among which may be mentioned) the terrifier of Karahaṭa, (?) capturer of Pallikōṭa, putter to flight of Bhadraka, terrifier of the Koṅkaṇa, a lion to the elephant the (?) Krākalika king, a Rākshasa in the battlefield, a spotless Rāma, *taḷavarga-taḷa-prahāra*, a dreadful poison to the Rāshṭrakūṭas, *Nijabhuja-chakravarti*, a lion to the elephant the Pāñchāla, a fearful fever to the Ghūrjara, a fire to the Māḷava, (?) Utpakya-malla. Through these the Chāḷukya family attained pre-eminence.

Though the genealogy given by Ranna does not quite agree with the published genealogy of the dynasty based on inscriptions,[8] still it deserves consideration by scholars as coming from an author who was a contemporary and a protégé of Taila II. himself, and, as such, may be supposed to have had access to the official records. It has, however, to be stated here that the manuscripts of the work that have, so far, come to light are not very satisfactory and consequently the published edition cannot be implicitly relied on. In this genealogy we find a few persons named without any hint whatever as to their relationship to those that preceded them, while in all other cases the relationship is clearly expressed. To begin with, we have a Satyāśraya, lord of Ayōdhyā, after whom apparently the family was called the Satyāśraya-kula. The next two names evidently represent his son and grandson. We are then introduced to Pulakēśi I., who, according to our author, was the first king of Vātāpi or Bādāmi. The next two members are clearly his son and grandson. The expression 'his younger son' occurs in two places, and it is exactly in these places that Ranna's genealogy differs considerably from the published one. The word 'younger' seems to indicate that the pronoun 'his' does not refer to the immediate predecessor, as there would be no reason for passing over an elder son, but to the member whose elder son and elder son's son have been mentioned. According to this interpretation, Maṅgaḷārṇava would be the younger son of

[5] It also occurs at the end of every *āśvāsa*.

[6] In one of the manuscripts the reading is Bontā-dēvi, in fair agreement with the inscriptions, which give Bonthādēvī.

[7] See the Kannaḍa original given at the end.

[8] See the tables in Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* in the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 1, part 2, at pp. 336, 379.

Pulakēśi I. The next name, Satyāśraya or Satyavrati II., is clearly a repetition of the name that precedes Maṅgaḷārṇava. Vikramāditya I., who is a younger brother of Ādi yavarma according to the published genealogy, is here said to be his son : it is just possible that Ranna is wrong here, but the matter has to be investigated. Instead of Vinayāditya we have a different name, Durdhara-malla, which looks like a title. Niravadya is given as another name of Vijayāditya. Each of the next two members is introduced with the curious expression 'his son's friend,' which appears to convey a hint that they were not lineal descendants. If the expression 'his younger son,' which again occurs here, is interpreted as before, Bhīma-parākrama would be the younger son of Vijayāditya. Ranna makes Bhīma II. the son, and Vikramāditya III. the grandson, of Taila I., while according to the published genealogy, Vikramāditya III. is the son and Bhīma II. the grandson. Here Ranna is more likely to be right. The whole genealogy as given by Ranna is accordingly as shown on p. 45 below. It agrees in a general way with the published genealogy of the dynasty; and its latter portion, showing the connection between the earlier and the later Chāḷukyas, is confirmed, except as regards the relative order of Kundiya-Bhīma and Vikramāditya, by the Kauṭhēṁ grant of A.D. 1009[9]. This is important in view of the doubts expressed by some scholars[10] with regard to the direct lineal descent of Taila II. from Vijayāditya. There is thus reason to think that Taila II. really was a descendant of the former family of Western Chaḷukyas who preceded the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

In conclusion, I give, for purposes of reference and comparison, **the portion of the Sāhasa-Bhīma-vijaya, in which Ranna gives the Chāḷukya genealogy :—**

Avara pūrvajar app arasugaḷoḷag **Ayōdhyāpura**-paramēśvaranuṁ satyādi-guṇagaṇ-āśraya-vallabhanum ati-pravṛddham āda diśā-danti--prakaṭa prabhāvanum appa **Satyāśraya-vallabhaniṁ** Vishṇuvardhan-āpara-nāmadhēyaniṁ, Rāshṭrakūṭa-gaja-ghaṭā-vighaṭana-siṁhan enisida **Jayasiṁha-dēvaniṁ**, ati-pravardhana-praj-ānurāganum ati-prabala-raṇa-Rāmanum enisida **Raṇaraṅgasiṁhaniṁ**, **Vātāpipura**-varēśvaranum aśvamēdha-yajña-dīkshita [nuṁ] dvīp-āntara-prakaṭa-prabhā-vanum enisida **Pulakēśi-dēvaniṁ**, pariraksbita-pavitra-varman enisida **Kīrtivarma-dēvaniṁ**, tat-tanayan app **eraḍaneya Satyāśraya-dēvaniṁ**, avana kiṟiya magan appa **Maṅgaḷārṇavaniṁ**, Satyāśrayan app **eraḍaneya Satyavratiyiṁ**, tat-tanayan app **Ādityavarmaniṁ**, tad-apatyan appa **Vikramādityaniṁ**, tat-putran appa **Durdharamallaniṁ**, tan-nandanan appa Niravady-āpara-nāmadhēyan appa **Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaniṁ**, tat-sūnu-mitran appa Vikramārṇavan enisida **Koṅkaṇi-Vikramādityaniṁ**, tat-sūnu-mitran appa **Kīrtivarmaniṁ**, ātana kiṟiya magan appa **Bhīmaparākramaniṁ**, taj-jātan app **eraḍaneya Kīrtivarmaniṁ**, tat-sūnuv appa **Piriya Tailapaniṁ**, ātana magan appa Mukundiya konda **Kundiya-Bhīmaniṁ**, ātana magan appa **Vikramāditya-dēvaniṁ**, ātana magan appa **Raṇaraṅgamallan** enip **Ayyaṇa-dēvaniṁ**, ātana magan Uttuṅgamallan enisida **Vikramādityaniṁ**, Chāḷukya-kul-ōdbhavan appa **Vikramāditya-dēvaṅgaṁ** Chaidya-kul-ōdbhavey appa **Boṅkā-dēvigaṁ** puṭṭidam svasti samasta-bhuvanāśra-yaṁ śrī-pṛithvī-vallabhaṁ mahārājādhirājaṁ rāja-paramēśvaraṁ parama-bhaṭṭārakaṁ Karahaṭa-bhayaṅkaraṁ, Jāoḷāndra (?)-kulīna-bhuvana-sad-guṇa-maṇi-vibhūshaṇaṁ sindhura-kandhar-ādhirū-ḍha Pallikōṭ-ōllaṅghanaṁ Bhadraka-vidrāvaṇaṁ Koṅkaṇa-bhayaṅkaraṁ ubhaya-bala dallaḷaṁ mārmalev ari-gaja--kēsari karīndra-kaṇṭhīrava-mallaṁ vairi-phaṇīndra-sauparṇaṁ Krākalika (?)-rāja-gaja-kēsari raṇa-kumbhi-kumbha-kaṇṭhīravaṁ Yādava-kul-āmbara-dyumaṇi raṇa-raṅga-bhīsh-aṇaṁ ripu-bala-puñja-gaja-ghaṭā-bhañjanaṁ sāmanta-mṛiga-śārdūlaṁ raṇa-raṅga-rākshasam akaḷaṅ-ka-Rāmaṁ taḷavarga-taḷa-prahāram arishṭa-gharaṭṭaṁ Rāshṭrakūṭa-kāḷakūṭaṁ nija-bhuja-chakravarti Pāñchāla-madēbha-pañchānanaṁ (?) saṁhāra-siṁhitva-Ghūrjara-vajra-dāḍhā-Ghūrjara-bhaya-jvaraṁ samasta-Māḷava saptārchi śatru-grah-ōchchāṭananuṁ -maṭṭam anēka-dēś-ādhīśvaraṁ para-nṛipa-madagaja-ghaṭā-bhañjananum (?) Utpakyamallaṁ śrīman-**Nūrmaḍi-Tailapan** enisid **Āhavamalla-dēvanin** uditōditam āgi banda **Chāḷukya-vaṁśam.**

[9] Above, vol. 16, p. 15. [10] *History of the Dekkan*, pp. 190, 211; *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 378.

Satyāśraya-Vishṇuvardhana;
lord of Ayōdhyāpura.

Jayasiṁha.

Raṇaraṅgasiṁha.

Pulakēśi;
lord of Vātāpipura.

Kīrtivarma.

Satyāśraya II
(or Satyavrati II).

Ādityavarma.

Vikramāditya.

Durdharamalla.

Niravadya-Vijayāditya.

(*His son's friend*)
Vikramārṇava-Koṅkaṇi-Vikramāditya.

(*His son's friend*)
Kīrtivarma.

Bhīmaparākrama.

Kīrtivarma II.

Tailapa I.

Kundiya-Bhīma;
slayer of Mukundi.

Vikramāditya.

Raṇaraṅgamalla-Ayyaṇa.

Uttuṅgamalla-Vikramāditya;
married Boṅkādēvi of the Chaidya family.

Ahavamalla-Nūrmaḍi-Taila II.

Maṅgaḷārṇava

MALLISHENA-MAHAPURANA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, CHITRASHALA, POONA.

I have obtained on loan from Lakshmîsêna Bhaṭṭâraka, the head of the Jain *maṭha* at Kolhâpur, a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Mallishêṇa-mahâpurâṇa*. The manuscript is not dated. It contains 98 palm-leaves, each leaf measuring 13½′ by 2′. It is written in old Canarese characters and in the Sanskrit language. The manuscript contains many mistakes, as will be evident from the opening and concluding *praśastis* given below. I remember to have seen another manuscript of this work in the private library of the late Brahmasûri Shastri at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore. With the aid of this manuscript, it will be easy to restore the correct text of the *praśastis*. But as I have no time to obtain the loan of this second manuscript, I content myself with placing before Sanskrit scholars the following *praśastis* as they are found in the Kolhâpur MS., proposing such emendations as occur to me.

Some years ago, when I was examining the library of the Jaina *maṭha* at Kolhâpur, I thought it possible that Mallishêṇa, the author of the *mahâpurâṇa*, which is named *Mallishêṇa-mahâpurâṇa* after him, might be identical with the celebrated Jaina ascetic Mallishêṇa, whose death took place in Saka 1050 according to Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Inscription, No. 54, which has been edited by Mr. Rice[1]. But the date of the completion of the present *purâṇa*, as given by the author Mallishêṇa himself in the concluding *praśasti*, is Śaka 969:—

वर्षैकान्निंशता हीने सहस्रे शकभूभुज [:]
सर्वे [जिद्] वत्सरे ज्येष्ठे सशुक्ले पंचमीदिने ॥
अनादि तत्समाप्तं त (तु) पुराणं दुरितापहं ।
जीयाशाचंद्रताराकँ विदग्धजनचेतसि ॥

It is obvious that the difference between the two dates is 81 years. This is against the proposed identification. Another reason for rejecting the identification is that the author of the *purâṇa* calls himself उभयभाषाकविचक्रवर्तिन्, while the Jaina ascetic mentioned in the inscription is called मलधारिन्.

Our author also composed सज्जनचित्तवल्लभ and नागकुमारकाव्य. The last-named work was translated into Canarese in Śaka 1507 by the Canarese poet Bâhubali, who tells us that he finished his work at Śringêri, when the chief Pontiff at that place was Nṛisiṁhabhâratî. A third work attributed to Mallishêṇa is a commentary on Kundakundâchârya's works.

Mallishêṇa mentions as his predecessors, the celebrated author Samantabhadra, who is spoken[2] of by Jinasêna as the author of *Yuktyanuśâsana*. Pûjyapâda is next mentioned. Then a reference is made to Jinasêna as the pupil of Vîrasêna and the author of a *mahâpurâṇa*. We are next introduced to Akalaṅka, a very lion to hostile disputants resembling elephants, Anantavîrya and Vidyânanda. Anantavîrya is the author of commentaries on the works of Akalaṅka and Mâṇikyanandin. The other Jaina authors have been already introduced to Sanskrit scholars in my paper[3] read before the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The opening *praśasti*—

नमो जिनाय । सरस्वत्यै नमः निमं(र्मं)थ-
श्रीविशालकीर्त्तिमुनये नमः ॥
श्रीमदृषभनाथादिसन्मत्यन्तजिनेश्वरान् [।]
कृतघातिक्षयान्नौमि लब्धानन्तचतुष्टयान् ॥ १ ॥
स्वर्ग्गापवर्ग्गसन्मार्ग्गो भव्यानां येन दर्शितः ।
नाभेयं तमहं वंदे जिनेंद्रं वृषभेश्वरं ॥ २ ॥
अष्टकर्म्मविनिर्म्मुक्तान् सिद्धानष्टगुणान्वितान् [।]
त्रिलोकशिखरावासान्निष्टि(ष्ठि)तार्थानहं स्तुवे ॥ ३ ॥
पंचाचारसमायुक्तान् गंभीरानिव वारिधीन् [।]

1 Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Intr. p. 41.
2 The opening *praśasti* of the Jain *Harivaṁśa* composed in Śaka 705, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 142.
3 Bhatṛihari and Kumârila, *Jour., Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213 ff.

आचार्य्यास्तानहं वंदे निर्म्मलानतिनिर्म्मदान् [॥ ४ ॥
बहुश्रुतानुपाध्यायान् जिनतत्व(त्त्व)प्रकाशकान् [।]
परोपदेशतन्निष्ठान्वंदेऽनिंद्यगुणान्वितान् ॥
आवश्यकक्रियोद्युक्तान् व्र(व्र)तशीलतपोधिकान् [।]
नमामि सर्व्वसाधूंश्च त्यक्त्वा(क्ता)शेषपरिग्रहान् ॥ ५ ॥
यत्रिषष्टिशलाकानः(नां) पुराणं तु तदुच्यते ।
अथानुयोग इत्येवं तदेव कथयाम्यहं ॥ ६ ॥
चतुर्विंशा(ति) जिनास्तत्र चाक्रिणो द्वादश स्मृताः ।
हलधृत्वा(द्वा)सुदेवाश्च नव स्याः(स्युः) प्रतिकेशवाः ॥ ७ ॥
ऋषभोऽजितनाथश्च शंभवश्चाभिनंदनः [।]
सुमत्यब्जप्रभौ श्रीमत्सुपार्श्वेंदुप्रभावपि ॥
सुविधिः शीतलः श्रेयान् वासुपूज्यजिनस्तथा ॥ ८ ॥
विमलोऽनंतधर्म्मो च शांतिकुंथ्वरमल्लयः ॥
सुवृत्तश्च नमिर्न्नेमिपार्श्वौ वीरजिनोऽतिमः ॥ ९ ॥
चतुर्विंश(ति) जिना एते त्रैलोक्यजनपूजिताः ॥
भरतश्च [4] सगराख्यश्च माघ(?)वोन्यस्तृतीयकः ॥ १० ॥
सनत्कुमार इत्याख्यः शांतिकुंथ्वरसंज्ञिनः ।
सुभौमः पद्म इत्याख्यो हरिषेणो जयसेनकः । [5]
ब्रह्मदत्तोऽतिमश्चक्री सर्वेपि द्वादश स्मृताः
विजयो बलः सुधर्म्मस्सुप्रभश्च [6] सुदर्शनः ।
नंदी च नंदिमित्रश्च रामो हलधृताह्वयः ॥ १२ ॥
त्रिपृष्ठाख्यो द्विपृष्ट(ष्ठ)श्च स्वयंभू[:] पुरुषोत्तमः ।
नृसिंहपुंडरीकौ च दत्ताख्यो लक्ष(?)णो हरिः ॥ १३ ॥
अश्वग्रीवो भुवि ख्यातस्तारको मेरकस्तथा ।
मधुकैटो(टौ) निसुं(शुं)भश्च बल्याह्वयबलींद्रकौ ।
रावणोपि जरासंधो नवैते प्रतिशत्रवः ॥ १४ ॥
नवानां वासुदेवानां षट्खंडार्द्धक्षितीश्वराः ॥
ब्रह्मदत्तसुभौमाख्यावेतौ नरकगामिनौ ।
दशाऽन्ये शेषभूनीशा [:] शाश्वतस्थानभाजिनः ॥ १५ ॥
सर्व्वेऽपि बलदेवाऽऽख्या [:] प्रापुः पंचमीं गतिं ।
वासुदेवास्तु ते श्वभ्रं समं स्वप्रतिशत्रुभिः ॥ १६ ॥
नाभेयादिजिनाधिपास्त्रिभुवने ख्याताश्चतुर्विंशतिः
श्रीमंतो भरतेस्व(श्व)रप्रभृतयो ये चक्रिणो द्वादश [।
ये विष्णुप्रतिविष्णुलांगलधराः समाधिका विंशति-
स्त्रैलोक्याभयसुप्रदा [:] [7] त्रिषष्टिपुरुषाः कुर्व्वंतु ते मंगलं ॥ १७ ॥
पुराणं तीर्थकर्त्तृ(र्त्तृ)णां कर्म्मास्रवनिवारणं ।
कथयामि समासेन वदतां शृण्वतामपि ॥ १८ ॥
लक्ष्यलक्षणशास्त्रेषु कुशलो न भवाम्यहं ।
आरभ्यते तथाप्येतत् पुराणं भक्तितो मया ॥ १९ ॥
किं किं न कुरुते पुंसां भक्तिः सा परमेष्ठिनां ।
कर्म्म नश्यति चेद्यस्य वाग्मलं किं न नश्यति ॥ २० ॥
वाराणस्यां चतुष्खंडो येन साक्षात्कृतः स्तुते[:] ।
जीयात्समंतभद्रोऽसौ जिनधर्म्मवियच्छशी ॥ २१ ॥
काव्यादि ... ... लोकमहाकवि [:] ।
जीयाच्छ्रीपूज्यपादोऽपि येनाकारि च लक्षणं ॥ २२ ॥
शिष्य [:] श्रीवीरसेनस्य जिनसेनो मुनीश्वरः ।
महापुराणराद्धान्तकर्त्ताऽसौ जयताच्चिरं ॥ २३ ॥
यन्नामग्रहणान्नष्टास्सदर्पा वादिकुंजराः ।

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[4] Read भरतः सगराख्यश्च. [5] The metre is faulty. [6] Read सुधर्म्मा सुप्रभश्च.

[7] The metre is faulty. [The letters सु and प्र only are superfluous—D. R. B.]

जीयाद्देवोऽकळंकोसौ परवादीभकेसरी ॥ २४ ॥
अनंतवीर्य्यदेवोपि विद्यानंदादयस्तथा ।
जयंतु कुमतध्वांतप्रणाशनखरांशवः ॥ २५ ॥
कवित्वादिगुणोपेता वाग्वधूव(वे)रदा मम ।
मल्लिषेणमुनींद्रस्य भूयाद्भूयादहर्न्निशं ॥ २६ ॥
विपुलाऽद्रौ गणेंद्रेण सत्सभायां तु सन्मतेः ।
पुराणं तीर्थकर्त्रू(र्तॄ)णां श्रेणी(णि)कस्य पुरोदितं ॥ २७ ॥
क्षेत्रं कालस्त [था त] त्त्वं प्रमाणपुरुषैः सह ।
चरितं च महन्ति (न्तं) स्वां (षां) पुराणं पंचधा विदुः ॥ २८ ॥
तदेव पदबंधेन मयेह पुनरुच्यते ।
जिनसेना (स्य) शिष्येण मल्लिषेणेन सूरिणा ॥ २९ ॥
कथ्यमाने पुराणेऽस्मिन्काले [यत्र] तु तेऽभवन् ।
स कालः कथ्यते पूर्व्वं तन्मानं च समासतः ॥ ३० ॥

The concluding *praśasti*—

श्रीमूलसंघेऽजितसेनसूरिर्ज्जिनेंद्रधर्म्माबरचारुचंद्र [:]
राजेंद्रमौलिप्रविचुंबितांघ्रिर्ज्जीयादशेषागमपारदृश्वः (श्वा) [॥ १ ॥]
शिष्योग्रजः कनकसेनमुनिस्तदीय—
श्चारित्रसंयमतपो ⏑⏑–⏑ [8] मूर्त्ति [:]
दूरीकृतस(स्म)रशराह(व)लिमोहपाशो
जातः कषायतिमिरद्युमणिर्म्मुनींद्रः [॥ २ ॥]
शिष्यस्तदीयो [जि] नसेनसूरिर्ब्बभूव भव्यांबुजचंडरोचिः ।
ह(ध्व)स्तांगजोपास्तसमस्तसंगो जिनोक्तमार्ग्गाचरणैकनिष्टः[ष्ठः] [॥ ३ ॥]
तस्यानुजस्सकलशास्त्रपुराणवेदी
नि [:] शेषकर्म्मनिचयेंधनदाहदक्षः ।
आसीत् समस्तविबुधाग्रगणीनृ(र्नृ)लोक(के)
विख्यातवानिह मुनींद्रनरेंद्रसेनः [॥ ४ ॥]
श्रीजिनसेनसूरितनुजेन कुदृष्टिमतप्रभेदिना
गारुडमंत्रवादसकलागमलक्षणतर्क्कवेदिना ।
तेन महापुराणमुदितं भुवनत्रयवर्त्तिकीर्तिना
प्राकृतसंस्कृतोभयकवित्वधृता कविचक्रवर्त्तिना [॥ ५ ॥]
तीर्थे श्रीम(मु)ल्गुंद[9]नाम्नि नगरे श्रीजैनधर्मालये
स्थित्वा श्रीकविचक्रवर्त्तियतिपः श्रीमल्लिषेणाह्वयः ।
संक्षेपात् प्रथमान(नु)योगकथनं व्याख्यानि(न्वि)तं शृण्वतां
भव्यानां दुरितापहं रचितवान्निःशेषविद्यांबुधिः [॥ ६ ॥]
वर्षैकत्रिंशता हीने सहस्रे शकभूभुज [:] [।]
सर्वे[जिद्]वत्सरे ज्येष्ठे सशुक्ले पंचमीदिने [॥ ७ ॥]
अनादि तत्समासं त(तु) पुराणं दुरितापहं ।
जीयादाचंद्रतारार्कं विदग्धजनचेतसि [॥ ८ ॥]
मयात्र बालभावेन लक्षणस्यागमस्य वा ।
यदुद्धृतं विरुद्धं च धीमंतः शोधयन्तु रन्(तत्) [॥ ९ ॥
द्विसहस्रं भवेद्ग्रंथप्रमाणं परिसंख्यया ।
महापुराणशास्त्रस्य[10]कलितस्य कविचाक्रिणा [॥ १० ॥]
आनंदामृतवापिकाकु(कृ)तमहाक्रीडामरालाकृति [:]
स्रोतारं [11] भववारिधौ भ(भ्र)मभृतां [भा]स्वत्पुरैः संस्तुतः ।
श्रीसिद्धार्त्थधरेस्व(श्व)राधिपकुला(लः) शास्त्रस्य सी-
(शी)ता(तां)शुको
वागी [शो] विबुधार्चितांघ्रियुगलो वीरो जिनः
पातु वः [॥ ११ ॥]

[8] The MS. has वंदित before मूर्त्ति, which does not suit the metre.
[9] This is the same as Mulgund in the Gadag *tâlukâ* of the Dhârwâr District
[10] Read कलितं instead of कलितस्य.
[11] स्रोतारं may be a mistake for श्रोतॄणाम्.

इत्युभयभाषाकविचक्रवर्ति-श्रीमल्लिषेणसूरिविरचित-
त्रिषष्टिलक्षणमहापुराणसंग्रहे श्रीवर्द्धमानतीर्थंकरपुराणं समाप्तं ॥
यद्वाचो लहरी मनोमलहरी स्वर्ग्गादिसंपत्करी
कारुण्यांबुधिरभिवांबुधि [12] संसारं सुधायशोधरी [॥]
सर्व्वानंदकरी सु(शु)भं शुभकरी कर्णेश्व(ष्व)रं माधुरी
जीयाद्योगिविशालकीर्तिमुनिपः त्रैविद्यचक्रेश्वरः ॥ ० ॥
देवेंद्रकीर्तिमुनींद्रः बुधैस्सेवित [चरणः] ।
कर्म्माब्जवारशिशिरः भाति संततसद्यशः ॥ ० ॥

OLD INDIAN NUMERICAL SYMBOLS.

BY G. R. KAYE.

I.

A GOOD deal of attention has been paid of late years to the history of the origin of our arithmetical notation and a good many so-called discoveries have been announced ; but the paths travelled by the 'discoverers' are marked principally by wrecked hypotheses. The current opinion appears to be that our modern notation has been traced to a Hindu source, and consequently it is thought that an exposition of the Hindu numerical notations is pertinent to the occasion. The subject has been dealt with before, but in most cases from somewhat biassed points of view.

One of the earliest investigators of this subject was J. Prinsep, who, indeed, actually discovered[1] the existence of the old Sanskrit or Brāhmī numerical symbols ; but his discovery was vitiated by an assumption that led him into grievous error. In his time the orthodox view ascribed "the invention of nine figures with the device of places to make them suffice for all values . . . . . to the beneficent creator of the universe."[2] Prinsep, like other early orientalists, accepted this as testimony of the great antiquity of the system of 'device of places', and assumed that it applied to the numerical symbols he had discovered : the result is exhibited in the following table :—

Prinsep's values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Correct values	7	20	300	?4	?6	10	?	?80	90	

TABLE I.

The old symbols given by Prinsep represent the originals with fair accuracy, but his only correct interpretation is possibly the 'four.' His introduction of the 'zero' is an error,[3] for it was never used in India in ancient times in connection with these symbols. His false assumption as to 'place value' accounts for this mistake, and also for the erroneous interpretations of the symbols for 'twenty,' 'three hundred,' 'eighty,' and 'ninety.' The other mistakes are, partly at least, accounted for by a second false assumption. He says:[4] "Upon regarding attentively the forms of

[12] The metre is faulty and the line yields no sense.

[1] *Essays on Indian Antiquities, &c., of the late J. Prinsep.* Edited by E. Thomas, Vol. II, p. 71.

[2] Kṛishṇa, 16th cent. A D., quoted by Colebrooke. *Algebra, &c., from the Sanskrit*, p. 4.

[3] He found an example with the symbols for '300' and '80' verified by an equivalent expression in words (Vol. II, Pl. XL), but according to his system the symbols without a zero stood for '38,' so the zero was introduced to make the 'facts' fit his system.

[4] *Op. cit.* II, 77.

many of the numerals, one cannot but be led to suppose that the initial letters of the written names were many of them adopted as their numerical symbols." This hypothesis was based upon very unsound observation; but it has persisted, in some form or other, until quite recently, *e.g.*, the same idea is suggested in Cantor's *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik (1907)*, [Vol. I., p. 604.]

Prinsep (1838) was followed by Stevenson (1853) who corrected two or three of the former's mistakes, but retained some, and introduced a number of others[5]; but Thomas (1848) had already given sounder views.[6] Prinsep's second mistake was modified somewhat by Bhagvānlāl Indraji, who, in 1877, propounded the theory that the Nāgarī numerals are *aksharas* or syllables.[7] This theory received the commendation of Bühler, but no satisfactory explanation of the connection between the numerals and the *aksharas* could be given either by the originator of the theory or by his learned supporter. Bhagvānlāl tried to fit in Āryabhaṭa's alphabetical notation and other systems, but without success; and Bühler confessed that he could not produce "the key to this mystery." Of course the key to the mystery is that the theory is altogether wrong, but Bühler seemed confiden of its accuracy[8] and even went so far as to make a remarkable deduction from it. "I would only point out," he writes,[9] "that the occurrence of the *Anunāsika*, &c. . . . . . . among these figures indicates that they were invented by Brāhmaṇs, not by *Vāṇiās*, nor by Buddhists who used Prakrit, &c."

Professor Kern pointed out[10] that the theory did not explain the old symbols for *one*, *two* and *three*, which consist of corresponding numbers of horizontal strokes, and Burnell showed[11] (*a*) that the resemblance of the *old* symbols to the *aksharas* was in many cases quite fanciful; (*b*) that with the old symbols for the *hundreds*, the theory fails altogether; (*c*) that no explanation of the principle in which the syllables were selected could be given; and (*d*) that the resemblance to the syllables in question can be said to begin only with the *later forms* of the numerical symbols.

Finally, when Bühler retracted his former opinion and agreed with Burnell, the *akshara* theory collapsed.

In 1882 Sir E. Clive-Bayley attacked the question again[12] from one of Prinsep's points of view. He stated that the numbers *four* to *nine* were borrowed from the Bactrian alphabet and "that the proof of the borrowing consists solely in the almost absolute identity of the numerals with the older lapidary Bactrian forms of certain letters." "It will be seen," he continues, "that the 4 = the Bactrian letter *chh*, the 5 = *p*, the 6 = *g*, the 7 = *a*, the 8 = *b*, and the 9 = *h*."

Canon Taylor[13] in the same year propounded the same theory, with a difference, and M. Halévy also asserted that the Brāhmī numeral signs 4—9 were the initial Kharōsṭhī letters for the corresponding numerals.[14]

A detailed re-examination of such theories would be a waste of time, and it must now suffice to say that they have all been disproved. Indeed, we might go so far as to say that all attempts to trace numerical symbols to an alphabetical origin have failed; and this leads us to consider whether it is not possible that numerical symbols were generally evolved (of course to a limited degree) before alphabetical symbols. The elemental strokes used for small numbers in Kharōsṭhī, Brāhmī, Roman, Greek (Herodian), Babylonian, &c., &c., scripts support this view; and the necessity for some rough notation before the necessity of an alphabet is fairly obvious.

II.

Before proceeding to the detailed consideration of the Brāhmī symbols, it is desirable that some mention should be made of the Kharōsṭhī script, which, however, as far as India itself is concerned, was confined to the north-west portion and even there did not persist to any very late date.

5 Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. II, p. 80.

6 *Ibid.*, II, 72. See also Woepcke's *Mémoire sur la propagation des chiffres indiens* (1863).

7 Above, Vol. VI, p. 42.

8 He afterwards gave up the theory (*Indian Palæography*, p. 82), but retained the deduction.

9 Above, Vol. VI, p. 48.

10 Above, Vol. VI, 143.

11 *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, p. 65.

12 *The Genealogy of Modern Numerals*, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 3.

13 *The Alphabet*, Vol. II., p. 266.

14 Bühler *Indian Studies*, Vol. III., p. 52.

The Taxila plate and other inscriptions[15] from the Panjāb frontier give us the key of the Kharōsṭhī notation as far as the hundreds, so that our knowledge of the notation within this limit is probably correct.

The script is written from right to left, and in the notation the smaller elements are on the left.

Our information about the Kharōsṭhī writing will, possibly, be somewhat extended in the near future, but, as far as our present knowledge goes, the Kharōsṭhī notation appears to have little connection with the Indian notation proper. It is said that the script is derived from or allied to Aramaic and the two notations have close resemblances.

In the interpretations of the Kharōsṭhī notation our earlier orientalists made the usual mistakes—*e g.*, Cunningham read '333' instead of 20 + 20 + 20 (= 60).

III.

The notation that was in general use in India in early times, and persisted until quite recently has been variously termed the Brāhmī, Sanskrit, old Nāgarī, and old Indian notation. It is a non-place-value notation with special symbols for the numbers *one* to *ten*, *twenty*, *thirty* . . . . . *a hundred* and *a thousand*. The numbers 11 to 19, 21 to 29, etc., are expressed by the symbol for the *tens* followed by symbol for the *units*. *Two hundred* and *three hundred* are expressed by the symbol for 100 with the addition, respectively, of one or two horizontal strokes or hooks (see table II). Higher multiples of a hundred are denoted by the symbol for 100 followed by the corresponding units figure. The thousands, which occur very rarely, are treated in the same way as the hundreds. To express 'three hundred and ninety-four,' to the symbols for 100 are attached two horizontal strokes (or hooks) on its right side, and this is followed by the symbols for ninety and four in order, thus . No symbol for zero was employed.

We have already pointed out some of the errors that the early orientalists fell into in dealing with this notation, but there are errors of another type that are more difficult to deal with. The results of the earlier investigators were based almost entirely upon the evidence given by eye copies of inscriptions, and that found in comparatively modern manuscripts. The old fashioned copies of inscriptions were, indeed, a fruitful source of error in many ways and in particular with regard to the forms of numerical symbols. We now have, however, a body of mechanically reproduced inscriptions, which should give evidence as to the forms of the symbols sufficient to enable us to determine the system used with fair accuracy; and in the present note it is proposed to utilise this superior evidence and to exclude, as evidence, the old fashioned eye copies. This does not, however, make the task any easier: the old eye copies are often so delightfully clear and unambiguous, whereas the mechanical copies are as obscure and as difficult to read as the originals.

It is, of course, impossible to give here all the examples of the Brāhmā symbols that are available, but in all cases the sources of our information are indicated and the reader is referred to these sources for first-hand evidence. The earliest examples are taken from the Aśoka inscriptions, following which the Nānāghāṭ, Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions have been utilised. The Mathurā inscriptions and, later on, the Gupta inscriptions extend our evidence to the north, as do the Pallava plates and others to the south. Of great value also is the evidence afforded by coins and in particular by the coins of the western Kshatrapas. The sources here indicated may be considered to give representative examples which are, more or less, confirmed by incidental examples of other periods and places, and by the practice followed in the earliest manuscripts known to us.

In some cases the numerical symbols are accompanied by the equivalent expressions in words; other examples, but these are unfortunately of comparatively late date, are in series—as in pagination; while a third class consists of isolated numbers, principally dates, and these, if the symbols are not of normal types, must be to some extent conjectural. The attached table is divided into sections corresponding to these three classes.

15 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 54; *Arch. Surv., India*, Vol. V, Pl. XVI and Pl. XXVIII.

Those symbols that are accompanied by equivalents in words afford, with certain limitations, a criterion by which other examples may be judged. Any doubt about any particular forms is here generally due to the state of the inscription itself, but the evidence is on the whole unambiguous and shows distinctly that there was a definite system in use which varied to a surprisingly small extent over a lengthy period and wide area.

The first part (A to I) of the accompanying table gives nearly all such examples as occur in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, etc. The Aśoka examples have, however, been relegated to another part of the table for reasons that will be given below, and such examples as occur in the Tekkeri inscription have been omitted, because the readings are not clear enough to be of use as evidence. In the first portion (A to I) of the table, it will be noticed (1) that the symbol for 'fifty' does not appear at all; (2) the 'eight,' and 'nine,' 'thirty'

TABLE II.

and 'eighty' each appear only once; and (3) the 'six' and 'seventy' are respectively represented by symbols of diverse forms.

[NOTE.—The sources from which the symbols in the table have been drawn are indicated in the following list. Although considerable labour and care have been spent in preparing the table, the reader is warned that the original inscriptions, or mechanical reproductions of them, are the only proper evidence, and that such tables as these are merely convenient indexes to the originals:—

A Kārle inscriptions (Poona), *Ep. Ind., VII, 61.* **B** Nāsik inscriptions, *Ep. Ind., VIII, 59.* **C** Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plates XII-A. Inscription of Budhagupta (Central Provinces, A.D. 484-5); XIV, Inscription of Hastin, (Central India, A.D. 510-11); XVI, Inscription of Jayanātha (Central Provinces, A. D. 493-4); XXV, Inscription of Śilāditya vii (Gujarāt, A.D. 766-7); XXXIX-A. Inscription at Mathurā (A.D. 454-5. **D** 20, 100 Nausari Plates of Śryāśraya Śilāditya (Baroḍā, A.D. 671) *Ep. Ind., VIII, 232.* **D** 5, 7, 10, 200, 300 Plates of Dhruvasena I (Baroḍā, A.D. 526-7), *Ep. Ind., III, 319.* **E** Plate of Buddharāja (Baroḍā, A.D. 580), *Ep. Ind., VI, 299.* **E** 100 *Gupta Inscriptions*, Plate XXXIX A (Mathurā, A.D. 454-5). **F** Inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa (Nāsik, A.D. 595) *Ep. Ind., IX, 296.* **G** 1, 5, 10, 90, 200 Śankheḍā Grant of Dada IV (Baroḍā. A.D. 640) *Ep. Ind., II, 21.* **G** 3, 4, 6, Grant of Dada *iii* (Baroḍā, A.D. 595-6) *Ep. Ind., II, 20.* **H** 5, 6, 10 Plates of Sivaskandavarman (Kistna); *Ep. Ind. VI, 85.* **H** 7, 80 Plates of Indravarman (Gañjām) *Ep. Ind., III, 128.* **I** Plates of Vijaya-Devavarman (Kistna), *Ep. Ind., IX, 57.*

J Pallava grant of Sivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind., I. 6.* **K** Plates of Vijaya-Devavarman (Kistna), *Ep. Ind., IX., 57.* **L** Plates of Jayavarman (Kistna), *Ep. Ind., VI, 315.* **M** Plates of Kumārāvishṇu II (Nelore), *Ep. Ind., VIII. 234.* **O** Bower manuscript (Kashgar? A. D. 400-450). **P** Nepāl manuscript, A.D 857 (after Bendall). **Q** and **P** 6, Nānāghāṭ inscriptions (Poona) *Pali and old Sanskrit inscriptions, Pl. 265.* **Q** 6, 50, 200. **R** 6, 50, 200. **S** 6, 200. Aśoka inscriptions regarding which a separate note is given. **R** Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions as in A and B. **S** and also **T** 6, **T** 40, **T** 70 Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vols. I and II, **T** and **U** *Gupta Inscriptions.* Plates II-B (Central India, A.D. 401); IIIB (Sāñchi, Central India, A.D. 412); IVA. (Central India); IV-D (Allāhābād, A.D. 417); VI-A (Allāhābād, A D. 448); XIV (Kāṭhiāwāḍ, A.D. 571) XXVI (Raipur C. P.), XXIX-A (Pāṭnā, A.D. 672); XL-D (Mathurā, A.D. 549); XLI-A (Gayā, A. D. 588).

V Rapson's *Catalogue of coins of the Āndhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.* **W** 2, 20 Inscription of Harsha (Shājahānpur, A.D. 628-9) *Ep. Ind., IV, 209.* **W** 5, 10 and X. 8, Plates of Vikramendravarman (Godāvarī, *Ep. Ind., IV, 194.* **W** 6, Plates of Chandavarman (Gañjām) *Ep. Ind., IV, 145.* **W** 8 Sāñchī Inscription, *Ep. Ind. II, 369.* **W** 9 Inscription at Set.-Maheṭ, *Ep. Ind., VIII, 181* 30 Mathurā Inscription, *Ep. Ind., VIII, 182.* **W** 4, 70 Mathurā Inscription, *Ep. Ind., IX. 242* (see Lüder's note). **W** 90, 300 and X. 5, 10 Grants of Dadda IV) (Baroḍā, A.D. 641-2), *Ep. Ind.*, V, *41* (see also G above). **X** 6, 20 Inscription of Harsha (Azamgarh) *Ep. Ind., VIII, 158*].

About the form of the symbol for 'fifty' there is not much doubt. It is well represented in the other portions of the table and we might have given in the first section also examples from eye copies of inscriptions. It may be noted that up to the time of the investigations of Thomas the correct form for this number had not been given.

Of those symbols that occur only once in the first section of the table, the 'eighty' receives abundant confirmation and was even correctly read by Thomas. The form of 'thirty' is perhaps not quite so unambiguous as its resemblance to *la* has probably tended to some distortion both by writers and interpreters. The 'eight' and 'nine' have very often been misread, in some cases possibly owing to the errors in the tables of Bühler and Bhagwānlāl. Rapson, who is here a safe guide, notices mistakes of recent date.

This first portion of the table possibly throws most doubt upon the 'six.' As a matter of fact we have no thoroughly well authenticated example. The Nasik example (B) is not perfectly clear, the Baroda example (G) is taken from a doubtful inscription, while the South Indian example (H) is of an altogether different form. The examples J, K, L and O are thoroughly well authenticated, but of comparatively late date; and, while J, K and L are from South India, the example O is taken from the Bower Manuscript. The other early examples are P, Q, R, S and V. Of these P is taken from the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, where it is an isolated example not too well defined; Q, R and S are from Aśoka edicts, and cannot be said to be thoroughly reliable. They will be examined in a separate note. The example V is taken from a Western Kshatrapa coin, and although its form is by no means certain, it is the best of the several known examples. Rapson, in the text of his work, employs a type more like the Aśoka example Q, but does not appear to be justified in so doing.

The symbol for 'seventy' is still a matter of discussion. Indeed the 'forty' and 'seventy' have been almost hopelessly mixed up by the epigraphists (as in the third part of the table R, S, T,

W) and in all probability the majority of the interpretations recorded is wrong. Lüders[16] discusses these two symbols at length, gives references to many examples, and, in my opinion, arrives at a wrong conclusion. Possibly Rapson's coin examples are the safest guide.

The normal symbols for the 'hundreds' are well established, but such variations as E, Q, T have to be considered. Of these E belongs to the fifth century and T to the sixth century A.D., but Q, which occurs in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, is of much earlier date. These Nānāghāṭ examples are of great interest, but they cannot be said to be well established, for the interpretations thereof given by Bhagwānlāl are avowedly based upon the *akshara* theory and the abnormal symbols for the 'hundreds' and 'thousands' are not confirmed by any other sound examples.

IV.

The notation appears to have developed on different principles at different times. The first three numbers are natural and differ from those of many other symbols, *e.g.*, Babylonian, Greek (Herodian), Roman, Egyptian, Kharōsṭhi, in being horizontal instead of vertical strokes.[17] Also, according to Kern,[18] "the figure of the fourth numeral reveals its own origin by its oldest form." "Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indraji," he continues, "in his most interesting paper on the ancient Nāgar numerals, makes no mention of the fact, that the figure of 4 occurs in one of the Aśoka inscriptions[16]; yet the fact is so important, for many reasons, that I think it worth while to draw attention to it . . . The figure for four in this inscription is a simple cross. The device of indicating the number four by a cross is so natural, and ingenious at the same time, that any comment may be held to be superfluous. Nor well it be necessary to show that all the later forms of 4 in Nāgarī are the direct offshoots of the ancient sign, such as we find in the Aśoka edict." Kern may be right in his conclusion, but the evidence does not definitely lead to it. There is only one example of the cross in a Brāhmī script, while all the other early examples are markedly differentiated from it. The Kharōsṭhī symbol for 'four' is indeed a cross, but the Brāhmī notation was obviously not derived from the Kharōsṭhī. Kern goes on to show that the 'five' was evolved from the 'four,' but the examples he uses are unsound. Indeed no principle of formation connecting the symbols for the numbers 4 to 30 can at present be offered; but possibly the 'forty' is derived from the 'thirty' by the addition of a stroke, while the 'sixty' and 'seventy' and also the 'eighty' and ninety' distinctly appear to be connected in this way. In these cases, however, the principle of formation appears more marked in the *later* symbols, and we must be careful about forming any definite conclusion as to the origin of the system from such evidence. However, the hundreds and thousands are to a limited extent evidently built up on such a plan, which, as Bayley pointed out,[20] is the same as that employed in the Egyptian hieratic forms; but after 'three hundred' and 'three thousand' the Brāhmī notation gives up this Egyptian plan and forms the symbol for four hundred from the elements 'a hundred' and 'four' and so on.

V.

The period during which this system has been in use in India extends roughly from the time of Aśoka to the nineteenth century A.D. If, however, we consider, the period of its exclusive use or rather its predominance, then we must place the upper limit at the eighth or tenth century A.D.[21] In 1896 Kielhorn wrote:[22] "The latest known copper-plate inscription with numerical symbols, the time of which can be fixed with certainty, are all anterior to A.D. 800." Unfortunately this statement has been used as a criterion for fixing the date of other inscriptions; for although the statement was correct enough at the time, many inscriptions of later date with such symbols have since been found. We may take it, however, that the ninth century A.D. is about the time when these symbols

16 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX., p. 243.

17 The Chinese also used horizontal strokes. See Major Woodruff's paper in the *American Math. Monthly*, 1909, p. 125.

18 Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 460, Pl. line 7.

20 *The Genealogy of Modern Numerals*. *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIV 3, p. 22.

21 Bühler gives 595 A.D. but this limit is based upon an error.

22 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, note. See also Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 209, note.

ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions.[23] Kielhorn later recorded examples from Orissa and Gañjām of the thirteenth century A.D., where, he suggests, "such examples, therefore, would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country." Other late examples have since been found, and Bühler tells us that the system was in use in Jaina MSS. up to about A.D. 1450 and in Nepāl MSS. to A.D. 1583 and that the Malayāḷam MSS. have preserved it to the present day.[24]

It has been considered somewhat remarkable that this old notation should survive so long, but there is the parallel case of the Roman figures, which still have their use. Indeed a non-place-value notation has certain advantages, particularly where no calculations are necessitated by its employment.

THE ASOKA NUMERALS.

BY G. R. KAYE.

I.

SEVERAL of the Aśoka inscriptions contain Brāhmī numerical symbols, which are of considerable importance and interest, chiefly, perhaps on account of their supposed connection with the date of Buddha's death, but also in connection with the Brāhmī system of notation; and although the results dependent upon the generally accepted interpretations of these symbols form the subject of much controversy, the interpretations themselves are, apparently, never questioned, "A cet égard il n'ya point de contestation" according to Senart,[1] nevertheless, the object of the present note is to cast grave doubts upon these interpretations and to show, at least, that thay have been arrived at in an unsatisfactory manner.

The symbols, said to be numerical, that occur in the Aśoka inscriptions written in the Brāhmī script, are :—

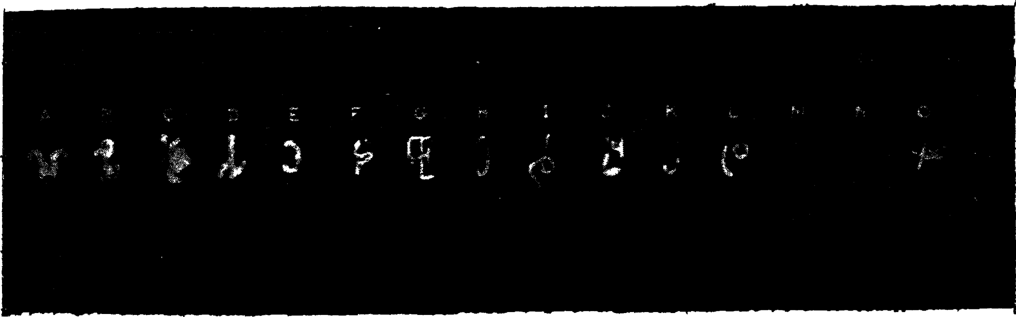


TABLE I.

and the plates from which these have been taken are found in the following works :—

ABC (Sahasrām), *Indian Antiquary, XXII, 298*; DEF (Rūpnāth), *Indian Antiquary, VI, 156*; GHI (Brahmagiri), *Epigraphia Indica, III, 138*; JKL (Siddāpur), *Epigraphia Indica, III, 140*; MN (Bairāṭ), Cunningham's *Aśoka Inscriptions, Pl. XIV*; O (Kālsi), *Epigraphia Indica, II, 460*.

The symbols given in Table I have been interpreted thus :—

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
200	50	6	200	50	6	200	50	6	200	50	6	50	6	4

[23] The reason for this is, pretty obviously, the introduction of the 'numerical word' system and of the so-called 'decimal system.'

[24] *Indian Palæography*, p. 77.

[1] *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Vol II, 182.

It will be observed that, whereas, A, D, G and J are different symbols, being indeed, as different as they possibly can be, the value allotted to each is the same, *viz.*, 200. The symbols B, E, H, K and M, which stand for 50 are much more consistent, but the B is somewhat mutilated and the M, according to Bühler, does not exist. Of the symbols for six, we can leave out of consideration the N, which like the M is also of doubtful authenticity: the others, C, F, I and L are certainly not unambiguous, although there is an element of consistency about them. The symbol for 'four' is possibly of Kharōsṭhī origin.

Of course, the higher orders, *viz.*, the supposed symbols for 200, are much the most important from an historical point of view and to these we propose to confine our attention for the present.

II.

Turning to Cunningham's account of the inscriptions[2], we find the following interesting notes: "The foregoing discussion regarding the date of Buddha's Nirvāṇa was written just before I had seen the first copy of the Sahasrām inscription. The three symbols which form its figured date, at once arrested my attention, and *I suspected them to be cyphers*, but the copy of the inscription was *imperfect in this very part*, and it was not until I visited Sahasrām myself, and thus obtained several excellent copies of the edict, that I was satisfied that these characters were really numerical symbols. The figure on the left hand *I recognised at once* as that to which I had already assigned the value 200 in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, while the value of the middle figure was conclusively determined as 50 by a second Mathurā inscription in which the date of Samvat 57 is expressed in words as well as in figures. The value of the unit, I at first thought, was 6, but hearing that the late Dr. Bhau Dājī had found a somewhat similar figure as a variant form of 2, I adopted the latter as its probable value[3]. I was the more ready to adopt this value as it just brought the Sinhalese date of Aśoka with respect to Buddha's Nirvāna into accordance with the date of the inscription."

With reference to the Rūpnāth rock inscription, he writes[4]: "The date of 56 occurs at the end of the fifth line. The symbol for 50 is the same as that in the Sahasrām inscription, but the opening is turned to the left. Both forms are used indifferently in the Hodgson MSS. from Nepal. The omission of the figures for hundreds is not uncommon in Indian inscriptions."

The Mathurā inscription, which contains the symbol for 200 referred to above, is evidently the Katra mound inscription, which Cunningham himself[5] dates at A.D. 224, or more than *four centuries after the time of Aśoka*. Cunningham's rendering of this date is, moreover, not above suspicion, and the resemblance to the Sahasrām symbol is somewhat strained as, indeed, is Cunningham's transcript of the Sahasrām symbol to the original. These points are somewha strikingly illustrated in the annexed Table II, where Aa is the Sahasrām symbol, Gb is the Mathurā symbol referred to by Cunningham as being identical with Aa, and Gd is Cunningham's copy of Aa.

Later scholars supplied the symbol for the hundreds said by Cunningham to be omitted from the Rūpnāth inscription; but it is doubtful whether their reading is any sounder. Their reasons for interpreting the symbol D (Table I) as '200' appear to have been that (1) the accepted reading of the same passage in the Sahasrām version gives '256', (2) the symbol D is *sū* slightly modified, and this according to the *akshara* theory might denote 200.

When further on we read[6] that "the sign for 200 (in the Rūpnāth inscription) is still more important, as it furnishes the *clearest proof* for the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji's discovery of the syllabic origin of the Nāgarī numerals," we are reminded of the fallacy of the vicious circle. Subsequently the *akshara* theory was given up, even by Bühler himself.

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[2] *Aśoka Inscriptions*, p. ix ff.

[3] Later on, he changed back again to 6.

[4] P. 22.

[5] *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. III, p. 37 and No. 23, Pl. xvi.

[6] Above, VI, 155.

But the *akshara* theory could hardly explain why, in three separate Aśoka inscriptions, three separate symbols should be used for 200. Bühler, however, informs us[7] that the Rūpnāth symbol is *sū* with a prolongation of the vertical of *sa* instead of the usual horizontal bar, and that the Sahasrām symbol (A) is *su* (and that the coin symbol is *śa*), and that the cause of the uncouth appearance of the *s* in A is 'the desire to distinguish, by the form of the syllables, the cases where they have numerical values, from those where they have an etymological value as parts of numerals.'

No mention of the *akshara* theory is made in connection with the symbol G (Table I) for very obvious reasons, but the very strangeness of this symbol almost serves Bühler for a new discovery: "The first numeral sign (*i.e.*., G, Table I)," he says[8], "is indeed, as Mr. Rice states, *partly* different from those found in the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth versions, and the difference furnishes further proof for the assertion that local varieties of the southern alphabet existed in the time of Aśoka, etc."

The symbol J is supposed to resemble G, but it is too mutilated to be of any value as evidence.

III.

A comparison of the Aśoka symbols with others found in India need not lead to any definite result, for the great majority of the available examples are of much later date; but such a comparison shows that the supposed resemblance of some of the Aśoka symbols to these others is very faint indeed.

TABLE II.

[Aa, Ab, Ac, Ad, are Aśoka symbols; Ba, Bb, Nānaghāt, *Pālī and old Sanskrit Inscriptions*, *Pl. 265*; Bc, Nāsik, *Ep. Ind.*, *VIII, 59*; Cb, Cc, Western Kshatrapa coins, Rapson's *Catalogue*; Cd, Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*; Da, *ib. Pl. xvi*; Db, *ib. Pl. xxxix A*; Dc, *ib. Pl. xld*; Dd, Baroda A.D. 526-7, *Ep. Ind.* iii, *319*; E and F from the tables of Bühler and Indraji; Gb, Gc, Cunningham's Mathura examples, *Arch. Survey, III, Pl. xvi*; Gd, Cunningham's copy of Aa *Aśoka Edicts* and *Ind. Ant. VI, 155*].

For example, Gd is Cunningham's transcript of Aa, and Gb is his Mathurā example, which he recognised at once as identical with Aa. Of the other examples, the two main types are Ba from the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, and Cb. Of these, the former is like Cunningham's *copy* of Aa and the latter is as unlike it as possible. But the table, like all such tables, is somewhat misleading, for it does not show that ninety-nine per cent. of all the well-authenticated examples are of the type Cb, and that there is no well authenticated example other than the Nānāghāṭ cases of the type Ba. Further it is very doubtful whether Aa was intended to be of the same type as Ba. The resemblance may be said to be slight, but we may leave this an open question. Ab and Ac have

[7] *J.R.A.S.*, XIV, 3, p. 9; *Indian Palæography*, 81.

[8] *Ep Ind.*, III, 135.

not the remotest resemblance to any of the other symbols, and on no sound principle can they be established as representing numerical quantities.

IV.

The context of these symbols, certainly does not support the generally accepted interpretations. Bühler gives[9] for the Sahasrām version: "And this sermon is by the Departed. Two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-six, '256' have passed since" and for the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri versions, he gives the same rendering with slight verbal differences. Oldenberg gives the general sense of the passage as "This teaching was preached by the Departed; the number of the departed who have taught on earth is 256." Senart's translation of the Sahasrām version is: "It is by the missionary that this teaching (is spread abroad). Two hundred and fifty-six men have gone forth in missions." M. Lévi explained the number 256 as indicating not a date, but 'simply the official notation of the number of *aksharas* contained in the edict.' Fleet's rendering agrees in substance with that given by Bühler.

V.

Definite conclusions on such a subject as this are difficult to achieve, and, although to be desired, are not logically necessary, and, perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge, it is not wise to formulate any. We may, however, state the following without falling into grievous error :—

1. The process of investigation that led to the interpretation of A, D, G and J (Table I) as '200' are faulty in almost every detail. The principal guides seem to have been (*a*) Cunningham, who was notoriously erratic in such matters, (*b*) the *akshara* theory which is now totally discredited and (*c*) a desire to make different versions agree in detail.

2. The symbols A, D, G and J (Table I) are possibly not numerical symbols at all. But might not G be a symbol for 3,000 ?

3. The symbols B, E, H and K may be tentatively accepted as meaning 'fifty,' although B is very doubtful.

4. The symbols C, F, I and L may also be tentatively accepted as meaning 'six.'

5. A fresh rendering of the passage from the standpoint that the numerical figures are 'fifty-six' would lead to results at least as definite as those hitherto obtained.

A LACUNA IN THE HARIVAMŚA.

BY A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN, M.R.A.S.

IT is well known that the great Vyâsa composed the *Hari-vaṁśa* as the colophon to the Fifth Veda, the *Mahābhārata*. After composing the latter, it is chronicled that he felt like one bewildered and entangled in the maze of differences and diversities of religion, but with the load-star of the *Harivaṁśa* he found his one and true Path to Salvation. This idea is allegorically enshrined in certain well-known poems;

By Vyāsa himself in the following verse :—

1. *Asat-kîrtana-kântâra-parivartana-pâṁsulâm*
Vâchaṁ Śauri-kathâlâpa-Gaṅgay-aiva punîmahe

i.e., "The tongue has become soiled by wandering in the wilds of lauding others (than Hari); but let us wash it by the Ganges (-water) of Śauri's[1] (*i.e.*, Hari's) praise."

The Ganges water here alluded to is his last work, the *Harivaṁśa* (so allegorised).

2. Śrî-Parâśara-bhaṭṭârya[2] composed an invocatory verse to the female Saint Aṇḍâḷ[3] in the following terms :—

Nîḷâ-tuṅga-stana-giri-taṭî-suptam-udbodhya Kṛishṇam
Pârârthyam svam śruti-śata-śiras-siddham-adhyâpayantî

[9] The passage is discussed at length in Fleet's paper on *The date of Buddha's death, etc. J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 1.
[1] Śauri-Descendant of Śûra-Kṛishṇa-Hari
[2] A. D. 1074. *See* No. 32 in the Hierarchical Table to my *Lives of the Saints*, in English.
[3] B. C. 3005. *See* No. 14, Table *op. cit.*

Svochchhishṭâyâṁ sraji nigaḷitam yâ balât-kṛitya bhuṅk'e

Godâ tasyai nama idam-idaṁ bhûya evâ 'stu bhûyaḥ. [vide: *Tiru-p-pâvai*]

In this verse Nîḷâ is referred to. She is the third Holy Spouse, or Queen, of Nârâyaṇa, the other two being Srî and Bhû, and born again as Nappinnai (*Nîḷâ*) for Kṛishṇa.

3. Periya-v-âcchân-Piḷḷai *alias* Kṛishṇa-Samâhvaya[4] wrote a commentary on the female Saint Âṇḍâḷ's "Holy Lyric" the *Tiru-p-pâvai*, and, when commenting on the invocatory verse above quoted, he discussed the point as to who represented Nîḷâ, when Kṛishṇa represented Nârâyaṇa in the Divine Cosmic Drama of the Kṛishṇa-Avatāra, (Kṛishṇa's Incarnation or Descent on Earth). He cited verses to show that the daughter of a certain Kumbha was Nîḷâ thus born, beginning with the verse :—

Syâlo'tha Nanda-Gopasya, &c.

4. When searching for these verses in the available printed editions of the *Vishṇu-purâṇa* and the *Hari-vaṁśa,* I could not trace them; but a MS. was discovered by a friend of mine, which is said to belong to the collections of Sanskṛit MSS in the Madras Government Library. In this MS. four *Adhyâyas* were found *embodying the verses* cited by Periya-v-âcchân-Piḷḷai. Fearing that they may be missed or lost again or lost sight of by those seeking for references, I send a transcript for record and preservation in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary.*[5]

वैशंपायनः ॥ स्यालोथ नंदगोपस्य मिथिलेषु गवांपतिः । प्रवृद्धगोधनो दक्षः कुंभको नाम नामतः ॥ दाता दुग्धस्य सर्वेषां तक्रस्य च घृतस्य च । जनस्य प्रियवाङ्नित्यं यशोदाया जघन्यजः ॥ धर्मदा तस्य भार्यासीद्धर्मदैवतनामतः । सा-सुताऽपत्ययुगलं शोभनं गोपभूषणं ॥ तयोस्तत्र पुमान् जातः श्रीदामानामविश्रुतः । सर्वैश्च सद्गुणैर्युक्तस्सर्वप्राणिमनोरमः ॥ नीला नाम च कन्यासीद् रूपौदार्यगुणान्विता । हसन्ती गमनैर्हंसान् भूस्पृष्टचरणी मृदुः ॥ पद्मपत्रनिभौ पादौ वर्तुलाय-तजंघिनी । नीलाक्षी जानुसंधाना मांसळोरुद्वया मृदुः ॥ रथविस्तीर्णजघना मृदुकीर्णकळत्रिका । विशालोरुसमाविष्टा चक्रनाभिर्मनोरमा ॥ क्रमादूर्ध्ववलीनिम्ना तनुमध्या तनूरुहा । सुवर्णकुंभसदृशौ दृतौ पीनौ स्तनौ मृदू ॥ धारयन्ती मृदुस्पर्शा कामस्य जननी दर्णि । कंबुग्रीवानुमांसा सा सुकपोलमनोहरा । शुभविद्रुमबिंबोष्ठी सुदती शुभनासिका । विनिद्रांबु-जवक्त्रा सा नीलोत्पलनिभेक्षणा ॥ विलासिनी सुरर्णाता (?) स्मरचापानिभे उभे । भ्रुवौ दधाना सुस्निग्धा अर्धचंद्रललाटिका ॥ दीर्घकुंचितकेशाढ्या लक्षणैस्सकलैर्युता ।त्रिलोकरत्नभूता सा विश्वचित्तविलासिनी ॥यौवनस्था सुकांतांगी दैवमर्त्यविलोभिनी तां वव्रुः स्सर्वभूपाला भूयोभूयो विशांपते ॥ न तेषां कस्यचिद्दत्ता पित्रा विधिबलाभयात् ।एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु वृषरूपा महासुराः ॥ कालनेमिसुतास्सप्त विक्रांता बाहुशालिनः । तदा दैवासुरे युद्धे विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ॥ संग्रामान् बहुशः कृत्वा तेन युद्धे जितास्तदा । दिशोमूढा प्रजग्मुस्ते विष्णुं हंतुं समुद्यताः ॥ यावत् कृष्णा यदुकुले जातो दैतेयसत्तमाः । ज्ञात्वा विष्णुं यदुकुले यत्नवंतस्समास्थिताः ॥वृषरूपधरास्सप्त कुंभकस्य व्रजेवसन् । बलवंतो महाशृंगा महत्कुक्षिशिरोरुहाः ॥लंबसा-स्ना महाग्रीवा महाकुंभककुद्मिनः । पृथुशीर्घमहाबालाः पृथुतीक्ष्णखुराः खराः ॥ दीर्घवक्त्रा दीर्घदंताः कुंडनेत्रा कुकर्णकाः। निस्यदृप्ता महाह्रादा त्रासिताशेषगोगणाः ॥ ते वृषाः सर्वतो जग्मुः गाश्च वत्सांश्च दुर्मदाः । गर्भानास्रावयन् सर्वान् गवां-सस्यान्यभक्षयन् ॥ विदेहराज्ये जाता य भक्षयित्वा मुहुर्मुहुः सस्यानां फलितान् सर्वान् आधावंति स्म सर्वतः ॥ कुंभकाय व्रजे रात्रौ वसंति स्म मुदान्विताः । कृषीवलास्ततस्सर्वे राज्ञो मिथिलवर्मणः ॥ न्यवेदयंस्तदासर्वे वृषैस्सस्यविनाशनं। यान्येव तव सस्यानि राष्ट्रे जातानि सर्वशः ॥ भक्षितानि समस्तानि कुंभकस्य वृषैर्नृप ॥ सप्तभिस्तैस्समुद्रिक्तैर्दमनेन विवर्जितैः ॥ ते निवार्या महीपाल यदि ते स्याज्जगत्त्रयं । सादयंति मुहुस्सर्वा नष्टा राजन्भवत्प्रजाः ॥ इति तेषां वचः श्रुत्वा राजाजनकसं-भवः । दूतैः कुंभकमाहूय वचनं चेदमब्रवीत् ॥ तव सप्त वृषा गोपा निर्दमास्सस्यघातकाः । दम्यंतामद्य सर्वे ते वृषास्सर्व-प्रयत्नतः ॥ अन्यदा दण्ड्य एवस्यास्सबंधुस्सप्रजो भवान् । गच्छ गोपैर्मतियुतैर्दमने कुशलैस्समं ॥ दम्यन्तां ते वृषास्सप्त न भयं विद्यते तव । अर्धरात्रौ कचिद्दसान्दानवान्वृषरूपिणः ॥ गोपालैरपरैस्सार्धं नियन्तुमुपचक्रमुः । रज्जुहस्तास्तदासर्वे मंदंमंदमुपाययुः । अथ ते बल्लवान् दृष्ट्वा रज्जुहस्तान् समंततः । हुंभारवं प्रकुर्वन्तो गोपानेवाभिदुद्रुवुः॥तान्खुरैश्शृंगकोणैश्च समाजग्मुस्समंततः । ते हता गोपमुख्यास्ते गतप्राणाः समं भुवि ॥ पतिताः शेरते भूमौ वज्रभग्ना इवाचलाः । दारका दारिका वत्सास्तैर्हताः पंडिता भुवि ॥ शेरते मृतभूयिष्ठाः कुंभकस्य व्रजे स्म ह । निश्चेष्टमभवत्सर्वं व्रजं निहतदारकं ॥ न शेकुस्ते वृषान्रोद्धुं दृढैर्दामभिरुद्यताः। निर्वीर्यास्सर्व एवामी भग्नास्ते वृषरूपिभिः ॥ व्रजे तस्मिन्महीपाल निहते च तथापरे । विसंज्ञः कुंभको भूत्वा निश्चेष्टस्समपद्यत ॥ ततो विमृश्य तैर्गोपैर्मतिरेवं समादधे । सप्तानां वृषमल्लानां दमिता यो भवेद्भुवि ॥ तस्मै कन्यां प्रदास्यामि नीलां नीरजलोचनां । गोपाः सर्वे समायान्तु ये गोपा गोषु जीविनः ॥ शूद्रा वा ये समर्थाः स्युस्ते चागच्छंतु सर्वशः । एवमाघोषयामास कुंभकस्स व्रजे किल ॥

इति श्रीहरिवंशे त्रिषष्टितमोऽध्यायः

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[4] A. D. 1159. *See* No. 35-Table, *op. cit.*

[5] On page 830, Journal R. A. S. 1910, a MS. of Harivamśa in connection with Max Müller Memorial Fund, has been secured in Oxford. I am curious to know if these missing chapters are there.

वैशंपायनः ॥ ततो गोपगणस्सर्वो मिथिलामन्ववर्तत । वृषान्सप्त समाहृत्य नीलां गृह्णाम यत्नतः ॥ इति गोपास्समाजग्मुः प्रत्येकं तान्जिघृक्षवः ॥ मिथिला राजधानी सा न कश्चिद्बल्लवैर्विना ॥ गोपालमयमेवैतद् राष्ट्रं मिथिलवर्मणः । ते गोपास्त्वायतभुजाः विस्तीर्णबलसंयुताः ॥ आस्फाटितभुजा मत्ताः प्रत्येकं वृषमन्वयुः । कुंभकस्य तदा दूतैराहूतो गोपनंदनः ॥ गोपालैरपरैस्सार्धं नंदगोपस्समाययौ । रामकृष्णौ च संयातौ कुंभकस्य व्रजं किल ॥ दारकैरपरैस्सार्द्धं सवयोभिर्मुदान्वितैः । मयूरांगदचित्रांगौ नीलकुंचितमूर्धजौ ॥ पीते वसानौ वसने हरिचंदनचर्चितौ । वनमालाकृतोरस्कौ दामयज्ञोपवीतिनौ ॥ शिक्यालंबत्कटिकरौ वर्णवाद्यविनोदिनौ । किंकिणीजालसंह्रादौ शिखिपिच्छैरलंकृतौ ॥ वेणुवीणारवकृतौ शृंगध्वनिसमाकुलौ । दिविस्थैर्देवगंधर्वैरनुयातौ महानुती ॥ गोपाला नौभिरुत्तीर्य यमुनामूर्मिमालिनीं । गंगां चैवाभिसंयाता मिथिलां कृष्णसंयुताः ॥ कुंभकश्च महाबुद्धिर्मैथिलेयो मुदान्वितः । नंदगोपं तदा दृष्ट्वा सपुत्रं च समागतं ॥ उत्थायाग्रे समागम्य समालिंग्य मुदान्वितः । प्रतिसंभावयामास यशोदा चैव धर्मदा ॥ बलभद्रस्य कृष्णस्य श्रीदामा चासनं ददौ । कृसरं पायसं चैव तथा दध्योदनं बहु ॥ निवेद्य नंदगोपाय सपुत्राय मुदान्वितः । आपूपास्सक्तवोदानाः शर्कराक्षीरमिश्रिताः ॥ दत्ताः कृष्णाय रामाय नंदायाथ सजातये । एवं प्रीतास्सुमनसो नंदगोपपुरस्सराः ॥ ऊषुस्सुखं तदा रात्रौ गोपालास्सर्व एव ते । अथ तस्यां वृषा रात्रौ गोषु वैशसनं मुहुः ॥ प्रत्येकं सप्त ते मल्ला दानवा वृषरूपिणः । वत्सान् जघ्नुरथो गाश्च कुटीर्भूयो बभंजिरे ॥ आगंतुकान् तदा गोपान् रात्रौ युद्धाय निस्सृतान् । जघ्नुः शृंगैः खुरैश्चैव शिष्टा गोपा दिशो ययुः ॥ हुंभारवं प्रकुर्वंतो दिग्गजा इव तस्थिरे । रज्जूंश्छित्वा घटान्भित्वा कीलकानथ शिक्यकान् ॥ वत्साग्विद्रावयामासुर्गाश्चराजन्दशो दिश । ततः प्रभाते विमले व्युष्टा सा रजनी किल ॥ वृषास्तस्थुर्महानादास्तास्मिन्कुंभकवेश्मनि । दिग्गजा इव संह्रादं हुंभारवपुरस्सरं ॥ चक्रिरे पर्वताकाराः कालांतकयमोपमाः ।

इति श्रीहरिवंशे चतुष्षष्टितमोऽध्यायः

वैशंपायनः ॥ अथ तस्यामवस्थायां निश्चेष्टः कुंभकः किल ॥ वृषान् तथाविधान् दृष्ट्वा व्रजनिश्शेषकारिणः । गोपान् सर्वान् समाहूय वचनं चेदमब्रवीत् ॥ श्रूयंतां मम वाक्यानि गोपा नंदपुरोगमाः । वृषास्सप्त समुद्भूता व्रजेऽस्मिन् मददुर्मदाः ॥ सिंहा इवाग्रहाक्रांताः दिग्गजा इव दंशिताः । अप्रतर्क्या ह्यनासाद्या गोपगोपीव्यतिक्रमाः ॥ यत्नाश्च बहवोऽस्माभिः कृता रोद्धुमिमान् मुहुः । एषा मे कंबला योद्धुं न शक्या स्नेहसंगता ॥ भीतास्तेभ्यो मुहुर्गोपा विसंज्ञा पर्यदामहे । किंच राज्ञो मुहुर्दण्ड्या वयं मिथिलवर्मणः ॥ गतिमेषां नजानीमो न गतिं न च चिंतना ॥ नच ते केवलवृषाः राक्षसा वा वृषात्मना ॥ दैत्या वा दानवा वाथ यक्षगंधर्व एव वा । अस्मदुत्सादनार्थाय व्रजेऽस्मिन् समुपस्थिताः ॥ युष्माकमागतानां तु यो वृषान्दमयिष्यति । तस्येयं सर्वकल्याणी नीला देया मनस्विनी ॥ नीला सुमध्यमा तस्मै दत्ता कमललोचना । इत्युक्त्वाहूय तां कन्यां गोपमध्ये करोति तां ॥ यूनां मनांसि चाक्षीणि तस्यामेव प्रपेदिरे । स्तनयोस्स्थितिमाजग्मुः तेषां चित्तप्रवृत्तयः ॥ अन्येषामधरे चैव परेषां च सुमध्यमे । एवं व्यालोलमनसो गोपाश्चित्रस्थिता इव ॥ तत्र नंदसुतः कश्चित् ज्येष्ठः कृष्णस्य संमतः । स तथा घोषयन् वाचा दमयिष्ये वृषानमून् ॥ इति प्रतस्थे तान् हन्तुं दैतेयान् वृषरूपिणः । भुजावास्फोट्य रुद्धोपि पित्रा यत्नवता तदा ॥ इयेष योद्धुं मंदात्मा यान्न शक्नोति माधवः । रावणस्य रणे हन्ता यश्च हन्ता सुमालिनः ॥ तेषां मध्ये समास्थाय हुंभारवमथा करोत् । तेन शब्देन ते सप्त वृषा घोषवतः पुरः ॥ खुरांश्छृंगान् समुद्धृत्य समुत्तस्थुस्समुद्यताः । तेषां स्थितानामेकस्य घोषवान् मस्तकेऽहनत् ॥ ततो गोपास्समागम्य सिंहनादं व्यनीनदन् । आहते मस्तके सोऽयं वृषो घोषवतस्तदा ॥ अंसे खुराभ्यामाहत्य घोषवंतं ददंश ह । पुनश्शृंगेण तं हत्वा खुराभ्यां दूरतोऽक्षिपत् ॥ व्यननिदच्च सहसा गोपान् विद्रावयंस्तदा । युवानस्त्वथ ये गोपाः नीलाग्रहणलालसाः ॥ मुष्टिं संवर्त्य संवर्त्य भुजास्फोटनतत्पराः । गोपा लीलां प्रकुर्वंतः तेषामग्रे पदं ददुः ॥ स्थितेषु गोपवीरेषु ते वृषा गोपघातकाः । तस्मात्तान् शृंगकोणैस्ते निजघ्नुः स्म ततस्ततः ॥ मस्तकैश्च खुरैश्चैव न्यहनन्मुदिता भृशं । ते गोपा वृषदैत्यैश्च निहता भुवि पातिताः ॥ गतानभिमुखं हत्वा संस्थितास्सुमहावृषाः । हुंभारवनिनादेन भीषयंतश्च गोगणान् ॥ गोपालान् गोषु मुख्यांश्च बलाद्विद्राव्य दंशितान् । वल्मीकान् खानयंतो वै महोत्पातं प्रचक्रिरे ॥ कुंभको नंदगोपश्च ये वृद्धा गोषु जीविनः । कृत्यमूढास्सुसंवृत्तास्तदा गोपपुरस्सराः ॥ राज्ञा भीता बभूवुश्च दंड्या वयमिति स्थिताः ।

इति श्रीहरिवंशे पंचषष्टितमोऽध्यायः

वैशंपायनः ॥ अथ कृष्णस्तदारामं बभाषे वैशसे सति ॥ नेते वृषा महाबाहो दैत्यास्सप्त समुत्थिताः । कालनेमिसुताः पूर्वमाहन्तुमिहसंगताः ॥ पुरा मया हता युद्धे तदा तारामये विभो । एते ते बलिनो नित्यं मम विद्वेषकारिणः ॥ निहन्तव्या मया आर्यगोगोहन्तकरा इमे ॥ एते गोपा हता भूयो भूयो हन्तुं समुद्यताः ॥ एवमेतैर्यथायोगं क्रीडाकर्मसु गोपकाः । नंदश्च कुंभकश्चोभौ विषण्णौ समपद्यतां ॥ रक्षितव्यौ बलादेतौ गोपौ बंधू मया विभो । नीलामेनां ग्रहिष्यामि हत्वा सप्त वृषानमून् ॥ श्रीदामानं सखित्वेन संगृहिष्याम्यसंशयः ॥ इति निश्चित्य रामेण कृष्णः कमललोचनः ॥ पुरस्तेषां पदं चक्रे वृषाणां बलशालिनां । ते वृषा दितिजाः क्रुद्धा विष्णुं दृष्ट्वा पुरस्थितं ॥ पूर्ववैरमनुस्मृत्य त्वराद्धंतुं प्रचक्रमुः । ते समं सहसा पेतुः कृष्णस्योपरि दानवाः ॥ ततो युद्धं समभवत् तेषां कृष्णस्य च प्रभो । ततो गोपगणास्सर्वे कृष्णमेवाश्रिताभवन् ॥ शृंगैस्ते सहसा जघ्नुः कृष्णं हन्तुमभीप्सवः । पादप्रहारैरपरैः पुच्छघातैश्च केशवं ॥ पृथक्पृथक्समाहन्युः प्रत्येकं वृषदानवाः । दंतैर्ददंशुरपरे खुरैरन्ये जनार्दनं ॥ ततः कृष्णो रुषा मुष्टिं सन्निहत्य जघान ह । क्रमेण मुष्ट्या तान्सर्वान् हत्वा दैतेयगोपतीन् । नीलां हस्ते गृहीत्वाथ कृष्णस्तस्मिन् व्यरोचत । कुंभको नंदगोपं तं प्रोवाच जनसन्निधौ- प्रसादात्तव पुत्रस्य जीवामो विगतज्वराः । सपुत्रास्सह गोपा वै सवत्सा नो धनैस्समं ॥ वृषैश्च सप्तभिर्नंद हता गावस्सहस्रशः

गर्भाश्चनिस्सृतास्तावद्वत्सास्तावंत एव हि ॥यतस्ते निहता नंद सुखं तस्माद्‌व्रजाधुमः। गोसहस्रं तव विभो महिषान्महिषीशतं॥ यावदिच्छसि वा नन्द तावत्ते वै ददाम्यहं। नीलायै लक्षनयुतं दास्यामीति च गोधनः॥ नंदगोपः ॥ अलं महाविभो नात गोभिर्वत्सैर्धनैरपि। तिष्ठंतामद्य गावस्ते गावो मे बहवः स्थिताः॥ घृतवत्यः क्षीरवत्योबभूवुःपुत्र जन्मतः। यदाकृष्णस्तदाभ्राता- ततो मेवर्धत व्रजे॥ यावद्दुग्धं समुद्भूतं तावदेव घृतं भवेत्। गुल्मे गुल्मे मधु भवत्स्वादु स्वादुभवत्यलं॥ गावो वत्साश्च नीरोगा जाते कृष्णे व्रजे मम। अल्पं किंचिन्न मे स्यात्तद् गेहे स्वे कृष्णसन्निधौ॥ दास्याम्यहमथो गोपगृहायाभ्यनुजानतां। इत्युक्त्वा। प्रययौ नंदस्सव्रजस्सहगोधनः॥ कृष्णश्च नीलया सार्धं श्रीदाम्ना सह संगतः॥ सार्कं च बलभद्रेण ययौ वृंदावनं प्रति। प्राप्य वृंदावनं गोपाः रेमिरे सहकेशवाः॥

इति श्रीहरिवंशे षट्षष्टितमोध्यायः

SONGS ABOUT THE KING OF OUDH.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE, LATE I.C.S.

[Wâjid 'Alî Shâh, the last King of Oudh came to the throne in A.-H. 1263 (1847) and was exiled in 1856, just before the mutiny of 1857.]

No. I.

The Departure of Wâjid 'Alî Shâh from Calcutta.

Repeated by Kâlikâ Prasâd, Headmaster of the village school at Akbarpûr, District Fyzabad.

Recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Srîpati Mahârâj, tu bipati niwâro. Kat aihaiṅ Hazrat des hô?
Pahilâ muqâm Kâhanpur bhejyô: dusrâ Banâras jât hô.
Tisarâ muqâm Kalkatwâ meṅ bhejyô: Begamoṅ to bhâgîn pahâr hô.
Alam Bâgh meṅ golıyâ chalat haiṅ: Machchhî-bhawan meṅ top hô.
Beli-gârad meṅ tegwâ chalat haiṅ: bânan se andhiyâr hô.
Bâhar sowaiṅ kul râ sipahiyâ: dewaṛhî meṅ rowaiṅ Kotwâl hô.
Bîch mahaliyâ meṅ Begam rowaiṅ: lat chhatkâye lambî kes hô.
Topiyâ chhuṭai wah topkhânwâ; hathiyâ chhuṭai philkhân hô.
Ghoṛe turang saharwâ: mân chhuṭê sâthî hamâr hô.
Kaisar Bâgh meṅ Begam rowaiṅ: lat chhatkâye lambî kesh hô.
Raghunâth Kuṅwâr: "Kiripâ bhayo ham ko bhayo banbâs hô."

Translation.

O Srîpati Mahârâj (Râm), thou art the remover of calamity. When will my Lord return to his country?

The first halt was Cawnpore: the second at Benares.
The third halt was at Calcutta, and the Queens fled to the hills.
Bullets were flying in the Alam Bâgh: there were cannons in the Machchî-bhawan.
Swords were drawn in the Bailey Guard: it was dark with arrows.
Outside mourned the sepoys: in the gateway mourned the Kotwâl.
In the palace mourned the Queen, and let their long locks fall dishevelled.
The cannons were left in the magazine: the elephants were left in the stables.
The swift horses were left in the city: our friends forgot their sympathy.
The Queens wept in the Kaisar Bâgh, and let their long locks fall.
Saith Raghunâth Kuṅwar[1]: "It was the pleasure (Râm) that we should be in exile."

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[1] The Author.

No. II.

The Flight of Wâjid 'Alî Shâh.

Sunj by Saligrân Kayasth,

Recorded by Lâltâ Prasâd, a master in Amarpûr Village School, District Itâwâ.

Text.

Tum bin, Hazrat, âj mulk bhayo suno.
Koî, Hazrat, baṛe khilârî ; khyâl kyâ kînho ?
" Merî Kesar Bâgh lagây gard kar dînho."
Hazrat chale Kalkattâ, âsro kînho.
Kôî Begam bhaî aswâr, mulk taj dînho.
Angrez Bahâdur âîn : mulk lai lînho.
Kisî ne nâhin karî larâî, nâhin jang kînhî.
Koî jangal aur bayâbân basarâ lînhî.

Translation.

Without thee, my Lord, the country has become silent.
My Lord, thou wert very happy ; what dost thou think ?
" They have turned into very dust the Kaisar Bâgh that I made."
My Lord went to Calcutta and we had hope.
Some of the Queens left the country in carriages.
The great English came and took the country.
No one raised any fight or rebellion.
Some took to living in the forests and woods.

No. III.

Wâjid 'Alî Shâh and the Kaisar Bâgh,

A Lament.

A song in honour of the Kaisar Bâgh of Lucknow and the late king of Oudh, Wâjid Ali Shâh.

Recorded by Pandit Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

Kaisar Bâgh banâyâ, mazah Wâjid 'Ali ne na pâyâ.

1.

As pâs sone ke kangure, bîch meṅ takht bichhâyâ.
An paṛî Angrez kî palṭan, hukum apnâ chalâyâ.
Mazah Pâdshâh ne na pâyâ, kaisa Kaisar Bâgh banâyâ.

2.

Amîr gharîb sabhî hilmil rowaiṅ, rowai phutphut kar sârâ sansâr:
' Hây ! gayo pardes meṅ, apne desh se rukhsat hoke sardâr.'
Kaisâ Kaisar Bâgh banâyâ, mazah Wâjid 'Ali ne pâyâ.

3.

Lâle lâle kapaṛe pahane Pâdshâh yogiyâ rûp banâye.
Lâle lâle kapaṛe sâre musâhib yogiyâ rûp banâye.
Are, Kaisar Bâgh banâyâ, mazah Hazarat ne na pâyâ.

Translation.

Wâjid 'Ali built the Kaisar Bâgh, but did not enjoy it.

1.

On all sides turrets of gold and in the middle a throne were placed.
An English force came and settled and assumed the authority.
What a Kaisar Bâgh Wajid 'Alî built, but did not enjoy it.

2.

Noble and peasant all wept together, and all the world wept and wailed.
Alas ! The chief has bidden adieu to his country and gone abroad.
What a Kaisar Bâgh Wâjid 'Alî built, but did not enjoy it.

3.

Clothed in red, the king put on the guise of a mendicant.

Clothed in red, his followers put on the guise of mendicants.

O, my Lord built the Kaisar Bâgh, but did not enjoy it.

No. IV.

The Departure of the Bahu Begam to England in appeal.

Songs in honour of the Bahu Begam's departure to England to 'appeal.'

Recorded by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

1.

Nandan ke joyyâ, are nâ bahu rê.

Allâh tumheṅ lâwe! Lâyai Nabî aur Rasûl!

Turk sawârâṅ paidal hoya gaye, galiyoṅ meṅ roye sipâh.

Hâthî bhî bik gaye, ghoṛe bhî bik gaye, unt bhî ho gaye nillâm.

Nandan kê joyâ rê, nâ bahu rê!

2.

Kaisâ hai wah desh?

Keke, rê, hâth chithiyâ likh bhejûṅ? Keke, rê, hâth sandesh?

Kâgâ ke hâth chithiyâ likh bheṅjûṅ? Panchhîṅ hâth sandesh?

Nandan ke joyâ rê, nâ bahu rê.

3.

Dekhan ko jîyâ hoyâ.

Lâgî rê bazariyâ, Sâhab, terî jahâṅ bikaiṅ hîrê aur lâl,

Chaturâ chaturâ sandâ kar gayê, rah gaye murakh gaṅwâr.

Nandan ke joyâ rê, nâ bahu rê.

Translation.

1.

Going to London[2], *thou art no daughter-in-law.*

May God bring thee back! May the Lieutenant and Prophet (of God; Muhammad) bring thee back!

The Turkish horseman have become foot, and the sepoys complain in the streets.

The elephants and horses have been sold, and the camels put to auction.

Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law!

2.

Of what kind is that country?

By whose hand may I send a letter? By whose hand my news?

Shall I send my letter by the crows? my news by the birds?

Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law.

3.

I long to see thee.

O Englishman, there is thy market where diamonds and rubies are sold.

The clever have sold their merchandise: the fools and clodhoppers have been left.

Going to London, thou art no daughter-in-law.

No. V.

The Settlement of Oudh.

Sung by Girdhârî Dâs Chaube of Chandrâpur, District Agrâ.

Recorded by Ram Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

1.

Jis waqt Sâhbâṅ Shahar Lakhnau liyâ,

Wâjid 'Alî, jo Shah thâ, Kalkattâ chal diyâ.

Shâhzâdgân Begam hamrâh kar liyâ hai,

[2] The text has Nandan. The natives think London to be the most enjoyable place in the world and have adopted Nandan (ban) the Paradise of India, with which they are familiar, as their name of London.

Malikah Muazzama nê tankhwâh kar diyâ hai.
Aqbâl se Firangî mulk Awadh le liyâ.
Sab Râjgân khauf se itâ'at qabul kiyâ.

2.

Be-intizâmi aisî thî Bâdshâh ghar,
Wirân mulk hotâ thâ, rakhte nahîn khabar.
Angrezon ne jab dekhâ, aisâ machâ hai ghadar.
Nâyab Shaharyâr ne dakhal kar liyâ shahar.
Aqbâl se Firangî mulk Awadh le liyâ.
Sab Rajgân kauf se hathiâr dhar diyâ.

3.

Phailâ amla Firangî kâ tirsath ke sâl meṅ;
Blawâ huâ hai mulk meṅ painsath ke sâl meṅ.
Angrez phir dakhal kiyâ Chhiyasth ke sâl meṅ.
Birjisqadar Begam Naipâl râj meṅ.
Aqbâl se Firangî mulk Oudh le liyâ;
Sab Râjgân khauf se hathiâr dhar diyâ.

4.

Jis waqt Belî Gârad meṅ Sâhbâṅ the;
Koî rasad na chaltî thî, mahtâj Khodâ the.
Aur gorahay lekar musta'id jang the;
Bhukhoṅ piyasoṅ marte the, an bhâgte na the.
Aqbâl se Firangî mulk Awadh le liyâ
Sab Râjgân khauf se hathiâr dhar diyâ.

5.

Jab Sâhbâṅ dhâwâ karte the fauj par;
Badmâsh mulkî battî dêtê the top par.
Unke muqâbile se chhipâte the dar ba dar.
Sar kaṭ le the gorâ unheṅ khoj khoj kar.

6.

Talwâr aur golî aur sangîn chaltî thî;
Sadhâṅ zarb ke ûpar jab batti baltî thî.
Awâz us taraf se zamîṅ thartharâtî thî.
Us waqt zan shikam se hamal dâl detî thî.

7.

Yahjisqadar Begam kî kahî gaî bahadurî?
Duniyâ meṅ nâm rahgayâ shâhî se âkhirî.
Ab kaun kar sakaigâ aisî bahadurî?
Begam nikalte waqt khud jang kyâ karî?

8.

Jis waqt Rânâ Sâhab goroṅ se jang kiye;
Badmas bhâq bhâq ke Uttar kî râh liye.
Jagrâj Sing pîchhâ goroṅ kâ kiyâ khûb;
Ek ek ko mârkar, nâlî meṅ diyâ dûb.

9.

Yah Rânâ Benî Mâdhav jawâṅ mard hai barâ;
Khud jang mângtâ hai, musta'id hai kharâ.
Yah loh Baiswâre kâ Baisoṅ kâ hai karâ.
Ab to muqâbilâ Angrezoṅ se â parâ.

10.

Tab Sahbâṅ âpas meṅ maslahat kiyâ:—
"Rânâ ko lewâ milây Mulk Awadh le liyâ.
Aur Râjgân sâre Mulk Awadh bewafâ.
Yah log honge hâzir jab khauf bar malâ."

11.

Jab Râjâ Mân Sinh Firangî meṅ â milâ,
Us waqt Lâl Mâdho par khauf chal milâ:—
"Badmâs bhâg bhâg luke jâke Karbala."
Jab Sahbâṅ jâkê gher liyâ bar malâ.

12.

Tab Rânâ dil meṅ sochâ:
ab âbrû ke sâth nikal chalnâ khûb hai.
Afwâj apnî leke Uttar kî râh lî.
Sab râj apnî chhoṛke Begam kî sâth dî.

13.

Akhir kô bad hawâs hue râjgân sab.
Kisân namakharâmî Awadh Shâh ghar hai jab.
"Angrez bewafâî karaiṅge kaho yah kab?"
Bar khauf hâzir âye yah râjgân sab.

14.

Pahlâ hî intizâm bandobast sarsarî;
Bârah Zillâ kiyâ hai au arba Kamîshnarî.
Sûbah Awadh meṅ ek hai Judishal Kamishanarî.
Nisbat apîl ke yah darjâ hai âkhiri.

15.

Pher bâd ko mauze mauze kâ had bast kar liyâ;
Daṅde aur meṅde kâ sab jhagrâ uthâ diyâ.
Ahini zanjîr paimâish shurû kiye;
Mumkin aur ghair-mumkin sab judâ kiye.

16.

Jab kâghzât bilkul tartîb kar liyâ.
Tab intizâm sâlî bandobast kâ kiyâ.
Har ek ke nâm jârî hukmnâma kar diyâ.
Aur ishthâr dâwedârî kâ de diyâ.

17.

Bârah baras kî mayyâd muqarrar jo kî gai;
Tirsath ke jagah sâl ekkâwan likhî gaî.
Andar maiâd qabzah ḍiqrî dî gaî.
Qabzah na bûd, arzî khârij kar di gaî.

18.

Har ek Zilâ meṅ châr muhakamâ khaṛâ kiyâ:—
Zilâ, Kalaktarî, Diwânî, Ayâṅ kiyâ.
Faujdârî bâd bandobast ro diyâ.
Yah hâl kah gaî, goyâ qalam band kar diyâ.

Translation.

1.

When the English took the city of Lucknow,
They sent Wâjid 'Alî, who had been king, to Calcutta.
He took the princes and the queens with him,
And the great Queen (Victoria) gave him a pension.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh;
And all the chiefs acknowledged their supremacy through fear.

2.

There was such disorder in the king's house,
That the country was devastated and no one took notice.
When the English saw that such anarchy was reigning,
The Queen's Deputy (the Viceroy) entered the city (of Lucknow).
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms through fear.

3.

The English first commenced to rule in the year 63[3].
The rebellion was in the year 65.
The English came back again in the year 66[4].
Birjisqadar, the Queen, fled to Nepâl.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms through fear.

4.

When the English were Bailey Guard,
There were no supplies, and there was only the mercy of God.
And the white men were full of fight;
They were dying of hunger and thirst, but did not run away.
By their prestige the English took the country of Oudh,
And all the chiefs laid down their arms in fear.

5.

When the English pursued the army,
The rebel scoundrels sprung their mines on the guns,
They hid themselves as best they could from place to place.
The white men cut off their heads wherever they found them.

6.

Sword and bullet and bayonet was used;
Hundreds were wounded when the mines were fired.
The earth trembled at the noise of it,
And the babes fell from the wombs of pregnant women.

7.

What kind of bravery did Birjisqadar, the Queen, show?
Her name has remained in the world.
Who now will ever show such courage?
When the Queen had fled what fight was possible?

8.

When the Rânâ Sâhib fought the white men,
The scoundrels fled to the North,
Jagrâj Singh followed up the white men well,
He killed them one by one and threw them into the stream.

9.

The Rânâ Benî Mâdhav was a very strong man.
He wanted a fight and stood ready for it.
The steel of the Baisas of Baiswârâ is hard.
Now it fell to him to face the English.

10.

Then the English counselled together:—
"Let us join with the Rânâ and take the Country of Oudh.
All the other chiefs of the Country of Oudh are unreliable.
If these come in then there will soon be fear."

11.

When Râjâ Mân Singh joined the English,
Then Lâl Mâdhav began to fear:—
"The scoundrels have taken refuge in Karbalâ."
Then the English soon surrounded him.

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[3] A. H. 1263 A.D. 1847.

[4] This story is a little mixed, Wâjid 'Alî commenced his reign in A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847) and was exiled in 1856. The Mutiny was in 1857.

12.

Then the Rájá thought in his mind that
It would be well to escape with honor.[5]
He took his armies on the northern road.
He gave up his kingdom and went to the Begam.

13.

In the end all the chiefs lost their heads.
They saw that all the people were faithless to the house of the King of Oudh.
"When will the English be unfaithful?"
And so all the chiefs presented themselves through fear.

14.

The first arrangement (of the English), was the rough survey (of the country).
They made twelve Districts and four Commissionerships.
In the Kingdom of Oudh there is one Judicial Commissionership,
For the purpose of appeal this is the last Court.

15.

After that they fixed the boundaries, village by village.
They stopped all the quarrels over uncertain boundaries.
They began to measure (the land) with iron chains.
They divided the cultivable from the uncultivable land.

16.

When all the papers (for the land) were in order,
Then they managed for the yearly settlement (of revenue).
They sent summons to every name.
And advertised for every claim.

17.

They fixed a period of twelve years[6]
And instead of the year 63 they wrote 51[7].
Decrees were granted for possession within the period.
If possession was not proved, applications were rejected.

18.

In every District four departments were set up :—
Revenue, Judicial, Criminal and Settlement (of Revenue).
Then they arranged for the army.
This is the story as it has been committed to writing.

MISCELLANEA.

THE EARLIEST SAKA DATE.

MR. NARASIMHACHAR announces the discovery in a Jaina work entitled *Lôkavibhâga* of the Śaka date 380 corresponding with the 22nd regnal year of king Siṁhavarma Pallava of Kânchî. This date, equivalent approximately to A.D. 468, is considerably earlier than the oldest Śaka date hitherto recorded, *viz.*, 427=A.D. 505 in Varâhamihira's *Pañcha-siddhântika*, *l.* 8 as pointed out by Dr. Fleet (J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 819).

The discovery, announced in 1909, is confirmed in 1910 by the verification of the details of the date.

A definite basis for ultimate settlement of the Pallava chronology is also secured.

Full information on the subject will be found in the Annual Report of the *Archæological Survey*, Mysore, for the year ending 30th June, 1909, para. 112, and *ibid.* for 1910, para. 115, dated August 1st, 1910.

V. A. SMITH.

[5] This is a prose interposition.

[6] *I. e.*, they fixed possession for twelve years as giving an absolute title to the land.

[7] *I. e.*, possessors admitted in 1847 were granted possession from 1835.

Verse 25. Read स्कन्धं as suggested by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād, and compare श्वाकस्कन्धमारूढः at VII, 1697.

48. Read °क्षोभण° with D.

94. अर्जुन N, E; a possible reading.

100. °पैशुन्य° N, P, C, D.

110. पतंगः P, D, सतंगः N, E.

122. यो[ऽ]न्यायतो[ऽ]र्जितम् N, P, D.

135. Read सागराख्येण with P, D; see Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 13.

182. व्यधापि MSS. and D (व्यधापि C).

280. Read perhaps भ्रुम°.

292. Read वृत्तान्तमध्य°.

316. Read °भिजनः.

335. ☞ बन्दुं MSS. and D.

345. The correction प्रासाद° is unnecessary; प्रमादापवर्जित means 'left behind through carelessness.'

350. Read गच्छथः.

398. प्रवर्तमाने MSS. and D (प्रवर्धमाने C).

399. प्रवर्तित° N.

436. Read perhaps °कृतः.

483. The MSS. and D read यत्र, which seems correct (यन्त्र° C).

493. धनवृद्धिश्च P, D.

495. स्थूलोत्पत्तिः P, D.

553. Read perhaps गत्वोत्थितेन.

555. ☞ त्वल्लक्ष्मी° M with L.

559. °विधानं M.

561. प्रवृत्तोपि M.

567. द्विवास्तु N and E with A³.

572. भेजिरे M.

573. साध्यारि° M. विद्यधिरे M.

581. °पालस्य M.

588. कीर्तिर्बभा° M: compare L. °जश्च M. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 403 ff., Dr. Vogel has identified Babbāpura (or Babbhāpura) with Babōr near Jammū.

589. ☞ °सौरशो [मु]कुटो M; compare L.

590. गम्भीर° M. कान्दीशः कष्ट° M.

593. ☞ पुरोपप्रय° M, L, D.

596. मापिकं M; compare L.

598. °कलशो वृत्यं नित्यं M.

608. सतोयो° M, N, C, D.

619. ☞ °सखोनिव M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

620. °स्तश तैस्तैः M. ☞ मानिनम् M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

621. भिषृशा° M.

622. °नपहस्तेन M.

623. वीक्ष्य तं M.

628. ☞ °भूतस्तेन and °स्पृशा M with L.

629. भिषृशा° M.

630. °पुत्रस्तु M, N.

632. ☞ निवेश्यन् M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

633. ☞ °यधत्तापि M with L.

635. ☞ °द्वारौ M with L.

638. ☞ संभाष्य M with L.

639. ☞ °नमध्येकृत्येति M, N, P, D; see Pāṇini, I, 4, 76.

642. मा जानाति जनोखिलः M.

646. ☞ भविष्यामि M. ☞ मुनिः M with L.

647. कुभूपुरचिरा° M. ☞ °मीहते M with L.

656. कर्म M.

657. सुतं मत्वा M.

659. ☞ चण्ड° M with L.

663. भवन् M.

667. चक्रे स M.

668. ☞ तमीरा° M with L.

670. ☞ प्रविविक्षवः M, L, C, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

671. दृढगृहद्वारास्थितं M.

672. °युयोधा M.

675. ☞ द्विजस्त्रिव्या° M with L. ☞ °हेताः M.

679. ☞ बद्धः M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

681. मन्त्रिणश्चार्था° M.

684. ☞ °वैकल्यात्पशुतुल्यो M with L.

685. ☞ °जन्वी भर्तुर्वेधार्थिनी M with L.

689. °वौज्झद्दिने M.

691. राजा श्रुत्वा M.

692. ☞ सूदं च सोपलभ्य M with L.

698. ☞ ततोभिशाप° M, P, C, D.

699. °प्रतिष्ठाप्रारम्भं M.

701. ग्लापित° M, P. °मार्तः M.

703. ☞ ततोभिषेकुमुत्कर्ष° M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

705. ☞ तेन प्रा° M, L, E, as suggested by P, Durgāprasād.

709. जानंन्स M. ताम्रेश्वर° M.

710. ☞ माहेश्वरोपि M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
711. ☞ नरन्मुखेज्ञानी M with L.
713. तृतीयायां M. ☞ तल्पादे॰ M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
715. ☞ °न्प्राप्तः स M with L. ॰णान्तिकम् M.
718. परिसंचरन्ती M.
721. ☞ जपल्कामिव M with L.
723. निष्ठां समासदत् M.
728. ॰भास्वरम् M, P.
737. तस्मिन्नह्नि न M.
741. ☞ निवाप° M, D.
747. प्रहितैः पुनः M.
750. ☞ राज्यस्मिञ्शुष्यामो M with L.
754. ☞ कंचि॰ M.
755. ☞ विधत्ते स्म न च M.
756. ☞ परित्रातुं M.
757. Read निर्व्यवेणास्य with C. ☞ चिन्त्यमानव्ययेन M with L.
759. व्यवहारे M.
760. लुब्धात्तस्मात्॰ M. ☞ °शाङ्गन्तुं M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
761. ☞ ते चापि M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
762. ☞ मध्यस्थसैन्यात्तस्यामेयोधाः M; compare L.
766. °न्मथुरा॰ M.
769. ☞ शूला॰ M with L.
770. ☞ समराय M with L. ☞ °शिश्रियत् M, L, P, D.
771. ☞ सहस्थितौ M with L. राजसुतौ M.
772. ☞ वादिभिः M with L.
774. तमोर° M; compare my note on VII, 668.
776. ☞ °कार्ये M.
779. ☞ उच्चचार च M with L.
782. शाम्येदरिभयं M.
783. ☞ चोक्ता M, L, D. ☞ विविच्यता M with L.
785. ☞ °लीयके M with L.
792. किल विवि M.
795. दूरमा° M.
796. वदन्स तान् M.
797. °मुपान्यास° M; read °मुपन्यास°.
800. उत्कर्ष° M.
801. ☞ °तिष्ठन्न M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
802. ☞ सत्यात्मजं M with L.
804. °वृंद्धक्षत्त्र॰ M, L, D, ॰र्वृद्धक्षन्तृ॰ P; read °र्वार्द्धक्षत्रि॰. ☞ ॰धराधरः M with L.
807. °मुत्क्रोधा M.
808. °पुत्राद्दृष्टा M. सार्धं M.
815. ☞ क्लेशेन M with L. °क्षणश्वास M. ☞ बहिश्चिरात् M.
820. ☞ चोत्थाप्या° M with L.
821. °येतमे° M. ☞ हत्वोत्कर्षं M with L.
822. ☞ हर्षस्तत्तस्थौ तु M with L.
823. ☞ निष्पक्षपाचि° M with L.
824. °त्साधुत्व° M.
825. ☞ °द्रक्षन्तं M, L, D.
826. क्षणम् M.
828. मरणोत्तीर्णो M.
830. वैयात्या° M.
832. Read °न्यदन°.
835. ☞ °त्राजा M with L.
838. ☞ °मानिनम् M.
839. ☞ नीत्यैवं M, L, N, C, D. ☞ तद्राज्यं M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
840. ☞ सिंहासने स M with L.
841. कृताहारोप M.
843. ☞ शुक्ति° M. ☞ °न्यान्वचो M with L.
844. Read यं मन्वं तं ना°.
845. ☞ °साशिनां M with L.
850. सार्कं M.
852. ☞ °वहास्तेन M; compare L.
858. दृष्टा M. ☞ वारवधूः M.
859. ☞ °गैरिक° M with L.
864. स्यात्त° M. Read प्राणान्मोपेक्षिष्ठा.
865. ☞ समार्पिपत् M with L.
866. °सिल्हण° M.
869. ☞ °होदयक्षेत्रं M with L.
873. चाप्रकीर्त्या M. ☞ चर्चा कथं M with L.
874. ☞ °भूत्पूर्वेव M with L. दुष्प्रेक्षो M.
876. °प्रतीकाश्रा° M; read °प्रतीकाश°. °प्रकटो° M.
881. विगतोत्साहो M, L, विगतोष्णीको P; read विगतोष्णीषो with D and compare निरुष्णीष at VII, 922.
888. बन्धान्संत्यज्य M; read बन्धान्संत्याज्य.
892. प्रदप्र्याग्रे M. °नासावि° M. ☞ भिष्टशावष्टो M with L; compare VII, 337, 617, and my notes on 621, 629.
897. ☞ भ्राचोरात्तूणं शान्तयोर्गतः M; compare L. ☞ तान्वङ्घ्रिभ्रो° M with L.
901. तत्रागन्तुं M.
902. श्रुतिगतेM.
903. °सैन्येपि M.
904. स हरंस्तु° M.
907. ☞ भांकारि° M.
908. ☞ प्राकृतानीव M, as suggested by Dr. Stein (Text).

910. सत्त्ववानाकरोत्परस्या मज्जन्तमतिसंकटे M. Translate:— 'The horse, powerful because it was of Khandesh breed, having crossed the swollen river, also followed him who was being immersed in great danger.'

912. Read गिरीनु° with D.

913. ☞ °शाहिना M with L.

916. Read perhaps संकटात्ति°.

918. The second half runs thus in M:— पद्मानि धाता कुपितो द्विपेन निर्मूलयत्येककरेण नानि ॥

919. ☞ प्रभवितुं M with L.

921. स शोभा° MSS., C, D. °धायिनी° M.

922. ☞ निष्कर्णा° M with L.

924. राजोन्वितो M.

927. लडत्ताडीदला: M. Compare *Vikramâṅkadēvacharita*, XII, 12, and Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasaṁgraha*, II, 118, commentary.

929. °नद्धहेमोपवीतिका: M.

932. प्रणयादिव M.

935. ☞ विनिर्यातं M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād. ☞ काले M with L.

939. न व्यधु: M, N, P, C, D.

943. ☞ दत्तास्थानस्य M with L.

949. ☞ कस्या° M. अवाचस्पति: = बृहस्पतिं वर्जयित्वा; compare VII, 941.

953. ☞ °वारणात् M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād. राज° M.

955. °र्हानेर्महीभुजा M.

956. ☞ शाहिवंश्याकरोत्प्रिया M.

957. महैश्वर्य° M.

963. स्त्रीणां तेन राज्ञा शत° M.

964. °शीस्लेन M.

965. ☞ प्रेर्यमाणो M. कोह° M. ☞ °भूलो-हराख्य° M. Compare the footnote in Dr. Stein's Translation.

968. कोह° M.

969. °लहर° M. कोह° M.

971. ☞ °पात्रताम् M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

974. ☞ सोरिवल्लं M.

979. ☞ °मध्यशीरत M with L.

980. ☞ °बानासीद्रणे M with L.

981. ☞ °सार्पितै: M with L.

982. कन्दर्पं पर्यवेष्टयन् M.

983. ☞ उत्तसानथ M with L. ☞ °नौषधि° M with L.

986. Read °त्संछन्नां with D.

988. ☞ केचि° M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād. ☞ परस्त्री° M, L, C.

991. ☞ स्वां भुव° M with L.

995. ☞ °मभिसंमत: MSS. and D (°मति° C).

998. ☞ शूरं M, N, P, L, C, D. तथा M.

1000. ☞ °पुत्रमादाय M with L.

1002. ☞ °यशा M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1004. ☞ विनिष्कृष्य M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1006. कोट्टं M, P, D.

1009. ☞ ससैन्यं M with L.

1010. निहत्योद्वसितं M; read °द्वसत्वं.

1011. °लक्ष्या: M, C.

1012. °न्मध्ये M.

1014. ☞ वेश्या° MSS., L, C, D. ☞ °पैष्यति M, D; see Pāṇini, VI, 1, 89.

1019. ☞ °र्मन्त्रय° M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1022. शामला° M; read शामाला°. ☞ नाग° M, L, C.

1024. °ङ्गिनैव M. पूरयन्धूर्तो M.

1025. ☞ स्थितस्यास्थान° M, L, P, D.

1026. °मब्रवीत् M.

1029. ☞ प्राज्ञस्य M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1042. ☞ वृतमम° M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1043. Read दत्तदेहो.

1045. ☞ प्रयोगेण A, P, E, C, D.

1047. The reading यावत्सशङ्क° requires no change; compare *Śiśupālavadha*, I, 58.

1053. Read प्राङ्गणे with D.

1054. ☞ °सीहेन M with L; compare VII, 1299. Here and in verses 1062 and 1065 M reads ठुक्क for ठक्क.

1056. ☞ समाकर्ण्य M with L.

1059. Read संकटक्षण: with C, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.

1062. Read perhaps निश्चिन्वत°.

1096. Read प्रभाविणौ with C.

1112. °राजो M, P. ☞ °भ्यधिकौ M; Śiva and Vishnu are alluded to.

1113. °मात्यैर्नियतोधिकार: M. ☞ भूपा: MSS., C, D.

1114. स्वादूरितं M. मुञ्चत्यथ M. समस्वभाव: M.

1115. लघुतां गतम् M.

1118. °दीनार° M.

1119. ☞ पर्माडि: M; compare VII, 935 and Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 446.

1120. प्रोत्साय M.

1121. ☞ पर्माडेश्च M.

1122. °ताम्बूलपरित्यागे M.
1123. नारिकेल° M, C.
1124. पिम्पला° M. Read °पापर्द्धि°, 'chase,' as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1127. परि° M. भवेत् M.
1129. Read चोऽन्नल्प°.
1132. ☞ आयुर्वर्षायुता° M with L.
1135. °परान्य[तुपा]यानसेवत M.
1137. कृते N, P, D.
1139. °स्युपहतो° M.
1141. ☞ तदाद्युः° M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1143. तस्मिन्नेव क्षणेभवन् M.
1147. ☞ यामिरङ्कुमारोप्य M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1148. Read पितृष्वसुः with D.
After 1149 M inserts the same verse as L.
1150. सर्वा° M, L; कदाचित्कु° M. Read perhaps दार्वाभिसारेण दाकचित्कोपितो and compare Dr. Stein's footnote on I, 180, where it is shown that Rājapurī was included in Dārvābhisāra.
1154. ☞ धरापतेः M.
1156. तेन मार्गितुं भूरि M.
1170. ☞ प्रेरयत्स्वा° M.
1171. ☞ रन्ध्रमन्विष्य M with L.
1172. ☞ थक्कन° M with L.
1173. °पेक्षः M.
1174. तद्वल्लैर्दराक्रा° M. राज्ञा च M.
1176. ☞ प्रैरयत्क्ष्मापं M, C, D.
1177. ☞ वालगण्डस्त° all. ☞ चम्पकं M with L.
1178. ☞ °भजद्वैरं M with L.
1179. ☞ विसूत्रिते तु M. दुर्गे सैन्यैर° M.
1180. कोट्टेपि M.
1182. संमामानति° M.
1187. °हैर्विहितैरिव M.
1188. क्षपयन्कांश्चित्क्षपणे कांश्चिदुत्थयन् M.
1189. °वारविसूत्रणम् M.
1192. ☞ °मसिषतापमाः M (°सिष्यता° only C).
1194. सफेणेव M, C.
1195. Read दारदैः.
1200. ☞ यद्राज्ञो M, L, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1208. ☞ तेन मन्त्रिणा M.
1212. तमुद्दयस्य निवेशने M.
1213. Read perhaps सचिवमुद्दयाख्यं.
1220. दीना° in both cases M.
1221. दीनारैः M.
M omits the second half of verse 1227 and the first half of 1228.
1229. °तुङ्ग° M.
1230. ☞ महानसम् M.
1231. Read क्रूरं or क्रूराद्.
1236. ☞ °काकाद्या M.
1238. ☞ कर्णो M, D. ☞ अखिद्यन्त M.
1241. लोलाहे M, N.
1250. ☞ दुग्धघाते M; see Dr. Stein's note on VII, 1171.
1251. जाति° M.
1256. ☞ कालिञ्जर° M, P, D.
1261. ☞ °काङ्क्षिता M.
1262. °श्वायाता° M, P, D. °मान्धृतो° M.
1264. °वत्सचन्द्रस्य M.
1266. ☞ °त्पहं M. ☞ तमरिनाशाय M.
1269. कश्मीर° M.
1272. °मुद्धतम् M.
1273. °ज्यावोचद्° M.
1279. सज्जं M, N, P, C, D.
1283. ☞ सातवाहनामानं चन्द्रो° M. ☞ चन्द्र° M, D.
1289. काश्मीर° MSS., C, D.
1292. डामराः। निर्गता M. ☞ वड्ड° M; see VII, 1298.
1297. वैशाखसित° M, P.
1298. ☞ वड्ड° MSS., C, D.
1299. Read क्षेमदात्मजं, as suggested by Dr. Stein (Text); compare VII, 482. आस्थापय° M, N, D.
1301. इवाविशत् M.
1302. °त्खाशङ्का° M.
1305. ☞ °सैनिकम् M.
1307. °स्थादी° M.
1311. काकाख्यवैश्य° M.
1322. °लावदन् M.
1325. ☞ चानीकैः M.
1326. °पुरं M.
1332. ☞ °स्यौरे° M, P, D.
1333. ☞ विरोधिनाश् M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1342. संघड्ड° M.
1344. ☞ यम् M.
1345. °पाटिते M.
1346. ☞ °कारं M. यत्प्रपथे M, N.
1349. °द्पाक्रतः M.
1351. मायानिधिर्नोहावहं रिपोः M.
1364. ☞ °पद्यत L, N, P, C, D.
1377. Read perhaps संस्पर्धिता.
1380. Read perhaps मनस्य°.
1385. Read perhaps व्यधुः.
1391. Read भूत.
1398. तत्प्रभावः M, N, C, D with A[1].

1399. मन्थानरज्ञो° M in the margin.
1401. ☞ मा त्याक्षीरचिरादेवं M.
1402. ☞ काप्यभि° M.
1403. ☞ °शरीरतां M.
1410. ☞ दुःखं M. as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1413. °न्यादिविक्रियाः M, P, D.
1432. असंख्यां M. ☞ न्याय्ये M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1433. °मैव M, D. लोकेना° M.
1440. हठापातिनी M.
1441. Read perhaps जातः.
1450. °कीर्तनम् M.
1454. °भ्युपस्थिते M.
1459. पराश्रये M.
1462. महादेव्या M.
1463. °श्रयणीं M.
1465. °वाप्तौ P, D.
1467. °मण्डलः M.
1480. सङ्गका° M.
1485. Read चाश्रमयत्स्मयात्.
1487. अवकल्य seems to mean the same as नीवि, 'a hostage'; compare VII, 1473.
1489. ☞ जनाप्तुभिः M.
1491. परस्मिन्वैतस्तं M; read °तस्ततीरे.
1492. Read संलक्ष्यौ.
1509. ☞ °दर्थय° M.
1510. पिष्ट° M.
1511. ☞ °प्यङ्गः M, C, D.
1514. °मुद्र[ा*]न्य M.
1519. संप्राप्य MSS., C. D.
1525. ☞ कलशाद्रं M; compare कलशगञ्ज at VII, 570. Read perhaps तं प्रस्थितं.
1533. ☞ °णार्थय° M.
1538. Read perhaps °स्तीव्रताप°.—'He (nearly) died repeatedly of fever, and with him his father (out of anxiety for him).'
1542. स्थानस्थः M.
1543. ☞ बभ्रन्ध्र° M.
1549. Read पर्यवास्यद्विधि°.
1556. तीर्णैस्ततो M.
1561. ☞ °कंधरः M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1567. Read प्राङ्कुणा° with D.
1569. °श्रमत् M.
1577. Read वसन्त्यदृष्या.
1583. अत्यन्त° M.
1594. ☞ आदद्वये M, as corrected by Dr. Stein.
1595. नावर्त्म° M; read नौवर्त्म°. स प्राप M.
1597. ☞ दुग्धं M.
1598. Read विज्ञो राजपुत्रस्य.
1601. शङ्कमपि प्रसूते N, P, D.
1607. शैयराज° M.
1609. चाभ्रमत् M.
1620. ☞ निशाम् M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1624. ☞ गृहान्तरात् M.
1626. प्रेयाश्रमं M.
1627. ☞ भविष्यामि M.
1628. ☞ °वृष्टिपात° M, D.
1629. °नैनैव M, E.
1633. निःसहायता M.
1635. सोमेश्वर्यभिधाः M. °वनान्तिके M, N with A^1.
1636. अभूद्गुरा° M.
1637. भिश्शा° M. ☞ कुट्टनो° M, P, D.
1641. रुद्रादित्य° M.
1642. Read °प्राङ्कणोर्वी with D.
1644. तस्य भीमवतो भीमा रात्रिर्घोरा° M.
1645. निशाम् M, P, C, D.
1646. ☞ °न्तरा दुःख° M, L, C, D.
1649. प्रासावमानं M.
1650. ☞ हस्तिकर्णान्तिकं M.
1654. °गृहे तिष्ठंस्तत्र श्रुत्वा M.
1657. सहका° M. लालितकश्चैकः M; compare L and the footnote in Dr. Stein's Translation.
1659. °रिवैका M.
1663. भूभृतामपि M.
1664. ☞ आलापव्यवहारादि M.
1665. Read प्रयागेण with C, D.
1667. ☞ तपस्विन्य° M, as suggested by P. Durgāprasād.
1670. Read प्रयागेण प्राङ्कणस्थेन with D.
1675. ☞ गात्रे प्रहार° M.
1677. ☞ °व्यथः कथन् M.
1678. Read प्रयागेण with C, D.
1679. ☞ °वदना M, A^1, E, D.
1680. Read प्रयागेण with C, D.
1681. ☞ द्वे ततः पात्रे M.
1682. विनिःश्वस्य M, D.
1686. यथैव M.
1687. श्रुत्वा पुत्रं M. निन्द्यते M.
1698. Read प्रयागेणा° with C, D.
1702. Read °रादद्दे with D.
1712. °स्येता° C, D.
1727. Read गौरकाख्येण with D; see Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 13.
1730. ☞ नानुमृत° M.
1731. ☞ यश्च E with L.
1732. Read °राजकुलं.

DONALD WILLIAM FERGUSON.

BY A. M. FERGUSON, M.R.A.S.

[I have a sad pleasure in publishing this memoir. Donald Ferguson was a valued contributor to these pages, and always ready to assist me in any obscure point of Oriental knowledge requiring acquaintance with the languages and literatures of the European nations connected with the East.—Ed.]

Donald William Ferguson was born at Colombo, Ceylon, on the 8th October, 1853, died of pleurisy at 'Samanala,' Croydon, on the 29th June, 1910, in his 57th year, and was cremated at Golders Green on the 2nd July following. He was the third son of the late A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., who arrived in Ceylon in 1837 and died there in 1892, being for the most part of those 55 years chief proprietor and editor of the *Ceylon Observer*. Mr. D. W. Ferguson was educated at Denmark Hill Grammar School, Camberwell, by C. P. Mason, the celebrated grammarian; at Mill Hill School by R. F. Weymouth, D. Litt.; and at Regent's Park Baptist College, by Dr. Joseph Angus, M.A., author of "The Bible Handbook." He married, in 1883, Winifred Meredith, the daughter of the Rev. F. D. Waldock of Ceylon. His widow and two daughters survive him. Although delicate in childhood, knapsack walking tours in Switzerland with his elder brother so strengthened him that in his 17th year he was able, with the same companion, to walk in Bohemia 50 miles in one day and 34 miles the next.

Mr. Ferguson studied medicine under Dr. Frederick Roberts at University College, London, but gave that up for literary work. He was for many years co-proprietor and co-editor of the *Ceylon Observer* with his father and with his cousin, John Ferguson, C.M.G., who has now been connected with Ceylon for nearly 50 years. By medical advice he had to retire to England in 1893, and spent the last 17 years of his life at Croydon in doing most valuable work relating to the ancient history of his native island, as the subjoined list of his works in the British Museum Library will show. He had a good command of French, German, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish: also an acquaintance with Latin, Italian, Sinhalese, Tamil and other languages. He inherited his father's talent for remembering accurately what he read. He was a frequent and acceptable contributor to the *Athenum*, *Notes and Queries* *Indian Antiquary*, *Orientalist*, and the *Journals* of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Great Britain and Ceylon, of both of which he was a life member. He was also a member of the Philological Society, where he made valued friendships with the late Dr. Richard Garnett, Dr. F. J. Furnivall, *etc.* He was a man of strong views, and hated all shams. Needless to say, he was a constant student in the British Museum Reading Room, from the catalogues of which the following list of his works is compiled :—

Ferguson, Donald William. *See* Kuhn, E. W. A. On the earliest Aryan element of the Sinhalese Vocabulary . . . Translated by D. F. (1885 ?). 8°.

See Ferguson, William, *of the Ceylon Civil Service.* List of writers on Ceylon, etc. (Enlarged by D. W. F.) [1886.] 8°.

See Daalmans, A. E. A Belgian Physician's Notes on Ceylon . . . . . Translated from the Dutch by D. W. F. [1888 ?] 8°.

Captain João Ribeiro: his work on Ceylon, and the French translation thereof by the Abbé Le Grand. Extracted from the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, pp. 47, [Colombo ? 1888.] 8°.

See Ribeiro, J., *Capitano.* Ribeiro's account of the siege of Colombo in 1655 56. (Translated) by D. W. F., etc. [1891.] 8°.

The Reverend Philippus Baldæus and his book on Ceylon, pp. II, 47. Colombo, 1895. 16°.

Captain Robert Knox : the 20 years captive in Ceylon . . . . Contributions towards a biography, pp. 72. Printed for private circulation. [1896-97] 8°.

See Knox, R., *Captain.* Robert Knox's Sinhalese Vocabulary, (Edited) by D. W. F., etc. (1897) 8°.

See Texeira, P. The Travels of Pedro Texeira . . . with . . . an introduction by D. F. [1902] 8°.

See Vieyra, C. and Calao, V. Letters from Portuguese captives in Canton, written in 1534 and 1536. With an introduction . . . by D. F., etc. *Portuguese and English* [1902] 8°.

Correspondence between Râja Sinha II and the Dutch [1645-1660]. Extracted from *Journal* No. 15, Vol. 18, of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch [1904.] 8°.

See Rajasiṃha II, *King of Ceylon. Cartas de Raja Singa II,* Rei de Candia, aos Hollandasas, 1636—60, publicadas por D. Ferguson [1907] 8°.

The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506 . . . . . *Journal* of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX, Colombo [1908] 8°.

See Barros, João de. *History of Ceylon* from the earliest times to 1600 A. D., as related by J. de Barros and D. do Conto. Translated and edited by D. F., 1909. 8°. (*Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 60).

FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS AT GUDIMALLAM.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A., TRIVANDRUM.

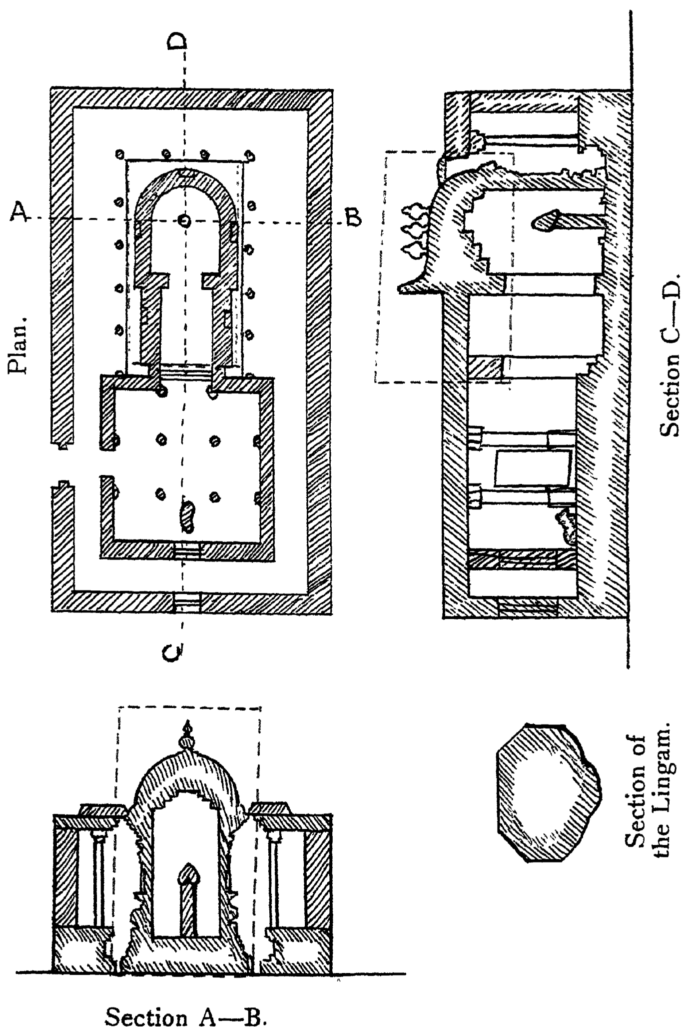
THE temple of Paraśurāmēśvara, from which the five inscriptions edited below have been copied, is situated in the village of Guḍimallam, six miles north of Reniguṇṭa, which is a village, with a railway station, in the Chandragiri *tāluka* of the North Arcot District. One of the inscriptions belonging to this temple informs us that it was completely rebuilt in the ninth year of the reign of Vikramachōḷadēva (A.D. 1126).[1] The present structure is not after the common model of the period to which it belongs: the *vimāna* has the so-called *gajapṛishṭhākṛiti* shape: but a close study of the plan and sections, given in the accompanying plate, warrant the conclusion that the architect had distinctly in view the shape of the *liṅga* ;[2] and hence the *vimāna* might better be styled a *liṅgākṛiti-vimāna.* Again, the *liṅga* of this temple is a most remarkable one, in that it is an exact copy of the *phallus,* and has the various portions shaped very accurately. It has been made out of a hard igneous rock of a dark brown colour, samples of which are found near the Tirumala hills. The *liṅga* and the image of Śiva carved on its front side are very highly polished. Unlike the later representations, the image of Śiva has been made with only a single pair of hands, the right carrying a ram by its hind legs and the left holding a water-vessel. A battle-axe rests on its left shoulder (from which perhaps he derives his name of Paraśurāmēśvara), and there is the usual matted and twisted hair (*jaṭā*) on his head. He is standing on the shoulders of a Rākshasa whom the sculptor has represented with a pair of animal ears. The *liṅga* is the only one of its kind in

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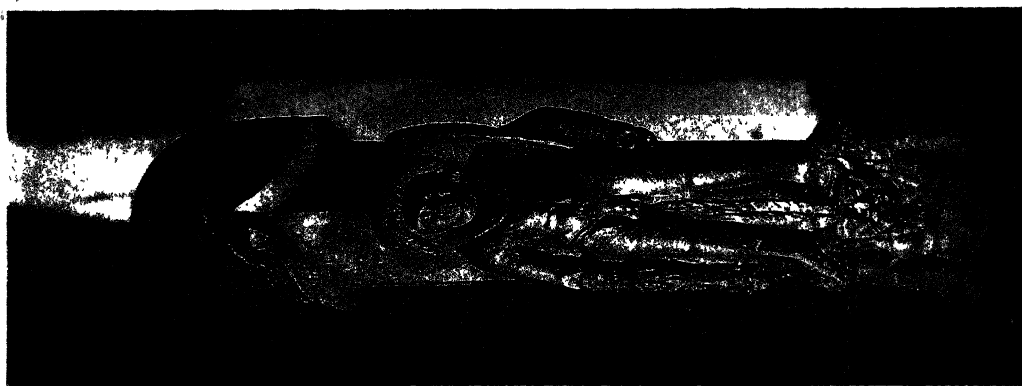
[1] No. 212 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for the year 1903.

[2] The *gajapṛishṭhākṛiti-vimāna* is found only in Śaiva temples; *e g.*, the Dharmēśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam, the Śaiva temples at Sōmaṅgalam, Peṇṇagaram, Bhāradvājāśrama near Arcot, Tiruppulivanam, Konnūr (near Madras), Vaḍa Tirumullaivāyil, etc., etc. I have not come across any Vaishṇava temple having this kind of *vimāna.*

The Parasuramesvara temple : Gudimallam.



Plan and Sections.



The Lingam.

Southern India, and from its sculpture, it may be set down at the latest to about the second or the third century A.D.[3] The plate shows the front view of it.

Of the five inscriptions under notice, one was discovered by Mr. Venkayya and the four others by me. The stones on which are the four latter inscriptions, were lying scattered about the precincts of the Paraśurāmēśvara temple. One of the slabs, that bearing on it the inscription B., was broken into six pieces: they were found after much search, and were put together, and the inscription was thus recovered.[4]

The inscriptions are in general in an excellent state of preservation; but the stone bearing A. is broken lengthwise, and the first few letters of each of the lines are lost; but it is easy to supply them from the context. Also, the slab on which E. is engraved is broken on the right side, on account of which the last few letters of the first eight lines and the first letters of a portion of the inscription on the back of it are lost; in this record, the subject-matter cannot be made out, but the regnal year and the name of the king in whose reign the document is dated are easily read.

As regards orthography, the records present very few peculiarities to which attention might be drawn. What little is worth noting, is given in the introductory remarks to each record.

These inscriptions are of great importance in fixing the exact periods of the Bāṇa kings, to whose reigns they belong. The records A. and B. are dated Śaka 820 and 827 respectively, and refer themselves to the reign of Vijayāditya, a son, according to A., of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara, and his wife Māraka[nim]maḍigaḷ. Another Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar is mentioned in E. as the contemporary of Viśaiya-Dantivikramavarmar, in the 49th year of whose reign the record is dated.

In C., mention is made of Vāṇa-Vidyādhara, the Bāṇa, who ruled under Nṛipatuṅga, and the record is dated the 24th year of the reign of the latter. The inscription D. belongs to the 23rd year of the reign of Nandippōttaraśar, whose contemporary was Vikramāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar.

From the Udayēndiram grant of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II, we obtain the following genealogy of the Bāṇa kings[5] :—

1. Jayanandivarman

   (He ruled the western portion of the Vaḍugavaḻi country.)

   |
2. Vijayāditya I

   |
3. Malladēva or Jagadēkamalla

   |
4. Bāṇavidyādhara

   |
5. Prabhumēru

   |
6. Vikramāditya I

   |
7. Vijayāditya II,
   alias Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa

   |
8. Vijayabāhu-Vikramāditya II, a friend of Kṛishṇarāja II of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.

[3] Compare this image with the picture of the Yaksha given on p. 36 of Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India* as translated by Gibbson and Burgess. The face, the ear and the ear-ornaments, the arms and the ornaments on them, the necklace and its design, the arrangement of drapery, particularly the big folds that descend between the legs, all these are identically the same in both the image of Śiva reproduced here and the Yaksha already mentioned.

[4] Four of these are now set up in front of the entrance of the temple and that on which our inscription B. is engraved, is left in the safe custody of the village officer.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 75.

From this genealogy we learn that Vikramāditya II, *alias* Vijayabāhu, who was a friend of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II, who reigned A.D. 888-911, must have ruled in the last decades of the ninth century A.D. Therefore the Vijayāditya mentioned in our inscriptions A. and C., whose dates are given as S 820 and 827 (A.D. 898 and 905), must necessarily be later than Vikramāditya II; and, since he comes immediately after Vikramāditya in point of time, he should be the successor of Vikramāditya II. From A. we learn that the father of this Vijayāditya was a Bāṇavidyādhara. Hence the latter, preceding Vijayāditya, as he must have done, may be identical with Vikramāditya II. If this identification is correct, we have to infer that Vikramāditya II must have borne the surname Bāṇavidyādhara.

From an inscription at Maṇigaṭṭa Gollahaḷḷi in the Kōlār District, Mysore, we learn that a Bejeyitta-Bāṇarasa was reigning in Saka 831=A.D. 909-10.[6] And from the fact that the period in which that ruler lived agrees with that of the Vijayāditya of our inscriptions A. and B., there is no difficulty in taking the three records as referring to one and the same individual. The Bāṇa king bearing the name, Bāṇavidyādhara mentioned in C., who is described as a contemporary of Nṛipatuṅga, must also be the same as the one referred to in A. But A. states that this Bāṇavidyādhara's wife was named Mārakanimmaḍigaḷ : hence he must be different from the Bāṇa king of the same name, mentioned in the Tiruvallam inscriptions, whose wife was Kundavvai, a daughter of the Gaṅga king Pṛithvīpati I.[7] The inference that the king mentioned in the Tiruvallam inscription must be different from him who figures in our A. and B., is borne out by the fact that the former lived about A.D. 814-77, the period assigned to Pṛithvīpati I, whereas, the inscriptions edited below show that the latter flourished about A.D. 898-905, that is, a generation or two after the latter.

In my paper on "Six Pallava Inscriptions,"[8] I have shown (1) that the so-called Gaṅga-Pallavas are identical with the regular Pallavas; (2) that the names Dantivarman, Dantivarma-mahārāja, Dantippōttaraśar and Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman refer to a single individual; similarly, the names Nandivarman, Nandippōttaraśar, Vijaya Nandivikramavarman indicate one and the same person; (3) that the kings Dantivarman, Nandivarman and Nṛipatuṅgavarman were grandfather, father and son, respectively; and (4) that their reigns must have extendeed approximately as follollows :—

Dantivarman	... ...	A.D. 760 to 811.
Nandivarman	... ...	,, 811 to 873.
Nṛipatuṅgavarman	... ...	,, 873 to 899.

Then the 49th year of the reign of Dantivarman, given in E., must approximately be A.D. 809, a date which fits in very well for Vijayāditya, son-in-law of the Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati I, who ruled, as we have stated already, from A. D. 814 to 877. The contemporary of Nandivarman about the 23rd year of his reign, that is, A.D. about 824, according to D., was Vikramāditya. Since Vijayāditya, the contemporary of Dantivarman, the father lived so near in point of time to Vikramāditya, the contemporay of Nandippōttaraśar, the son, I feel inclined to take Vijayāditya as the father of Vikramāditya. But the Udayēndiram plates inform us that Prabhumēru was the name of the father of Vikramāditya; then it would follow that Prabhumēru was a *biruda* of Vijayāditya, the contemporary of Dantivarman.[9] If all the identifications ventured above are correct, the genealogy of the Bāṇas and synchronisms of this with the other dynasties will be as follows :—

[6] No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1899 : and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 229.

[7] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Nos. 247 and 248.

[8] To be published shortly.

[9] No. 542 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1903 bears out this conclusion. Therein the king is called Mahāvali Vāṇaraśar Vijayādityan Viruchūḷāmaṇi Prabhumēru.

Table of Synchronisms of the S. Indian dynasties during A.D. 750 to 900.

Century.	Bāṇas.	Pallavas.	Rāshṭrakūṭas.	Gaṅgas.	Chōḷas.
	1. Jayanandivarman.				
	2. Vijayāditya I.		Dantidurga II (A.D. 754).		
A.D. 750.	3. Malla or Jagadēkamalla.				
	4. Bāṇavidyādhara.	Dantivarman.	Gōvinda III (A.D. 782-814).	Śivamāra II (A.D. 805-810).	
A.D. 800.	5. Prabhumēru [*alias* Vijayāditya II][10]				
	6. Vikramāditya I [*alias* Bāṇavidyādhara]; *md.* Kundavvai, daughter of Pṛithvipati I.[11]	Nandivarman.	Amōghavarsha I (A.D. 814-876).	Pṛithvīpati I.	
	7. Vijayāditya III.	Nṛipatuṅgavarman.	Kṛishṇa II (A.D. 888-911).	Mārasimha I.	
A.D. 900.	8. Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya II [*alias* Bāṇa Vidyādhara, *md.* Mārakanimmaḍigal].			Pṛithvīpati II.	Āditya I. — Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-947).
	9. Vijayāditya IV.				

[10] Those in square brackets indicate the identifications proposed in the paper.

[11] *S. I. I.*; Vol. II. Kielhorn in his "Synchromatic Table for S. India" (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII) takes Vikramāditya I, as the contemporary of Nṛipatuṅga, which does not agree with the facts noticed in this paper. [For a different view, see Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 19—D. R. B.]

If, according to the identification arrived at in the preceding paragraphs, Prabhumēru should be assumed to have borne the name Vijayāditya, he would become the second of that name; for, the first Vijayāditya was the son of Jayanandivarman. Then, the third Vijayāditya would be he, who has hitherto been known as the second; and the fourth and last Vijayāditya would be the son of Vikramāditya II, *alias* Bāṇavidyādhara.

The last known date of Vijayāditya IV is Śaka 831 (A.D. 909).[12] In the 9th year of the reign of Parāntaka-Chōḷa I, he vanquished two Bāṇas and presented their kingdom to the Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II.[13] This conquest by Parāntaka must have taken place sometime before A.D. 916, the 9th year of his reign. Since the last known date, A.D. 909, for the Bāṇa Vijayāditya IV, is so near A.D. 915, he must be one of the two Bāṇas deposed by Parāntaka I.

A study of the foregoing table enables us to note that, in the majority of the cases, the names Vijayāditya, Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya, and Bāṇavidyādhara were borne alternately by the Bāṇa kings: for example, Nos. 2, 5, 7 and 9 are Vijayādityas, while Nos. 4, 6 and 8 are Bāṇavidyādharas. Of the three Bāṇavidyādharas, two are Vikramādityas.

A.—Of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya: dated Śaka 820.

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone lying in the yard in front of the Paraśurāmēśvara temple. The stone is broken lengthwise on the proper right side, and hence the first few letters of each of the lines are lost; from the context these can be easily supplied. The front of the stone, and the side, are smooth, whereas the back is very rough; consequently, that portion of the inscription that is engraved on the back is partly illegible.

The characters are Tamiḻ, except the Bāṇa introduction in Sānskṛit giving the name, etc., of the Bāṇa king, which is written in the Grantha alphabet. Other Sānskṛit words occurring in the inscription are also in Grantha: *e.g.*, *paraśurāmēśvara, pṛithvīrājyam, sandhyā* and *sabhai*. The language of the record is also Tamiḻ.

The inscription mentions first the Bāṇa king, Bāṇavidyādhara and his wife Mārakanimmaḍigaḷ. Their son Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar is next introduced. The record is dated Śaka 820, in the reign of this Vijayāditya. Mārakanimmaḍigaḷ, the mother of the ruling king, paid to the assembly of Tiruvippiramapēḍu a sum of money, from the interest of which they were bound to supply the necessaries for the evening offerings and for burning a perpetual lamp before the god Paraśurāmēśvara.

The place Tiruvippiramapēḍu, mentioned in the inscription, may be identified with the modern Yerpedu, a station on the Pakala-Gudur section of the Madras Railway. It is about five miles east of Guḍimallam, and seems to have included in ancient times the present Guḍimallam in which at present the temple is situated.

Text.[14]

Front of the slab—

1. [Sva]sti Śrī [||*] Śaka-
2. [la-ja]gattray-ā-
3. [bhivandi]ta-surāsu-
4. [rādhī]śa-Paramēśva-
5. [ra-pra]ti-hārīkṛiti-Ma-
6. [hāba]li-kul-ōtbha-
7. [va-śrī]-Vāṇavi-
8. [dyādha]rar Mahādēvi-
9. [ga]ḷāyiṉa Māraka-
10. [nim]maḍigaḷ magaṉā-

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[12] See note 6, on p. 106, above. [13] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 387 to 388. [14] From impressions prepared by me.

11. [r Vija]yāditta-Mahā-
12. [vali]-Vāṇarāyar pṛithi-
13. [vī-rā]jyañ=jeyya [|*]Sa-
14. [gara]y=āṇḍu eṇ-
15. [ṇū]ṟṟ=īrubad=āvadu
16. [Tiru]vippiramapēṭ[ṭu]
17. [śrī]-Paraśurāmīśvaragara-
18. [t]tu=pperumāṉaḍi[ga]-
19. [ḷu]kku sa[ndhyā] kālattu

Side of the slab—

20. [tiru]vamudukkum nandā-viḷakku oṉṟukkum=āga=kkuḍutta śemboṉ
21. muppadiṉ-kaḷañju [||*] Ippoṉ Mādēvi aḍigaḷ pakkal ivvūr sa-
22. bh[ai]yoṅ-koṇḍu ippoṉṉukku=ppoli ūṭṭāga tiruvamudukku niśadam i-

Back of the slab—

23. . . . . . dañ=je[lu]ttu-
24. [vō]m=āṉōm sabhai-
25. [yō]m . . . .
26. . . . .
27. · ṇḍu śelutta-
28. · maṭṭi=kkuḍut-
29. [tom] sabhaiyōm=a-
30. ṉṟ=eṉṟōm Ga-
31. [ṅ]gai iḍai=kkuma-
32. [ri]ḍai=chcheydā[r śe]-
33. yda pāvattu=ppa
34. [ḍu]vār=āṉār [||*].

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! While Vijayāditya-Māhāvali-Vāṇarāyar, son of Mārakanimmaḍigaḷ who was the great queen of the glorious Vāṇavidyādhara,—born from the family of Mahābali, who had been made the door-keepers of Paramēśvara (Śiva), the lord of gods and demons, who is worshipped in all the three worlds,—was ruling the earth: in the Śaka year eight hundred and twenty, a gift of thirty ***Kaḷañjus*** of gold was made by the Mādēvi-aḍigaḷ for offerings in the evening and for one perpetual lamp to the Lord of Śrī-Paraśurāmēśvaragaram of Tiruvippiramapēḍu.

(Line 22.) We, the assembly of this town shall receive the gold from the great queen (*and*) as interest on this gold, we, the aseembly shall have to pay . . . . daily for offerings . . . .

(*The rest of the inscription, being fragmentary, is left untranslated.*)

B.—Of the Time of Vijayāditta-Vāṇarāya: dated Śaka 827.

The slab of stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is, as already stated, broken into six pieces. But the inscription is not thereby much damaged; only a few letters are lost here and there. The record is otherwise in a very good state of preservation. The alphabet of the inscription is Tamiḻ, but Sānskṛit words are written in Grantha; *e. g.*, *Vijayāditta Vāṇarāyar pṛithvīrājyam* in lines 3 and 4, and *sabhai* in lines 7 and 21. The letter *śi*, occurring in the word *kaḷañji°* in line 14, is corrected from śu.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Bāṇa king Vijayāditya, and is dated Śaka 8[2]7 that is, seven years after the first record (A. above). It states that an *adhikārin* named Vīramaṅgalaṅ-giḻār gave to the Sabhā of Tiruvirpiramapēḍu, twenty *kaḷañjus* of gold, from

the interest of which they agreed to burn a perpetual lamp before the god Paraśurāmēśvaragaram. The rate of interest per annum per *kalañju* of *poṉ* was four *mañjāḍis*; and so the total interest on the twenty *kalañjus* amounted to four *kalañjus*; this comes to twenty per cent. *per annum*, a rather heavy rate of interest. The buying capacity of a *poṉ* may be judged from the fact that 45 *nāḻis* of ghee could be obtained for a *kalañju* of *poṉ*. So, then, four *kalañjus* represent 180 *nāḻis* which, at the rate of half a *nāḻi* per day for burning a lamp, would last for the whole year.

Tiruvirpiramapēḍu is said to belong to the Śilaināḍu of the Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam.

Text.[15]

1. Svasti Śrī[॥*] Śa[gara]yāṉ-
2. ḍu 8[2]7 [āva]du Vī-
3. jayāditta-Vā[ṇa]rāya-
4. [r] pṛithvī-rājyañ=jeyya=
5. t Tiruvēṅgaḍa=kkōṭṭattu=ch Chilai-
6. nāṭṭu-t Tiruviṟpiramapēṭṭu-
7. [sabhaiyō]m [Adi]k[ā]ri Vīramaṅga-
8. laṅgi[ḻār va]ḻi pakkal[16] eṅgaḷ=ūrp-
9. Paraśur[āmē]śvaragarattu-ppirāṉārkku=
10. chchandirāditta-gata[m] na[ndā]viḷak-
11. [ke]rip[pa]daṟku koṇḍa poṉ
12. [17][ip]poṉ mudal irubadiṉ-kaḻa-
13. [ñ]jiṉāl-(l)āṇḍuvarai [nā]lu mañjā-
14. ḍi=ppaliśaiyār=poṉ [n]āṟkaḻañji
15. ṉāṟ=kaḻañjukku nā[ṟpatt]ai(y)nnāḻi-
16. ppaḍi nūṟṟ=eṉbadi[nā]ḻi neyyāl
17. niśadi uri(y)ney koṇḍu nandā-
18. viḷakku muṭṭāmai erippōm=āṉōm[॥*]
19. muṭṭiṟ=kaṅgaiyiḍai=kkumari iḍaichche-
20. ydār śeyda p[ā*]vam pa[ḍu]vōm=āṉō-
21. m Sabhaiyōm

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year 8[2]7, while Vijayāditta-Vāṇarāyar is ruling the earth, we, the assembly of Tiruvirpiramapēḍu in the Śilainādu, (a sub-division) of the Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭtam, have received 20 *K*[18] of gold from the *adhikārin*, Vīramaṅgalaṅgiḻār, for burning a perpetual lamp as long as the moon and sun endure, before the Lord of Paraśurāmēśvaragaram of our town.

(Line 12.) With this capital of 20 *kalañjus* of gold, (*the aggregate interest accruing*) at the end of a year, at an interest of four *mañjāḍis* on (each *kalañju* of gold), is four *kalañjus* of gold; from these (four *kalañjus*), one hundred and eighty *nāḻis* (of ghee) (*being realised*) at the rate of fourty-five *nāḻis* per *kalañju*, we bind ourselves to burn, without failure, a perpetual lamp, (*feeding it*) with ghee at the rate of *uri per diem*.

(Line 19.) If we, the assembly, should fail (*to fulfil the contract*), we shall incur all the sins committed between the (*River*) Gaṅgā and (*Cape*) Kumāri.

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15 From impressions prepared by me.

16 Either *vaḻi* or *pakkal* alone would do; both of them mean the same thing and hence one is redundant.

17 There must be the figure twenty followed by a symbol for *kalañju*. It is broken in the original.

18 The symbol for *kalañju* in the original is represented here with *K*.

C.—Of the time of Vāṇavijjādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 24th year of Nṛipatuṅga.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of a slab of stone, the left half of the upper portion of which is broken and lost. Therefore the last few letters of each line of the upper half of one of the sides, and the first few letters of each line of the upper half of the back, are lost. But the inscription can be made out easily as far as line 17, after which the reading becomes fragmentary. Hence that portion of the inscription beyond line 17 has been omitted in the transcript and translation.

Excepting the Bāṇa introduction beginning with *sakala-jagatrayā°* and the few Sānskṛit words that occur here and there, the **alphabet** of the inscription is Tamiḻ. The Sānskṛit Bāṇa introduction and the words *pṛithvīrājyam, sabhai*, and *dharmma°* are in the Grantha characters. The **language** of the record is Tamiḻ.

The inscription seems to make some provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas, and is dated the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga. His feudatory, Vāṇa-Vijjādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar is represented as ruling over the western portion of the Vaḍugavaḻi.

Text.[19]

Front of the slab—

1. Sva[sti śrī][‖*]
2. Nṛi[patuṅ]-
3. gaṟku [yāṉ]-
4. ḍu iruba[ttunā]-
5. lāvadu [‖*] [Sakala]-
6. jagattra[y-ābhī]-
7. vandita-[surāsurā]-
8. dhīśa-Paramē[śva]-
9. ra-pratihārikṛita-
10. śrī-Mahābali-
11. kul-ōtbhava-
12. śrī-Vāṇavi-
13. jjādhara-Mahā-
14. bali-Vāṇa-
15. rāyar Vaḍuga-

Side of the slab—

16. vaḻiyiṉ mēṟku pṛithvī-rājyañ=jeyya=t-Tiruvēṅgaḍa=k-
17. kōṭṭattu=chChilaināṭṭu=t-Tiruviṟ(p)piramapēṭṭu sabhai. . . .

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The twenty-fourth year (*of the reign*) of Nṛipatuṅga (*being current*):—

(Line 5.) (*The translation of this passage is the same as of lines 1-7 of A*).

(Line 12.) When Śrī-Vāṇavijjādhara-Mahāvali-Vaṇarāyar was ruling the western portion of the Vaḍugavaḻi (*country*), the assembly of Tiruviṟ(p)piramapēḍu, belonging to the Śilaināḍu, (a sub-division) of the Tiruvēṅgaḍakkōṭṭam. . . . . . .

D.—Of the time of Vikkiramāditta-Māvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 23rd year of Nandipōttaraiya.

This inscription is engraved on the front and down the side of a slab of stone, and is in an excellent state of preservation. The **language** and the **alphabet** of the inscription is, with but a few exceptions, Tamiḻ. The words *pṛithvīrājyam, Agniśarmman, śrāvaṇai, paraśurāmēśvarattu, mahādēvar,*

19 From impression prepared by me.

and *sabhai* are written in the Grantha characters. In line 25, the phrase *śekkuḷḷaṇalelām* is a mistake for *śekkuḷḷaṇavelām*. The letter *ṟā* in *mūṉṟāvadu* in line 4 has a separate secondary *ā* symbol.

The record belongs to the reign of the Bāṇa prince, Vikramāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar,[20] and is dated in the twenty-third year of the reign of his overlord Nandippōttaraśar. The Bāṇa prince is represented in this inscription, also, as ruling over the Vaḍugavaḻi-mēṟku.

Agniśarmman, one of the members of the *gaṇa* (assembly ?), sold a plot of land called Vēppambōḻ-ppāḻ, and Muḷḷiṟkiḻār purchased it and gave it to the Paraśurāmēśvara temple for burning a perpetual lamp before the god of that temple. The *Sabhā* ordered that thenceforth all oil-mills in the town should be placed on this piece of land, and their owners should be obliged to supply a certain quantity of oil per mill.

Text.[21]

Front of the slab—

1. Svasti Śrī [||*] Nandi-
2. ppōttaraiyark-
3. ku yāṇḍu iru-
4. battu-mūṉṟā-
5. vadu Vikkiramā-
6. ditta-Māvali-
7. Vāṇarāyar Vaḍu-
8. gavaḻi-mēṟku
9. prithvīrājyañ=
10. jeya : Tiruvipira-
11. mapēḍ=āḻuṅ=gaṇa-
12. ttāruḷ Muḷḷiṟ=kiḻ[ā]-
13. r Vēppambōḻ=
14. ppāḻ ivvūr=āḻu-
15. ṅ=gaṇattāruḷ Ku-
16. ḻaippanûr=kka-
17. ṇiyar Agniśa[r*]mma-
18. ṉ vilai śrāvaṇai[22]-
19. yāl viṟṟu-koṇ-
20. ḍu ivvūr Paraśu-
21. r[ā*] miśvarattu Ma[hādē]-
22. varkku tiruviḷak-
23. ku neyppuṟam[23]=[ā]-
24. ga kuḍuttâr [||*]

Side of the slab—

25. ivvūr sabhaiyō(m)mum innilattē ivvūr=chchekkuḷḷaṇalelām[24]
26. naṭṭu=ttiruviḷakkukkē(y)vāyeṉṉai koḷvadāga=ppaṇittōm [||*].

[20] An inscription belonging to the Śrīnivāsapūr tāluka of the Kōlār District, *Epi. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sp. 6, calls Vikramāditya, Jayamēru and Bāṇavijyādhara. Compare also No. 539 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1906.

[21] From impression prepared by me.

[22] The word Śrāvaṇai occurs in one of the early Pāṇḍya inscriptions found at Māṉūr, which will be published shortly.

[23] The term *puṟam* occurs in such phrases as *uṉṉāḻigai puṟam*, *śālaippuṟam*, , *aḍukkalaippuṟam*, &c., in all of which cases it means 'for meeting the expenses of so and so.'

[24] Read *śekkuḷḷaṇavelām*.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-third year (*of the reign*) of Nandippōttaraiyar, while Vikkiramāditta-Māvali-Vāṇarāya was ruling over the western portion of Vaḍugavaḻi, Muḷḷiṟkiḻār, a member of the Corporation of Tiruvipiramapēḍu, having purchased by a sale-deed (*the plot of land known as*) Vēppambōḷ-ppāḻ from Agnisarman of Kuḻaippaṉūr, a member of the assembly (?) ruling this town, made a gift (*of it*) to the (*god*) Mahādēva of the Paraśurāmēśvaram (*temple*) of this town for (*the supply of*) oil (*required for burning*) a lamp.

Also, we, the assembly of this town, ordered that all the oil-mills existing in this village shall (*henceforth*) be set up on this land, and a portion of the oil (*compressed in them*) shall be obtained for the lamp.

E.—Of the time of Vijayāditta-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya: dated in the 49th year of Viśaiya-Dantivikkiramaparuma.

This inscription is engraved on one face and down one side of a slab of stone set up near the well in the compound of the Paraśurāmēśvara temple, and is finely preserved. The body of the inscription is written in the Tamiḻ alphabet and language; but the Sanskrit words, *svasti śrī*, *Danti°*, *Vijayāditta-Mahāvali*, *prithvī-rājyam*, *bhōgam*, *iddharmañchandrāditya-gatam*, *iddharman*, and *aśvamēdham* are in the Grantha alphabet.

The record belongs to the 49th year of the reign of Viśaiya-Dantivikkiramaparumar, when Vijayāditta-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar was ruling over the Bāṇa country. The object of the inscription is to record that Ayyappōṟṟi *alias* Kaḻiyamaṅgalaṅ-giḻār set apart a piece of land for deepening the tank known as Veḷḷēri, which was situated in Tiruvippiramapēḍu. This is the first record I have come across in which the title *pōṟṟi* occurs. This title is at present used exclusively by the Tuḷuva Brāhmaṇas and a class of the Nambūdri Brāhmaṇas in the west coast.

Text.[23]

Front of the slab—

1. [Sva]sti Śrī [||*] Kō-vi-
2. ś[ai]ya—Dantivikki-
3. [ra]ma—parumaṟku y[ā]-
4. ṇḍu nāṟpatt [o]-
5. ṉbadāvadu [Vi]-
6. jayāditta—Ma-
7. hāvali-Vā[ṇa]-
8. rāyar prithivi-r[ā]-
9. jyañ=jeyya [||*] Ti-
10. ruvippiramapē-
11. ḍ=āḷuṅ=gaṇat-
12. tāruḷ Kaḻiyama-
13. ṅgalaṅ=giḻār
14. Ayyappō[ṟ]-
15. ṟiyēṉ [||*] eṅga-
16. ḷ Tumbaṉēri

[23] From impressions prepared by me.

17. uḷḷai Nandi-ku-
18. ṇḍil=āṉa śe[ṟu][24]
19. ivvūr Veḷ-
20. ḷ[ē]ri(y)kku [ē]-
21. richcheṟuv=āga
22. vaittēṉ [||*] i-
23. dir-bhôga[ṅ]-
24. goṇḍu iv-

Side of the slab—

25. V[e]ḷḷē-
26. riyilē
27. kuḻi kut-
28. ti aṭṭu-
29. vadāga
30. vaittē-
31. [ṉ i]ddha-
32. [r]mmañcha-
33. ndrādi-
34. tya-gata-
35. ñjel-
36. vadāy-
37. ttu [||*] i-
38. ddharmmañje-
39. lutti-
40. ṉāṟai
41. aśvamē-
42. dhañjey-
43. da palaṉ
44. peruvā-
45. r[||*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! (*In*) the forty-ninth year of (*the reign of*) the king Viśaiya-Dantivikkiramaparumar, (*while*) Vijayāditta-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāyar was ruling the earth, I, Ayyappōṟṟi, *alias* Kaḻiyamaṅgalaṅ-giḻār, one of the *Gaṇas* ruling Tiruvippiramapēḍu, set apart the plot of land named Nandikuṇḍil situated in the bed of our Tūmbaṉēri, as the *ērichchēṟu* (*i.e.*, land allotted for doing something to a *ēri*, a lake) for the Veḷḷēri (*lake*) of this village. I assigned this for deepening the Veḷḷēri (*lake*) with the produce obtained from this (*cheṟu*). This charity shall endure as long as the moon and sun last. Those who forward the cause of this charity shall acquire the merit of having performed an *aśvamēdha* (sacrifice).

[24] This word literally means a plot of land. Regarding the usage of this, Nachchinārkkiṉiyār, the eminent Tamil commentator, says that it is used by the people of Aruvānāḍu in the place of *śey* (the same as occurs in *nañjey*, *puñjey*, *&c.*).

SONGS FROM NORTHERN INDIA

BY

WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.).

Echoes of Modern History.

No. I.

A Ballad of Bharatpûr.

(Unfinished.)

Sung by Bâl Krishna Sikh of Chandrâpûr, District Agrâ. Recorded by Jaidayâl Chaube of the same village.

Text.

Ek din kâ zikra azûd,
Kalam, dawât, kaghâz maujûd,
Usî din kuchh aisî samâî :—
'Musallah hoke kar do Bharatpûr par chaṛhâî.'
Kalkattâ meṅ baiṭhkar, kiyâ maskut, bhâî.
Sab Angrezôṅ ne milkar ek arzî banâî.
Lekar arzî ke taiṅ nâw meṅ dâlâ.
Jab kishtî lagî pâr, arzî ko nikâlâ,
Jise Kampinî kahte the paṛh paṛh ke sunâyâ.
Lât Gavarnar ne sunke bahut bahut sarâhâ.
Us arzî par hukm huâ au parwâne ;
Au râh samandar ke kiyâ us ko rawâne.
Harkârah jo us pâr se Kalkatte ko âyâ ;
Phir hukm sunâî o kitâboṅ meṅ chhapwâyâ.
Sâhab ne jald Subâdâr pukârâ :—
"Hukm Kampinî kâ suno âyâ hai, pyarâ."
Nâyak aur hawaldâr dâhne se bulâyâ ;
Aur bâeṅ taraf paltan jangî kô jamâyâ.
Sâhab ne kahâ kartê hain :—
"Chaṛhane Bharatpûr kî tâyârî ;
Yâ lete haiṅ us qilâ ko, yâ maut hamârî."
Sun sunke sab kahne lage dil meṅ sipâhi :—
"Sûrat nahîṅ kahîṅ bachne kî âtî hai, bhâî.
Mar marke au laṛ laṛke qilâ kis ko milâ hai?
Yah sab se zabardast Bharatpûr kâ qilâ hai."
Antâ-guṛguṛ ne kiyâ pahle chaṛhâî ;
Jân se jâtâ rahâ par qasm na pâî.
Na mâlum wah kis taur se pahunchâ thâ qile pai ;
Golandâz ne phir top ko tayyâr kiyâ ;
Bharatpûr ke gole se use turt uṛâyâ.
Kitnoṅ ne us kâ patâ diyâ, phir khoj na pâyâ ;
Dar dar gaye sab dil meṅ pai muṅh se na batâya.
"Wallâh, in laṛâîyoṅ meṅ to ham logoṅ kâ ghar hai ;
Phir Bharatpûr chaṛhane meṅ bhalâ kaunsâ dar hai ?'
Mugdar bhî hilâte au lejim ke jhaṛâke ;
Sunte hî hukm jî meṅ hogai saṛâke.

Khâte the khorâkeṅ aur hâthî se pâthe ;
Sunte hî yah hukm un ke chutar phâte.
Kushtiyâṅ bhî laṛte au khelte the bhî akhâṛe.
Un logoṅ kî thotiyôṅ meṅ to ho gaye jhâre.
Sâhab ne kahâ:—"Le chalo Chhâwanî Mathurâ ko, bhâî."
Ghabrâiṅ haiṅ dil un ke aur phir ho jâwain thekane.
Lashkar meṅ ukhare tanbu aur kanâtaiṅ ;
Phir bahut se sipâhiyoṅ ki lagî chhipne ki ghâtain.
Sâhab ne kahâ :—" Ab to subah kûṅch kî thaharî."
Phir rone lagîṅ sipâhiyoṅ kî laṛkî au mehrî :—
"Ab ki to mere chundarî kî âyas goiyâṅ.
Jaldi se kab laut ghar awainge saniyâṅ ? "
Ab din rât chalî phauj kahîṅ thaharane na pâî.
Jâke Môtî Jhil par jat hâlṭ karâye.
Râjâ ne jo chaṛhke qilâ apne se dekhâ ;
"Yah kaisî paṛî phauj? Kuchh bhîr kâ na lekhâ.
Maiṅ jântâ huṅ, hây, Firangî chaṛh âye."
Râjâ ne sab apne golandâz bulâe :—
"Kyâ dekhto ho mâr chalo."
Is phauj Firangî par paṛaiṅ pâṅchsau gole ;
"Mat ghat gaî sâhab kî jo karî hâm pai charhâî.
Aqal uth gayâ Hindostân se, kuchh nestî âî.
Jab topaiṅ nawâsî kî pakaṛ charkhî marorôṅ ;
Phir gore Firangî ko kahîṅ ek na chhorôṅ.
Goloṅ ke chalne se jo ek bârgî bhuchâl machaigâ ;
Phir gorâ Firangî koi sâbit na bachaigâ.
Goli ke danâdan se jab maiṅ mâr karuṅgâ ;
Kalkatta tak mâr dhûâṅ dhâr karuṅga.
Sâhab se kaho, hat parai, Kalkatta ko jawai.
Âgar barsoṅ larâî tau bhî qilâ hath na âwai.
Sâhab se kahô hatkê kar le kûṅch sabera.
Is meṅ bhî kuchh khair hâi? kyâ maut ne gherâ."
Sâhab ne kahâ "Hamâre kampu meṅ haiṅ barrai ke chhatê ;
Ham mârke kar dewaingê dô gharî meṅ latte."
Tab chalnê lagâ donoṅ taraf golê pai golâ.
Tab jâke Jawâhir jô wahîṅ jhatpat bolâ :—
"Gham khâo zarâ îs meṅ : bigaṛtâ nahîṅ apnâ.
Is rât meṅ diyâ mujhe Baldeonî sapnâ ;"
Râjâ nê kahâ : " hat, be Jawâhir, mal bharnê ;
Baldeonî nahîṅ liye phêtê meṅ, bharnê.
Mar jây, Jawâhir mal, yâh terâ sakâ.
Ap Firangî mêṅ milâ, mujhe bâtoṅ meṅ râkhâ.
Sab bâti kâ tu bhediyâ, karai hâm se chorî."
Darwâzâh ko jo tôp thîṅ, wah chauk ko pherîṅ.
Itne meṅ phir chalne lagâ topoṅ se golâ ;
Phir qilâ Bharatpûr kâ yoṅ pât sâ dolâ.
Thandhâ huâ golâ na kuchh harkat lâyâ.
Râjâ bhî hansâ khûb aur fauj hansâyâ.
Râjâ nê kahâ : " bât sunô, fauj sipâhî.

Is Lât kâ sar kâṭ, pherô Jâṭ dohâî."
Faujoṅ ne kahâ :—"Yahâṅ se ham kabhî na hataiṅgê.
Tukre uṛ jâyan yahâṅ tharhê katainge.
Mar jây chalai jîwâ, dûje bâr na mariyo.
Jîwâ jaulôṅ rahâi cholâ meṅ nâ—mardî nâ kariyo."
Itne meṅ kıyâ Sâhat ne phir qilâ par dhâwâ ;
Phir we hî Pûrbiyâ kahaiṅ:—"Sâhab, hâm na jâtâ.
Gar honge qilâ meṅ sau do sau sipâhî,
Kahîṅ aisâ na ho, hâm par paṛai qahar Ilâhî."
Gar gar garrâ ki gar gar gar gar ;
Tan burchî de tân hâth chhâtî par dhar kar.
Tan burchî tanbâr lagâ dhun se bachânî;
Au sur bîr lage, kalâ Nâṭ eî dikhâne.
Tab bahut sipâhî gire garmî kê bahâne;
Aur bahut sipâhî lage golî ko chalâne.
Sâhab ne santarî "wel! tum na daraigâ ;
Jo yahîṅ qazâ âî, to kyâ ham na maraigâ?"
Sab Angrezoṅ ne jut put kar ek bôlî bôlî.
Bandûqoṅ meṅ phir bhar gaî pâṅch chha gôlî.
Dûsare Angrez ne ek bât sunâî.
Jab goroṅ ne bandûq bhar sangîn chaṛhâî.
Pahale talwâr chalî sheo kî bâṅkî;
Bahut sipahiyôṅ ke lagî maut ki tâṅkî.
Phir jab ki Paṭnânoṅ nê laî myâṅ se naṅgî.
Phir chauk meṅ gherâ gaye gorê saṅgî.

Translation.

On a day it happened,
When pen, ink and paper were ready,
On that day the English made some plan
To equip themselves and attack Bharatpûr.
They held a meeting in Calcutta, my brothers,
And all the English joined in making a petition.
They took the petition and put it into a ship.
When the ship reached, the petition was taken out,
And it was read to those whom they call the Company[1].
The Lord Governor heard and praised it.
Orders and letters were written on the petition,
And were sent out by way of the sea.
The messenger who came from the other side (England) went to Calcutta,
Explained the orders and printed them in books (Government Gazette).
Then the (British) officer sent for the (Native, officer) :—

[1] Usually in the native mind this represents the King and Queen.

'Listen my friend, to the orders of the Company."
He called the Corporal and the Sergeant from their quarters,
And collected the war battalion 'by the left.'
The (British) officer began to say:—"there is preparation for an advance on Bharatpûr,
Either I shall take the fort or I will die."
When they heard this, the sepoys began to say in their hearts:—
"There is no way of escaping from this, brothers.
Who could take this fort by slaying and fighting?
This fort of Bharatpûr is the strongest of all."
Anta-gurgur[2] made the first attack.
He lost his life, but did not redeem his oath (get what he aimed at).
No one knows how he reached the fort.
The gunners then got the guns ready,
And blew him up quickly with the balls from Bharatpûr.
Many gave a clue to where he had been, but they found no trace of him.
All were frightened in their hearts, but did not say so with their tongues:—
"By God, our home is in this fighting;
Why then should we fear greatly to attack Bharatpûr?"
They were fond of swinging clubs and single-sticks;
But on hearing the orders they were thrilled in their hearts.
They ate largely and looked like elephants,
But on hearing this order they became afraid.
They were wrestlers who fought in the wrestling-ground,
But they became terrified in their hearts.
Said the officer:—"let us go to Mathurâ Cantonment brothers."
Their hearts were troubled, and they began to march again.
The tents and marquees of the army were struck,
And many of the sepoys began to try and hide themselves.
Said the officer:—"We must now march in the morning."
Then the wives and daughters of the sepoys began to weep:—
"Now has departed the life of my married-garment.[3]
How can they come back quickly to live at home?"
The army marched day and night and halted nowhere.
They stopped[4] when they reached the Pearl lake.
The Râjâ went up into his fort and saw them.
"What sort of army has encamped? There is no limit to the multitude.
I know, also, that the Europeans have attacked me."
The Râjâ called all his gunners:—
"What you see, kill."
Five hundred balls fell upon the European army.
"'The (English) officer's reason is gone who attacked me.
Fortune has departed from Hindustân, and destruction has come.'
When I set my eighty-nine guns on wheels,
I will not leave a (white) Englishman any where.

[2] Native nickname for some English General.

[3] The husband has departed.

[4] Observe the English word "halt" in the text.

From the firing of the cannon will be a time of earthquake,
And no white Englishman will be saved whole.
When I constantly slay with my cannon,
I will raise the smoke of slaying to Calcutta.
Tell the commander to go back to Calcutta.
If he fights for years the fort will not come into his hands.
Tell the commander to commence the march back to-morrow morning.
He had better consider what kind of death encompasses him. "
Replied the commander: " In my camp there is wasting of life.
I will attack and reduce the fort in two hours."
Then ball on ball began to fly on both sides.
Then went Jawâhir (to the Râjâ) and spake at once :—
" Stop this for a little ; it will do no harm.
Last night Baldeonî (Bhawânî) sent me a dream.
Said the Râjâ :—Be off, Jawâhir, thou filthy blockhead.
Thou dost not carry Baldeonî on thy forehead, fool.
May thy power depart, thou filthy Jawâhir.
Thou hast joined the English and dost deceive me with words.
Thou knowest everything, and hidest it from me."
The guns that were on the gate were turned on to the market.
Meanwhile they began to fire the guns again.
Then Bharatpûr Fort began to tremble like a leaf.
When the firing ceased there was relief.
The Râjâ laughed himself and made the army to laugh.
Said the Râjâ: " Hear my words, O men of the army.
Cut off the head of this Lord (General) and bring about the supremacy of the Jâṭs."
Said the army :—" We will never retreat from this place.
Even if we be cut to pieces we will remain here at our posts.
If we die and lose our lives, we cannot die a second time.
As long as there's life in our bodies we shall not be unmanly.''
Meanwhile the (British) commander made another attack on the fort.
Then said the Pûrbiyâs :—" Sir, we go not.
If there be in the fort one or two hundred sepoys,
Even if there be not, the wrath of God will fall on us."
There was a noise of *gar*, *gar*, *garrâ*, *gar*, *gar*, *gar*, *gar* [5]
The drummers beat their drums furiously.
The drummers beat the drums to cover their agitation.
And warriors began to show their skill, as a Nat shows his dancing.
Then many sepoys fell under pretence of the heat.
And many sepoys began to fire.
Then the (English) commander said to the sentry:—" Well,[6] you are not afraid,
If death comes here, then shall I not die ? "
Then all the English consulted and gave a signal,
And put five or six bullets into the guns.
Then the English gave another signal.

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[5] The noise of a kettle-drum.

[6] The English terms in the text are here very curious.

Then the white men fixed bayonets on their guns.
First there was a play of swords.
Many sepoys received fatal wounds.
Then when the Paṭhâns drew naked swords from their scabbards,
The white men in the market were filled with confusion.

No. 2.

A Song of Bharatpûr.

Sung by Tulsî Râm of Nakal, District Sahâranpûr.

Recorded by Yâd Râm of the same village.

Text.

Harsukh to karaî bayân : Bharatpûr to zahar hai.
Unchâ sâ banâ koṭ, wahâñ khandaq meṅ nahâr hai.
Mârâ to nahìñ jì yagâ wahâñ Ṭhâkur kî mehar hai.
Tîn sau jawân mere niklaiñ haiṅ jangî.
Pachhattar jawanôñ kî jis mêṅ chhâtî hai nangî.
Tar tar topî wah to kullî banâ leṅ ;
Do do Firangî ko pakar, sir ko bhirâ deṅ.
Tamar Ghul ko karaiṅ qaid, faujaiṅ katâ deṅ ;
Apne fatahnâme kâ dankâ bajâ deṅ.
Bolo, "Haqqâ Haqqâ ;
Phoṛoṅ dharâ dhakkâ.
Burhiyâ ko do ṭakkâ."
"Bâsi to khâtâ hûñ nahîñ, tâzî pakâke lâ ;
Baigan kâ sir pità hai, kaddu meṅ kyâ wafâ ?"

Translation.

Saith Harsukh : Bharatpûr is poison.
The fort is lofty, and a stream is in the moat.
It will not be taken : for God (Ṭhâkur) is merciful.
My three-hundred warriors go out.
Seventy five of the young men have bare breasts.
Throwing off their caps they go in their locks.
They seize two Europeans each and break their heads.
They take Tamar Ghul[7] prisoner and destroy the army.
And noise abroad their song of victory.
They shout, "God and my right :
Break the drums :
Give the old woman a penny."
"I do not eat stale bread, bring me fresh."
"The head of the egg-plant is broken, what's the good in (beating the head of) the pumpkin?"

[7] An attempt at some European name.

No. 3.
The Taking of Lahore.
(1849)

Sung by Gangâ Singh of Chandrâpur, District Agrâ.
Recorded by Debi Das of the same village.

Text.

Lâhor pai kînh charhâî phauj sab, jwânoṅ ; kaisî paṛî hai laṛâî ?

1

Idhar se âye jhâr Pûrbiyâ ; udhar Sikh charhî âye.
Idhar sê aye sojar gorâ ; udhar se selar dhâye.
Lâhor pai kinhîṅ chaṛhâî phauj sab, jwânoṅ ; kaisî paṛî hai laṛâî ?

2

Burjan, burjan gorâ charhî gaye ; paltan dhâi hai sârî.
Panchwâṅ Risâlâ ko dhâwâ whai gâyo, Râjâ kî topaiṅ chhinâî.
Lâhor pai kinhîṅ chaṛhâî fauj sab, jwânoṅ ; kaisî paṛî hai laṛâî ?

3

Lât Sâhab or Rânî Sâhab Chhawani Jâlandhar kî pâî.
Lahor pai kiṅhîṅ chaṛhâî phauj sab, jwânoṅ ; kaisî paṛî hai laṛâî ?

Translation.

All the army marched on Lahore, my boys ; how went the fight ?

1

From this side came the Pûrbiyâ men : from that side came up the Sikhs.
From this side came the white soldiers[8] ; from that side came the sailors.
All the army marched on Lahore, my boys ; how went the fight ?

2

The white men climbed the towers, and all the regiments rushed up.
The Fifth Cavalry attacked and captured the guns of the Râjâ.
All the army marched on Lahore, my boys ; how went the fight ?

3

The Lâṭ Sahib[9] or the Rânî Sâhib[10] came to Julandhar Cantonment.
All the army marched on Lahore, my boys ; how went the fight ?

No. 4.
A Rising in Sahâranpur.
(1824)

Sung by Tulsî Râm, Brâhman of Nakal, District Sahâranpur.
Recorded by Ramchandra Dâs, Brâhman, of the same village.

Text.

Bijai Singh Kuṅjê[11] laṛâî mat kariyê.
An bhî lejâ, dhan bhî lejâ, lejâ bhatîje ko sâth.
Bijai Singh, etc.
An bhî lejâ, dhan bhî lejâ, ban meṅ khelô shikâr.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Kalwâ kâ sâth chhôṛ, Bhûṛe kâ sâth chhoṛ, din gaye tujhe marwâiwai.
Chalkar Bijai Singh Landhaure âye, karai chachchî se jawâb.
Bijai Singh Kunjâ : "sau sawâr diye, re chachchî, dekhôṅ Angrezoṅ ke hâth."
Bijai Singh, etc.

[8] Observe the English words in the text.
[9] *i.e.*, the Governor-General or the Commander of the Army.
[10] Rânî Jiṇdâṅ, the mother of Dulîp Singh.
[11] Kunja, a village in the Rurki Tahsil.

"An bhî lejâ, betâ, dhan bhî lejâ, betâ, ghar baithâ chain bhî uṛâwâ."
Bijai Singh, etc.
Gangâ pâr kâ Kunwar jô Gujar, jis ne diyâ hai sath.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Shor sâhab jo chaṛhkar, âye dâṅku sab marwâye.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Torâ Pâlî ne karî bahadurî, khub bajâî talwâr.
Bijai Singh, etc.

Translation.

Bijai Singh, don't fight at Kunja.[12]
Take corn, take money, and take your nephew with you.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Take corn, take money, and go hunting in the forest.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Take Kalwâ with you, take Bhûṛâ with you ; at the end of the day you will be killed.
Bijai Singh went to Landhaurâ and spoke with his aunt.
Bijai Singh of Kunjâ (said):—"O aunt, give me a hundred horsemen that I may show the English."
Bijai Singh, etc.
"Take corn, my son, take money, my son, and pass your days quietly at home."
Bijai Singh, etc.
The Gûjar Prince lived beyond the Ganges, and took (Bijai Singh) with him.
Bijai Singh, etc.
Mr. Shaw came up and killed all (the party of) the dacoits (rebels).
Bijai Singh, etc.
Torâ Pâlî did brave things and well wielded his sword.
Bijai Singh, etc.

No. 5.

The Famine in Sahâranpur.

St. 1934 (A. D. 1877).

Recorded by a Schoolmaster of the District.

Text.

Kâruṇâ nidhî Dîn-dayâl, karo jiṇ barkhâ kî ṭâlî !
Aisâ kyâ achet Indra alî parjâ ke wâlî.
Kûâṅ, tâl aur nadiyâṅ sukhiṅ, au sukhî gaiṅ sab pattî dâlî.
Ek bûnd nahîṅ paṛai ghatâ jhuk jhuk nit âwai kâlî,
Dîn-bandhu, Kartâr ; dayâ kyoṅ jag se tumnê uthâ lî ?
Tawâ, kasaṅdî, lutiyâ, belâ, dhar khâî thâlî.
Kare naugaṛiyâṅ, nath, bâlî sab beṅch beṅchakh lî
Mukh bâye mukh Râm khalaq sab phiratî bikhrâlî.
Râm Chandra ab karo kisî dhab jag ki pratipâlî

Translation.

Abode of Compassion, Friend of the Poor, that hath caused the want of rain !
Indra, the lord of the people, hath been so careless.
Wells, tanks, streams are dry, and leaves and branches have dried up.
Not a drop falls, though the dark clouds bend low.
Brother of the Poor, Creator ; why hast thou taken thy mercy from the world ?
Pawning—pans, jugs, kettles, dishes and cups we have lived.
Bracelets, necklaces, nose-rings, ear-rings we have sold to live.
With agitated faces the people of God (Râm) are wandering about.
Râm Chandra (God) protect the earth in some way or other.

[12] A village in the Rurki Tahsil.

SONGS OF THE MUTINY.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.)

These songs were collected some time ago chiefly by Râmgharîb Chaube, who remarked that the Mutiny had very deeply impressed the overwhelming power of the English on the whole population of the districts affected by it. The higher classes hid this impression, but the lower orders had no compunction in composing verses in honour of the British victories, and such songs are to be found all over Northern India, still upon the lips of the people. Râmagharîb Chaube remarked also that for this reason it is worth while recording these Mutiny Songs as an indication of the real feeling of the people on the subject fifty years after the occurrence. Native editors and publishers are now collecting and printing them.

[The particular collection now given has all the usual characteristics of popular Indian songs, meant to commemorate historical occurrences. The songs only vaguely allude to history and put into homely language matter of purely local interest, chiefly in set forms of words which would do duty for almost any point connected with the subject.—Ed.]

No. I.

Meerut, 1857.

Sung by the Gûjar women of Sahâranpur.

Text.

Logoṅ ne lûṭe shâl doshâle: mere pyâre ne lûṭe rumâl.
Mîrath kâ sadar bâzâr hai; mere sâniyâṅ lûṭe na jâne.
Logoṅ ne lûṭe ṭhâlî kaṭore; mere pyâre ne lûṭe gilâs.
Mîrath kâ sadar bâzâr, etc.
Logoṅ ne lûṭe gole chhuhâre; mere pyâre ne lûṭe badâm.
Mîrath kâ sadar bâzâr, etc.
Logoṅ ne lûṭe muhar asharfî; mere pyâre ne lûṭe chhadâm.
Mîrath kâ sadar bâzâr, etc.

Translation.

People got shawls, large and small; my love got a kerchief.
There is a great bâzâr at Meerut; my love did not know to plunder.
People got dishes and cups; my love got a glass.
There is a great bâzâr at Meerut, etc.
People got cocoanuts and dates; my love got an almond.
There is a great bâzâr at Meerut, etc.
People got coins of gold; my love got a half-penny.
There is a great bâzâr at Meerut, etc.

No. II.

Fyzâbâd, 1857.

Sung and recorded by Banda 'Ali Sayyid of Unâhî, District Faizâbâd.

Text.

Rânâ Bahâdur sipâhî Avadh meṅ dhum machâî, more Râm re.
Likh likh chiṭhiyâ, Lât ne bhejâ; "ân milo, Rânâ Bhâî re.
Jangî khila't Laṇḍan se mangâ dûṅ, Avadh meṅ Sûbah banâî, re."
Jawâb sawâl likhâ Rânâ ne: "ham se na karo chaturâî re.

Jab tak prân rahaṁ tan bhîtar, tum kân khoḍ bahâî re."
Zamîndâr sab mil gaye gulkhân, mil milke kapâî re.
Ek to bin sab kaṭ kaṭ jâî, dusre gaṛhi khoḍwâî re.

Translation.

The soldiers of the Rânâ raised trouble in Oudh, my Râm.
The Lord (Governor-General) sent a letter: "Come and join us, Brother Rânâ.
I will get military honours from London, and make you a governor in Oudh."
The Rânâ wrote an answer: "Don't play with me.
As long as there's life in my body, I will dig you up and throw you away."
All the zamindars met together and joined the English.
(So) first the Rânâ's clan was destroyed and secondly his fort was dug up.

No. III.

Gulâb Singh, Ṭhâkur of Barwâ Batolâ, Hardoî.

The story is that Gulâb Singh, the Ṭhâkur of Barwâ Batolâ, *tahsîl* Sandilâ, District Hardoî, was a bachelor who had adopted his sister's son. She was a brave woman, who inspired him to further deeds of daring.

Sung by Qamaru'ddin of Sandilâ and recorded by Râm Gharîb Chaube.

Text.

1.

"*Râjâ Gulâb Singh, rahiyâ torî herûṅ; ek bâr daras dikhâwâ re.*"
Apnî gaṛhî se yah bole Gulâb Singh: "Sun, re Sâhaba, merî bât re.
Paidal bhî mâre, sawâr bhî mâre, mârî phauj behisâb re."

2.

"*Bânke Gulâb Singh, rahiyâ torî herûṅ: ek bâr daras dikhâwâ re.*"
"Pahalî laṛâî Lakmanâgaṛh jîte : dusrî laṛâî Rahîmâbâd :
Tisrî laṛâî Sandılwâ meṅ jîte : Jâmûṅ meṅ kîṅhâ muqâm re."

Refrain.

"*Râjâ Gulâb Singh, rahiyâ tori herûṅ : ek bâr daras dikhâwâ re.*"

Translation.

1,

"*Râjâ Gulâb Singh, I am a little tired of waiting: show yourself for once.*"
From his fort spake thus Gulâb Singh: "Hear my words, Lady.
I have slain the foot soldiers, I have slain horsemen, I have slain a countless army."

2.

"*Brave Gulâb Singh, I am a little tired of waiting: show yourself for once.*"
The first fight I won at Lakmanâgaṛh; the second camp at Rahimâbâd.
The third fight I won in Sandilâ; and made my camp at Jâmû.[1]

Refrain.

"*Râjâ Gulâb Singh I am a little tired of waiting: show yourself for once.*"

(*To be continued.*)

[1] Lakhmanâgaṛh is the popular name of the Bailey Guard at Lucknow. Rahîmâbâd is an important town in *tahsîl* Malîhâbâd (Hardoî). Sandilâ is the town of the *tahsîl* of that name. Jâmû is a village two miles from Sandilâ.

Fig. I. Fig II.

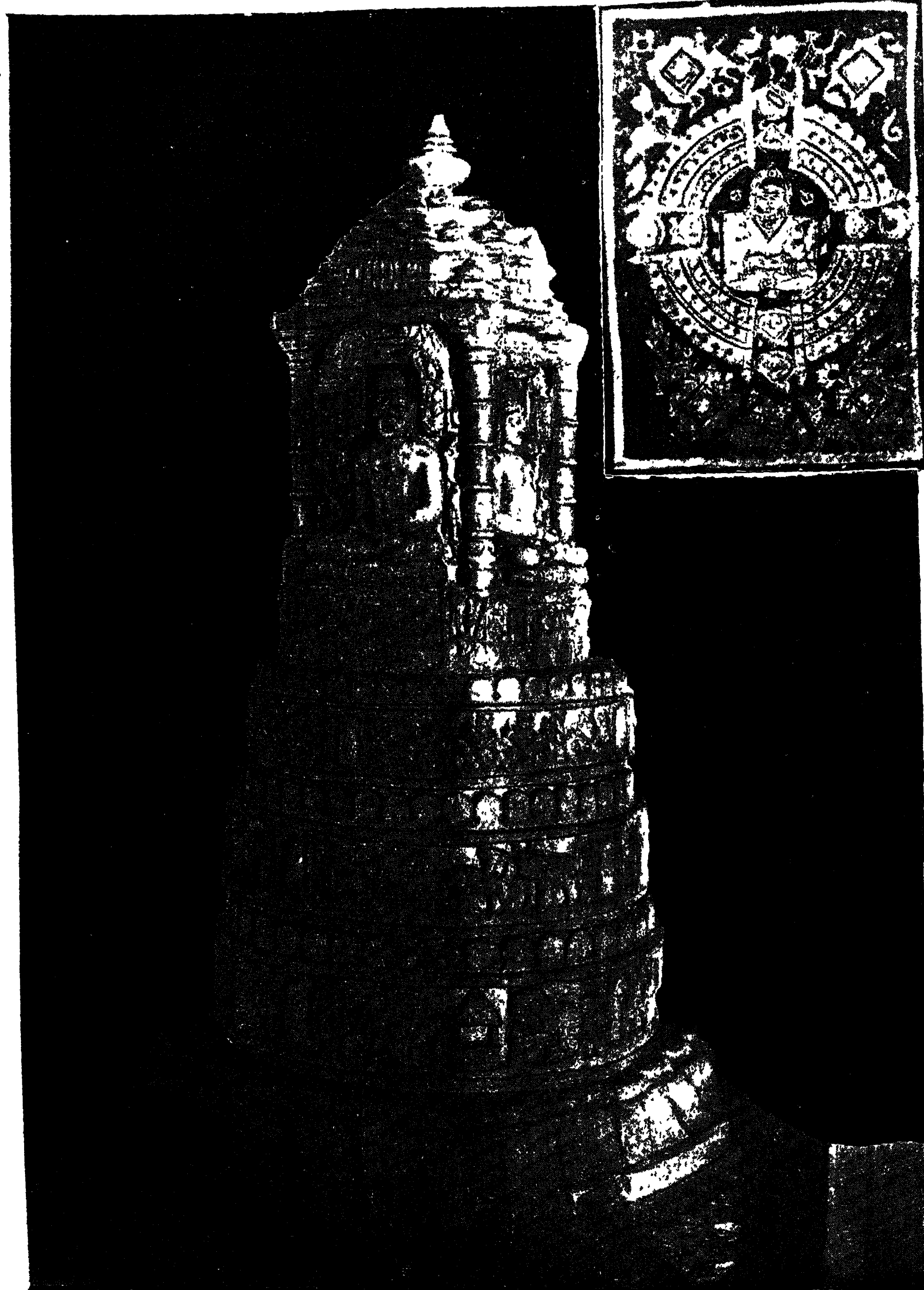


Fig. I. Âbû, Dilvâḍâ, temple of Vimala Śâh, in chamber in the south-west corner of courtyard. Sculpture of Samavasaraṇa.

Fig. II. Picture of Samavasaraṇa on a leaf from Jaina MS.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

(Continued from Archæological Survey Report for 1905-06, p. 149).

II.—Samavasaraṇa.

WHILE much is known and has been written about Brâhmaṇic and Buddhist iconography, that of the Jaina sect is practically ignored. In fact, Dr. Burgess is the only antiquarian that has studied and written about Jaina mythology and, to a certain extent, about Jaina iconography, but great ignorance prevails as regards these matters amongst scholars and antiquarians in general.[1] This is, indeed, to be pitied as materials for their study exist in abundance. In the *Archæological Annual* for 1905-06 I wrote a paper on the *Śakunikâ-Vihâra*,[2] and I propose here to describe the *Samavasaraṇa*, which is my second contribution to the study of Jaina iconography.

Vague ideas have hereupto existed as to what a *Samavasaraṇa* is, and it has not unoften been confounded with the *Sameta-śikhara* even by antiquarians who ought to have known better. I too was practically ignorant, three years ago, of the object and characteristics of this Jaina sculpture until I was enlightened on this point by Pravartaka Mahârâja Muni Śrî-Kântivijayajî when I was on Mount Âbû. This subject arose, as we were together going over the corridor cells of Vimala Śâ's temple and came up to a sculpture (Fig. I) in a side chamber in the south-west corner, which but for him would not have been known to me as that of a *Samavasaraṇa*. He very kindly explained to me its principal features, and promised to send me a short manuscript dealing with it and a small picture thereof contained in an old work in his *bhânḍâr* (Fig. II.). These were received last year. The work calls itself *Samavasaraṇa-stavana* at the end, and is given in the manuscript with an *avachûri* or gloss.

The name of the author of the work, which is in verses, appears te be Dharmaghôsha-sûri from what the commentator has said in his Glossary on verse 10. But more detailed information is furnished by the author himself in verse 1. If we carefully notice the *double entendre* obviously intended, we find that Vidyânanda and Dharmakîrti are mentioned as pupils of Dêvêndra. Now, Dêvêndra is the forty-fifth pontiff in the Tapâgachchha *paṭṭâvali*.[3] He died in V. S. 1327 and his appointed successor, Vidyânanda-sûri, thirteen days after him. Dharmakîrti, therefore, received the *sûripada* under the name Dharmaghôsha. Shortly before this manuscript was received, I had occasion to glance over the pages of Hêmachandra's *Trishashṭi śalâkâ-purusha-charitra* published by the *Śrî-Jaina-dharma-prasâraka-sabhâ* of Bhâvnagar. On pages 83 ff. and 45 ff. of the first and second *parvans*, I lighted upon two splendid descriptions of the *samavasaraṇa* of the first and second Tîrthaṁkaras given by that renowned Jaina monk and author. But I shall here give the whole of the text of, and commentary on, the *Samavasaraṇa-stavana* and supplement each one of its verses by such lines as may bear on the point from the account of Âdinâtha's *Samavasaraṇa* only contained in the first *parvan* of the *Trishashṭi-śalâkâ-purusha-charitra.*

ओं अर्हं प्रणम्य ।

थुणिमो केवलिवत्थं वरविज्जाणंदधम्मकित्तित्थं ॥
देविंदनयपयत्थं तित्थयरं समवसरणत्थं ॥ १ ॥

ओं ॥ जिनं प्रणम्य, वयं थुणिमो स्तुमः । कं तीर्थंकरं । केवलिनो अवस्था यस्य स केवल्यवस्थः तं । वराः प्रधाना विद्यानन्दधर्मकीर्तिरूपा अर्था यस्य स वरविद्यानन्दधर्मकीर्त्यर्थः । अथवा किमर्थं स्तुमः । वरविद्यानंदधर्मकीर्त्यर्थं । पुनः कथंभूतं । देवेन्द्रैर्नतं यत्पदं तीर्थंकरपदवीरूपं तत्र तिष्ठतीति देवेन्द्रनतपदस्थः तं । समवसरणे तिष्ठतीति समवसरणस्थः अथवा समवसरणे आस्था स्थितिर्यस्य स समवसरणस्थः तं तथा ॥ १ ॥

(V. 1.) For the highest lore, delight, piety, and fame, we praise the Tîrthaṁkara, who has attained to the condition of a *kêvalin*, who has reached the position which is respected by the Indras of the gods, and who has (consequently) occupied a *samavasaraṇa*.

[1] Cf. A Guérinot, *Essai de bibliographie Jaina*, Paris 1906, pp. 381 ff.

[2] *A. S. R.* for 1905-06, p. 141 f.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 255.

पयडिअसमत्तभावो केवलिभावो जिणाण जत्थ भवे ॥
सोहंति सव्वओ तहिं महिमाजोयणमनिलकुमरा ॥ २ ॥

प्रकटिताः समस्ता भावास्त्रिभुवनान्तर्वर्तिनो येन सः । तथा केवलिभावः केवलित्वं यत्र स्यात्तस्मिन्स्थाने शोधयन्ति सर्वतः पृथिवीं आयोजनं योजनमभिव्याप्य वायुकुमाराः ॥ २ ॥

(V. 2.) Wherever the Jinas exhibit the condition of a *kêvalin*, in which all substances manifest themselves, there the Vâyu-Kumâras cleanse the earth one *yojana* all around.

The same thing is expressed by the following verse from Hemachandra's *Trishashti-śalâkâ-purusha-charitra* :

ततः समवसरणस्यावनीमेकयोजनाम् ।
अमृजन्वायुकुमाराः स्वयं मार्जितमानिनः ॥ ४२३ ॥

Translation.

Then Vâyu-Kumâras, who themselves had been purged of their pride, cleansed the ground of *Samavasaraṇa* (to the extent) of one *yojana*.

वरिसंति मेहकुमरा सुरहिजलं उउसुरा कुसुमपसरं ॥
विरयंति वणा मणिकणगरयणचित्तं महीयलं तो ॥ ३ ॥

मेघकुमारास्तत्र सुरभि जलं वर्षन्ति । उउसुरा इति षण्णां ऋतूनामधिष्ठातारः सुरा व्यन्तरा इत्यर्थः । कुसुमप्रसरं वर्षन्ति अधोमुखवृन्तान्पुष्पप्रकरान्कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः । ततो वणा वाणमन्तराः मणयश्चन्द्रकान्ताद्याः इन्द्रनीलादीनि रत्नानि । अयं भावः । मणिकनकरत्नैश्चित्रं महीतलं रचयन्ति पीठबन्धं कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ३ ॥

(V. 3) The Mêgha-Kumâras rain down fragrant water ; [the Vyantaras], who are the gods [presiding] over the seasons, spread heaps of flowers ; and the Vâṇamantaras make the surface of the earth variegated with ruby, gold and gems.

Side by side with the above may be read the following three verses, from Hemachandra's work :—

गन्धाम्बुवृष्टिभिर्मेघकुमाराः सिषिचुः क्षितिम् ।
सुगन्धिबाष्पैः सोत्क्षिप्तधूपार्घेवैष्यतः प्रभोः ॥ ४२४ ॥
व्यन्तराः स्वर्णमाणिक्यरत्नाश्मभिरुदंशुभिः ।
आत्मानमिव भक्त्या तद्बबन्धुर्वसुधातलम् ॥ ४२५ ॥
तत्राधोमुखवृन्तानि प्रोद्गतानीव भूतलात् ।
पञ्चवर्णानि पुष्पाणि सुगन्धान्याकिरंश्च ते ॥ ४२६ ॥

Translation.

424. The Mêgha-Kumâras watered the earth with showers of fragrant water. With the fragrant vapours [arising therefrom], [the earth appeared] as if she offered incense-worship to the Lord that was to come.

425. The Vyantaras through devotion paved the surface of the earth, themselves as it were with stones, *viz*, gold, rubies and gems.

426. And there they scattered fragrant flowers of five [different] colours with stalk downwards, as if sprung from the surface of the earth.

Here it will be seen that the work of spreading flowers and that of paving the floor have both been assigned by Hemachandra to the Vyantara, whereas by the author of the *Samavasaraṇa-stavana* the first only is assigned to Vyantaras, the second being put to the charge of the Vâṇamantaras. But there is, really speaking, no inconsistency. For, as will be seen from the list appended to this paper, there are two classes of Vyantaras: (1) those who are called simply Vyantaras and (2) those who are called Vâṇamantaras. Hemachandra merely speaks of the work done by the Vyantara class in general and the *Samavasaraṇa-stavana* specifies the work done by each of the two Vyantara orders.

समवसरणरचनामाह ।

अब्भिंतरमज्झबहिं तिवप्प मणिरयणकणयकविसीसा ॥
रयणज्जुणरुप्पमया विमाणियजोइभवणकया ॥ ४ ॥

अयं भावः । अभ्यन्तरो रत्नमयो विमानिककृतो मणिकपिशीर्षकः १ । मध्यमो ज्योतिष्ककृतोऽर्जुनसंज्ञः सुवर्णमयो रत्नकपिशीर्षः २ । बाह्यो भवनपतिकृतो रूप्यमयो हेमकपिशीर्षः ३ ॥ ४ ॥

(V. 4.) There are three ramparts :—the innermost, intermediate, and outmost. [The first] is constructed of gems, with the battlements (*kapiśîrsha*) of rubies, by the Vaimânikas; [the second] of gold with the battlements of gems, by the Jyôtishkas; [and the third] of silver with the battlements of gold, by the Bhavanapatis.

The same description of the ramparts is given and at greater length in the following verses from the *Trishashṭi-śalâkâ-purusha-charitra*:

तदोपरितनं वप्रं विमानपतयो व्यधुः ।
रत्नमयं रत्नगिरेराहृतां मेखलामिव ॥ ४३३ ॥
नानामणिमयान्यासन्कपिशीर्षाणि तत्र च ।
अंशुभिः सूत्रयन्ति द्यां चित्रवर्णांशुकामिव ॥ ४३४ ॥
मध्यभागे पुनः स्वाङ्गज्योतिभिरिव पिण्डितैः ।
प्राकारं कनकैर्ज्योतिष्पतयस्तत्र चक्रिरे ॥ ४३५ ॥
रत्नैर्विरचयामासुः कपिशीर्षाणि तत्र च ।
सुरासुरवधूवक्त्ररत्नादर्शायितानि ते ॥ ४३६ ॥
रूप्यवप्रश्च भवनपतिभिस्तद्बहिष्कृतः ।
भक्तितो मण्डलीभूत इव वैताढ्यपर्वतः ॥ ४३७ ॥
तस्योपरि विशालानि कपिशीर्षाणि जज्ञिरे ।
सौवर्णान्यम्बुजानीव विविषद्दीर्घिकाजले ॥ ४३८ ॥
भवनाधिपतिज्योतिष्पतिवैमानिकश्रियाम् ।
एकैककुण्डलेनेव सा त्रिवप्रीकृता बभौ ॥ ४३९ ॥

Translation.

433. Then the Vimânapatis constructed the uppermost rampart consisting of gems [and looking]as if it were the snatched-away girdle of Ratnagiri (*lit.* the mountain of gems).

434. And there composed of various rubies were [its] battlements (*kapiśîrsha*), which, with (their) rays made thesky [decked] as if with a cloth of variegated colours.

435. There again in the central portion the Jyôtishpatis constructed a rampart of pieces of gold, which were, as it were, the lustres of their bodies rolled into one lump.

436. And of gems they made the battlements there, which looked like jewel mirrors to the females of gods and demons.

437. And outside it a silver rampart was, through devotion, constructed by the Bhavanapatis, which was, as if Mount Vaitâḍhya, become circular.

438. Thereon extensive battlements (of gold) were made, which were like gold lọtuses in the water of the celestial well.

439. The Earth shone with these three ramparts as if she were decorated with three ear-rings of the *Srîs* (beauty personified) of Bhavanapatis, Jyôtiskas, and Vaimânikas, respectively.

वट्टंमि बुतीसंगुलतितीसधणु पिहुल पणसयधणुच्चा ॥
छद्धणुसयइगकोसंतराय रयणमय चउ दारा ॥ ५ ॥

अथ समवसरणं द्विधा स्यात् वृत्तं चतुरस्रं वा । तत्र वृत्ते वप्रत्रयभित्तयः प्रत्येकं ३३ धनुः ३२ अंगुलपृथुला भवन्ति । तथा त्रयाणामपि वप्राणामन्तराणि उभयपार्श्वान्तरमीलनेन एकक्रोशषड्धनुःशतप्रमाणानि स्युः । बहिर्वर्त्तिसोपानानि १०००० मितानि योजनमध्ये न गण्यन्ते । ततः प्रथमवप्रादग्रे ५० धनुःप्रतरः ततोऽग्रे ५००० सोपानानि तेषां च हस्तमानत्वाच्चतुर्भिर्भागे लब्धानि १२५० धनूंषि । ततो द्वितीयवप्रात् ५० धनुःप्रतरः

५००० सोपानानां १२५० धनूंषि । ततस्तृतीयवप्रः ततः १३०० धनूंषि गत्वा पीठमध्यं । तिस्रोपि च भित्तयो धनुः ३३ हस्त १ अंगुल ८ पृथुलाः । सर्वधनुर्मीलने ३९९९ जातं । तथा ३२ अंगुलत्रिगुणीकरणे ९६ अंगुलैरेकं धनुः स्यात् । एवं जातानि ४००० । एवं एकस्मिन्पार्श्वे क्रोशद्वयं एवं द्वितीयेऽपि क्रोश २ । इति मिलितं वृत्त-समवसरणे योजनम् ॥ ५ ॥

(V. 5.) In the round *Samavasaraṇa*, the ramparts are 33 *dhanus* and 32 *aṁgulas* wide, 500 *dhanus* high and 1 *krośa* 600 *dhanus* (counting both sides) distant from each other. Each rampart has four gates made of gems.

The commentary on this verse is important, and its translation will be found useful. I give it here:

"A *samavasaraṇa* may be of two kinds,—round or square. In the round *samavasaraṇa* each of the three ramparts is 33 *dhanus* 32 *aṁgulas* thick. The distances between the three ramparts, counting the distances on both the sides should be 1 *krośa* and 600 *dhanus*. The steps outside, numbering 10,000, are not included in the *yojana* (which is the expanse of the *samavasaraṇa*. Then after the first rampart is plain level ground of 50 *dhanus*. Farther are 5,000 steps; they are each 1 *hasta* long. Dividing (5,000) by 4, we obtain 1,250 *dhanus* (as the whole length of space occupied by the steps). Then after (crossing) the second rampart there are 50 *dhanus* of plain level ground and 1,250 *dhanus* (as the length) of 5,000 steps. Then comes the third rampart, and after traversing 1,300 *dhanus*, the centre of the pedestal.[4] The three ramparts are each 33 *dhanus* 1 *hasta* and 8 *aṁgulas* thick. By adding all the *dhanus* (mentioned above), we get 3,999. By trebling 32 *aṁgulas* we obtain 96 *aṁgulas* = 1 *dhanus*. Thus it comes to 4,000 (*dhanus*). Taking only one side into consideration we thus have 2 *krośas*. On the other side (also) there are (similarly) 2 *krośas*. The *yojana* (space) is thus accounted for in the case of a round *samavasaraṇa*."

So far the translation. But in order to make the contents of the commentary quite clear, it is necessary to add a little explanation. As a preliminary to this, the following table may be here given:—

24 *aṁgulas* = 1 *hasta*.
4 *hastas* = 1 *dhanus*.
2,000 *dhanus* = 1 *krośa*.
4 *krośas* = 1 *yojana*.

Now, what the commentary says is clear from the following:—

	dhanus	*hastas*	*aṁgulas*.	
	2,500[5]	...	...	steps of the first Rampart (*i.e.*, the length of the space occupied by them).
Rampart I ...	33	1	8	thickness of the wall.
	50	...	...	plain level ground.
	1,250	...	...	steps of the second Rampart, but occupying space in the first.
Rampart II ...	33	1	8	thickness.
	50	...	...	plain level ground.
	1,250	...	...	steps of the third Rampart, but occupying space in the second.
Rampart III ...	33	1	8	thickness.
	1,300[6]	...	...	space between wall and centre of pedestal.
	4,000	...	...	= 2 *krośas* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana*.

We similarly have $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana* on the other side. The whole thus amounts to 1 *yojana*.

[4] Most of the points noted in the commentary are specified in verses 7 and 8 below.
[5] Not to be counted, being outside the *samavasaraṇa*.
[6] Half of 1 *krośa* 600 *dhanus*, which is *ubhaya-pārśvayor-antara*.

चउरंसे इगधणुसयपिहुवप्पा सड्ढकोसअंतरया ॥
पढमबिआ बिअतइया कोसंतर पुव्वमिव सेसं ॥ ६ ॥

चतुरस्रे तु वप्रत्रयं । भित्तयः प्रत्येकं शतधनुःपृथुलाः । प्रथमद्वितीयवप्रयोश्चान्तरं उभयपार्श्वमीलने सार्द्धः क्रोशः । द्वितीयतृतीययोश्चान्तरं उभयपार्श्वमीलनेन क्रोशः । पुव्वमिव सेसं इति शेषं मध्यभित्त्योरन्तरं १ क्रोश ६०० धनुःप्रमाणं । अथात्रापि एकपार्श्वे योजनार्धं मील्यते यथा चतुरस्रे बाह्यभित्तिर्योजनमध्ये न गण्यते । ततश्च बाह्यवप्रमध्यवप्रयोरन्तरं १००० धनूंषि । द्वितीये भित्तिधनूंषि १०० । आभ्यन्तरमध्यवप्रयोरन्तरं १५०० धनुर्मानं । आभ्यन्तरे भित्तिधनुः १०० । आभ्यन्तरवप्रात् १३०० धनूंषि गत्वा पीठमध्य । एवं ४००० धनूंषि जातानि । तथा च क्रोशद्वयं भवति । एवं यथा एकत्र पार्श्वे क्रोशद्वयं भवति तथा द्वितीयेपि । चतुरस्रेऽपि एवं योजनं मिलति स्म ॥ ६ ॥

(V. 6) In a square (*samavasaraṇa*) the ramparts are one hundred *dhanus* (each in distance). The first and the second are one and a half *krośa*, and the second and the third ramparts are one *krośa* distant (from each other). The rest is as before.

The gloss on this verse is also important, and may be rendered as follows:—

"In a square (*samavasaraṇa*) also there are three ramparts. The walls are (each) 100 *dhanus* thick. The distance between the first and second ramparts, by counting both the sides, is one and a half *krośa*. The distance between the second and third ramparts, by counting both the sides is one *krośa*. (The words) *puvvam-iva śesham* are (to be taken to imply) that the distance between the innermost walls is 1 *krośa* and 600 *dhanus*. Here also on one side you obtain ½ *yojana* if in a square *samavasaraṇa* the outermost wall is not included in the *yojana*. Then the distance between the outermost and intermediate ramparts is 1,000 *dhanus*. In the second, you have (as thickness) 100 *dhanus* of the wall. The distance between the innermost and intermediate ramparts is 1,500 *dhanus*. In the innermost you have (as thickness) 100 *dhanus*. After going over 1,300 *dhanus* from the innermost rampart, (you reach) the centre of the pedestal. (You) thus have 4,000 *dhanus*, and (the whole) comes to 2 *krośas*. Just as on one side you have two *krośas*, so on the second side also. In the square (*samavasaraṇa*) also you thus obtain one *yojana*."

The contents of the commentary speak for themselves. But the following will make them quite clear:—

	dhanus	*hastas*	*aṁgulas.*	
Rampart I ...	(100)[7]	...	...	thickness (of the wall).
	1,000	...	...	distance between the outermost and intermediate ramparts (= half of उभयपार्श्वान्तर).
Rampart II ...	100	...	...	thickness (of the wall).
	1,500	...	...	distance between the intermediate and innermost ramparts (= half of उभयपार्श्वान्तर).
Rampart III ...	100	...	...	thickness (of the wall).
	1,300	...	...	space between rampart and centre of pedestal (taken from the last).
	4,000			= 2 *krośas* = ½ *yojana*.

We similarly have to take into account ½ *yojana* on the other side. The whole thus comes to one *yojana*.

सोवाणसहसदस करपिहुच्च गन्तुं भुवो पढमवप्पो ॥
तो पन्ना धणुपयरो तओ अ सोवाण पण सहसा ॥ ७ ॥

हस्तपृथूच्चानि दशसहस्रसोपानानि भूमितो गत्वा प्रथमो वप्रः । ततः ५० धनुः प्रतरः समा भूमिरित्यर्थः । शेषं सुगमम् ॥ ७ ॥

तो बिअवप्पो पन्नधणु पयर सोवाणसहस पण तत्तो ॥
तइओवप्पो छस्सयधणु इगकोसेहिं तो पीढं ॥ ८ ॥

ततस्तृतीयो वप्रः । तस्य चान्तः षड्धनुःशतेनाधिकैकक्रोशेन प्रमितमिति गम्यं क्रोश १ धनुः ६०० प्रमाणमित्यर्थः । पीठं समा भूमिरस्ति ॥ ८ ॥

(V. 7) Having gone over ten thousand steps, each one *hasta* broad and high from the (outside) ground, the first rampart (is reached). Then is even plain ground for fifty *dhanus*, and thereafter five thousand steps again.

(V. 8) Then (comes) the second rampart, (and) after that plain level ground for fifty *dhanus* and five thousand steps; (then) the third rampart (and) after that level ground up to 1 *krośa* and 600 *dhanus*.

[7] Not to be counted, as stated in the commentary.

All the details set forth in these verses have already been specified and utilised in the commentary on verse 6.

चउद्दार तिसोवाणं मज्झे मणिपीढयं जिणतणुच्चं ॥
दोधणुसयपिहु दीहं सड्ढदुकोसेहिं धरणियला ॥ ९ ॥

चतुर्द्वारं त्रिसोपानं समवसरणे मध्ये मणिपीठं जिनदेहमानमुच्चं २०० धनुः पृथु दीर्घं च भूतलात्सार्धक्रोशद्वयेन भवति ॥ ९ ॥

(V. 9) In the centre is a gem-studded pedestal, with four doors, three steps, and as high as the figure of the Jina, 200 *dhanus* broad and long, two and a half *krośas* high from the ground level.

जिणतणुबारगुणुच्चो समहिअजोअणपिहू असोगतरू ॥
तय होइ देवछंदे चउसीहासण सपयपीढा ॥ १० ॥

तिन्नेव गाउआइं चेइअरुक्खो जिणस्स पढमस्स । सेसाण बारसगुणो वीरे बत्तीस य धणूणि ॥ १ ॥ वीरात् द्वादशगुणो धनुः २१ प्रमाणो भवति । पीठकमध्ये जिनतनुद्वादशगुणोच्चः समधिकयोजनपृथुलो अशोकवृक्षः । अस्य च जिनतनुद्वादशगुणोच्चत्वे पञ्चधनुःशतोच्चवप्रभित्तितो बहिर्निर्गमाभावेन योजनपृथुत्वं दुर्घटं । परं एतदुपरिस्था इति तुङ्गतरसालवृक्षेण कृत्वाऽस्य योजनपृथुत्वं संभाव्यते । तदुपरि सालो समत्थविच्छिन्नो इत्यन्यत्र प्रोक्तत्वात् । अत्र च श्रीधर्मघोषसूरिपादैरशोकसालयोरैक्यविवक्षयाऽशोकस्यैव योजनपृथुत्वमुक्तमिति संभाव्यते ॥ उसभस्स तिन्नि गाऊ बत्तीसधणूणि वद्धमाणस्स । सेसजिणाणमसोओ सरीरउ बारसगुणोत्ति ॥ इति प्रवचनसारोद्धारवचनादशोकस्य जिनतनुद्वादशगुणोच्चत्वमपि प्रायिकं संभाव्यते । परमेतद्गाथोक्तेप्यशोकप्रमाणे श्रीऋषभं विनाऽपरेषां तीर्थकृतां अशोकस्य योजनव्यापित्वं सालेनैव घटते । सालश्च श्रीवीरस्वामिनोऽभूत् अन्येषां तु तीर्थकृतां न्यग्रोधादयः । उक्तं च ॥ चउवीसाए तित्थयराणं चउवीसं चेइअरुक्खा हुत्था तं जहा । निग्गोह (१) सत्तिवण्णे (२) साले (३) पिये (४) पियंगु (५) छत्ताहे (६) । सिरीसे (७) नागरुक्खे (८) माली य (९) पियंखुरुक्खेय (१०) ॥ १ ॥ तिंदुग (११) पाडल (१२) जम्बू (१३) आसत्थे (१४) खलु तहेव दधिवण्णे (१५) नंदीरुक्खे (१६) तिलए (१७) अंबगरुक्खे (१८) असोगे य (१९) ॥ २ ॥ चंपय (२०) बउले य तहा (२१) वेडसरुक्खे (२२) धायईरुक्खे (२३) ॥ साले अ (२४) वद्धमाणस्स चेइयरुक्खा जिणवराणं ॥३॥ बत्तीसं धणूयाइं चेइअरुक्खो य वद्धमाणस्स ॥ निच्चोउगो असोगो ओच्छन्नो सालरुक्खेण ॥४॥ तिन्नेव गाउआइं चेइयरुक्खो जिणस्स उसभस्स ॥ सेसाणं पुण रुक्खा सरीरओ बारसगुणाओ ॥५॥ सच्छत्ता सपडागा सवेइया तोरणेहिं उववेया ॥ सुरअसुरगरुलमहीया चेइयरुक्खा जिणवराणं ॥६॥ इति बत्तीसं धणूया इति । असोगवरपायवं जिणउच्चताउ बारसगुणं विउवई इत्यावश्यकचूर्णिवचनात् सप्तहस्तमानात् श्रीवीरस्वामिदेहात् द्वादशगुणीकृतः सन् २१ धनूंषि भवत्यशोकः । तदुपरि ११ धनुर्मानः सालवृक्षश्च स्यात् । उभयोर्मीलने ३२ धनूंषि चैत्यद्रुमो वीरस्येति संप्रदायः ॥ बत्तीस धणु असोगो तदुपरि सालो समत्थविच्छिन्नो ॥ इति तिहुअणसिरिकुलभवणमिति यशोभद्रकृतस्तवनेप्येवं । नित्यं ऋतुरेव पुष्पादिकालो यस्येति नित्यर्तुकः । अवच्छन्नसालवृक्षेणेति वचनादशोकोपरि सालवृक्षोऽपि कथंचिदस्तीति ज्ञायते इति । अशोकवृक्षाधो देवच्छन्दके चत्वारि सिंहासनानि सपादपीठानि ॥ १० ॥

(V. 10) (In the centre of the dais stands) the Aśoka tree, twelve times as high as the body of the Jina, and exceeding a *yojana* in breadth. Then (underneath) is a (particular kind of pedestal called) *devachchhaṁda*, (and on it are) four lion-thrones accompanied by (four) foot-stools.

The commentary on this verse would be too long and discursive to be translated here. But the substance of it may be briefly stated as follows. We are told that the Aśoka tree should be twelve times the height of a Jina and should be spread to the extent of one *yojana* all round. Now, this may be possible in the case of a great many Jinas, but not of all; *e. g.*, Mahâvîra. The height of Mahâvîra is 7 *hastas*. Multiplying it by 12, we obtain 84 *hastas* = 21 *dhanus* as the height of the Aśoka tree in this particular instance. This tree, being only 21 *dhanus* high, cannot even be expected to extend beyond the wall of the third *vapra*, which is itself 500 *dhanus* high as verse 5 informs us. How then can it reach the extent of one *yojana* as required by the present verse? In the answer given by the commentator to this question, there is a little confusion. But the true solution proposed by him appears to be this: The instruction about making the Aśoka tree twelve times as high as the body of the Jina holds good in the case of all Jinas except two,—Rishabhanâtha and Mahâvîra. In the case of the former it should be 3 *gau*, *i. e.*, 3 *krośas* high, and of the latter, 32 *dhanus*. Verses from two or three different sources are cited in support of this. Then is made the important suggestion that the height of the Aśoka tree should be increased by placing on it the individual *chaitya* tree of the Jina. Authorities for this also are adduced, and verses quoted specifying the various *chaitya* trees of the Jinas. In the present instance, the difficulty is to be got over by placing, on the Aśoka tree of 32 *dhanus* in height, a *Sâla* tree, the *chaitya* tree of Mahâvîra, of course, of such a height as easily to pass beyond the wall of the uppermost *vapra* and thus make it possible to spread one *yojana* all round.

(*To be continued.*)

KOYILOLUGU.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

THIS book is a record of gifts made, and repairs and additions effected, to the temple of Sri-Ranganâtha at the island of Srîrangam, from the earliest times and is written in Tamil prose. It contains much valuable information regarding the ancient dynasties of Southern India as it gives almost a continuous thread of South Indian chronology from the 13th to the 16th century A.D. It also mentions several important facts relating to earlier periods.

The existence of the book was not unknown to scholars interested in unearthing the ancient history of the Dekhan. Mr. R Sewell remarks:—"The priests of the (Srîrangam) temple have in their possession a document which ought to be of real value, the mahâtmyas of temples being almost invariably an absurd jumble of mythological fables. This is a chronicle called the Valugu which is said to give a list of all the priests of the temple, with details of temple management from the earliest times.[1]" Further notices of it are made by Professor Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, and by Rai Bahadur Venkayya in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899, p. 15, paragraph 43. Except a few other stray references to it as in the revised *Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District*, the contents of the book have not been thoroughly examined.

Inscriptions on stone and copper appear to have been the main sources from which the book had been compiled, and as such, the facts recorded in it have not to be discarded as worthless for historical purposes. The authorities, in whose hands the palm-leaf manuscripts were originally entrusted, seem to have drawn very largely from the accounts given in the *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, the biography of the Vaishnava saints, before presenting the whole in the shape of a book. As a review of a work of this kind, in the light of the facts so far elicited, will not be entirely an unprofitable task, I propose to do it in this paper.

Early Period.

God Ranganâtha was worshipped for a time by Brahmâ, from whom Ikshvâku took it to Ayôdhyâ. It was then graciously given away by Râma to Vibhîshana, and the latter removed the deity to Srîrangam, an island formed by the two branches of the Kâvêrî river. Here Dharmavarman, one of the ancestors of Kili-Chôla erected the central shrine (*tiruvunnâligai*[2]) and other necessary structures for the god. Long time after this, when Kili was the Chôla sovereign, the temple was covered almost to the very top with sand caused by a flood in the Kâvêrî, the two branches of which had become one and a thick jungle covered the island. Kili restored the temple and its adjuncts to their original state. After Kili, Râjamahêndra paved the interior of the temple with stone, with a view to close up the springs which were till then in existence there. To him is ascribed the construction of several structures. A street was also called after his name. Some time hence, a certain Nanda-Chôla who was ruling with his capital at Nichulâpurî[3] obtained a female child called Kanakavalli that came floating on a lotus leaf in the Kâvêrî. He is reported to have made rich donations to the temple for feeding Brâhmanas and for the sacred offerings to the god.

Several years after, there appeared a shower of sand caused by the sinful deeds of a Chôla king. By this event, Uraiyûr was destroyed and the capital was removed to Gangaikondân.[4] After

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1 *Lists of Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 268.

2 This word is made up of *tiru*, *ul* and *nâligai* which together mean the sacred central (or interior) shrine.

3 Nichulâpurî is another name for Uraiyûr in the Trichinopoly district.

4 The full name of the city is Gangaikonda-Chôlapuram. It was probably founded by Râjêndra-Chôla I, who also appears to have erected the big temple there. In the historical introduction of this king, he is called '*Pûrvadêsamum Gangaiyum Kidâramumkonda*.' The temple of Gangaikondachôlêsvara is built on the style of the Râjarâjêsvara at Tanjore, but is bigger in size. Though it presents an older appearance owing, perhaps, to its neglected condition, the inscriptions engraved on the walls of it do not take us to a date earlier than the time of Râjêndra-Chôla I. It is deplorable that except the temple and a few huts, there is not a trace of the city at present at Gangaikonda-Chôlapuram. Excavation at the site is sure to yield good results. Gangaikondân in the Tinnevelly district is certainly not identical with the place referred to in the *Kôyilolugu*, though that might have also come into existence at the same time.

the lapse of a few years, the then reigning Chôḷa sovereign built a small temple at Uṟaiyûr and set up an image of the goddess (*Nâchchiyâr*) in it.

In Kali 50, Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ became the lord of the Chêra, Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya territories. He built palaces at Madura, Kolli and Uṟaiyûr. Śôḷakulavalli, the daughter of this king effected certain improvements to the temple at Śrîraṅgam.

In Kali 360, a lord of the Gauḍa-dêśa came with hoards of treasure and made a gift of them to the god. The treasure, not having been accepted by the god, remained in charge of certain northern Brâhmaṇas, whom the lord of Gauḍa-dêśa left behind him. The way in which these Brâhmaṇas conducted themselves pleased Raṅganâtha so well that the deity accepted the treasure afterwards.

In Kali 445, the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Âḻvâr was living in Śrîraṅgam composing his famous work Tirumoḻi and executing certain repairs to the temple. At this time a certain Tiruviḷakku-Pichchaṉ accused Tirumaṅgai of self-praise in his compositions. Madhurakavi Âḻvâr set up the image of Śadagôpaṉ[5] at Tirunagarî[6], defeated Kambaṉ[7] in the great academy of Tamiḻ poets and was much devoted to Nammâḻvâr. He frequently visited Śrîraṅgam to scrutinise the temple accounts. It was at this time that Tirumaṅgai composed the six *Tiruneḍunḍâṇḍagam* and Nammâḻvâr's work *Tiruvâymoḻi* received such a sanctity as to be sung along with the Vêdas.

Eḍuttagai Aḻagiyaśiṅga-Nayiṉar and Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi-Âḻvâr are said to have been important devotees prior to the time of the three Âḻvârs.

In the first place it may be remarked that the chronology of this part of the book is not very reliable. The Kali years assigned to Kulaśêkhara-Perumâḷ and the three Âḻvârs are decidedly wrong as will be pointed out below. There are also grounds to suspect that the events are not recorded in the order in which they took place. Until it is controverted, I think the correctness of the events may be accepted. It seems possible that owing to a confusion or ignorance on the part of those who collated the materials, the kings of one dynasty are named as belonging to another. Four kings are mentioned, *viz.*, Dharmavarman, Kiḷi-Chôḷa, Râjamahêndra and Nanda-Chôḷa. The first of these was regarded by Prof. Hultzsch as a mythical personage. As Kiḷi-Chôḷa is said to have come in the line of Dharmavarman, the latter has to be looked for among the ancestors of the Chôḷas; but we do not find his name in the mythical genealogy of the Chôḷas furnished in the large Leyden plates. What is here omitted is happily preserved elsewhere. The Śaiva saint Tiruñâna-śambanda who lived in the middle of the 7th century A.D., refers to king Dharma in one of his hymns on Piramapuram[8]. Though the exact time of this king cannot be made out at present, the reference is useful as it shows that he must have flourished prior to the time of the saint. Kiḷi, if it is a contraction of Kiḷḷi, is assuredly an historical personage. As Tamil literature furnishes the names of several kings by this name, it is not possible to say which of them is referred to here. But it will be useful to examine the evidence contained in Tamil works regarding the kings bearing the name Kiḷḷi. As a result of my enquiry I find that it is a mistake to take each king of that name to be a separate sovereign and to allot him a place in the Chôḷa genealogy.

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5 This is another name for Nammâḻvâr.

6 This village goes by the name of Âḻvâr-Tirunagari and is in the Tinnevelly district. Kurugûr was its other name.

7 According to the extant Tamil literature, there was but one Kambaṉ and he appears to have lived in the 13th Century A.D. The person referred to here must be different from him as he belongs to the 8th Century.

8 The stanza, in which the name occurs, runs thus:—

Śeṅgô=ṉaḍâvi=ppall=uyirkkuñ-cheyviṉai meytiriya
Veṅgô=Ddarumaṉ mêviy-âṇḍa Veṅguru mêyavaṉê.

Veṅguru was one of the twelve names by which Shiyali was known in ancient times.

One of these kings, Sôḻan Kuḻamurṟattu-tuñjiṉa[9] Kiḻḻivaḻavaṉ[10] is said to have laid siege to Karuvûr and conquered the Chêra king of his day. No less than eleven poets, including Kôvûr-kiḻâr sung in his praise. This poet is the author of stanzas 44, 45 and 47 of *Puṟanâṉûṟu* which speak of Kâriyâṟṟu-tuñjiṉa Neduṅ-Kiḻḻi of Uṟaiyûr and of his friend Iḻandattaṉ. In *Puṟam* 373, the same poet celebrates the glory of Sôḻaṉ Kurâppaḻḻi-tuñjiṉa Kiḻḻivaḻavaṉ who is also credited with having destroyed Karuvûr owing to an hostility with the Chêra. This Chôḻa king's friendly Pâṇḍya contemporary was Veḻḻiyambalattu-tuñjina Ugra-Peruvaḻudi.[11] Kôṇâṭṭu[12] Erichchalûr Mâḍalan Madiraikkumaṉaṉ, one of the poets of the time of Kurâppaḻḻi-tuñjiṉa Kiḻḻivaḻavaṉ is also the author of (1) *puṟam* 61 which speaks of Sôḻaṉ Ilavandigaippaḻḻi-tuñjiṉa Nalaṅkiḻḻi Sêtcheṉṉi,[13] the contemporary of Neduṅkiḻḻi: (2) of *puṟam* 167 in praise of Êṇâdi Tirukkiḻḻi and (3) of *puṟam* 180 in favour of Irâttûrkiḻâṉ Tâyaṉ Mâṟaṉ who fought for his over-lord. It thus appears that all these Kiḻḻi's belong to one period.

Another Chôḻa king celebrated in Tamiḻ literature is Perunaṟkiḻḻi. He is referred to as one of the ancestors of the Chôḻas in the large Leyden plates, the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant and the Udayêndiram charter of Pṛithivîpati II. He performed the Râjasûya ceremony, and was, on that account known by the epithet Râjasûyamvêṭṭa Perunaṟkiḻḻi. With the help of Tiruveṇmalaiyaṉ and perhaps also of Sêramâṉ Mâveṇkô, who was his friend, he defeated the Chêra Mândarañchêral-Irumboṟai (*puṟam* 16, 125, 365 and 367) who was the lord of the Kolli mountains, who rescued the village of Viḻaṅgil who was the friend of the poet Kapilar, and who was taken captive by the Pâṇḍya king Talaiyâlaṅgâṉattu-seruveṉṟa-Neduñjeḻiyaṉ and was subsequently set at liberty (*puṟam* 4, 17, 20, 22, 53, 125, 129). It is said that Kâṇappêr-eyil-kaḍanda Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, one of the royal personages that adorned the last academy of Tamiḻ poets of Madura (*puṟam* 21, 367) also belonged to the same age. If this Pâṇḍya king is identical with Veḻḻiyambalattu-tuñjiṉa Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, the second set of Killi would also be of the same age as the first. In this case, I am inclined to take Perunaṟkiḻḻi who performed the Râjasûya ceremony, and perhaps one or two others as the real sovereigns of the time and that all the rest were members of the royal family who distinguished themselves in the wars undertaken by the reigning kings. The defeat of the Chêra and the destruction of Karuvûr are attributed to several Chôḻa kings of this age. Muḍittalaikô-Perunaṟkiḻḻi whose Chêra contemporary was Sêramâṉ Anduvañchêral Irumboṟai and Vêṟpahraḍakkai Perunaṟkiḻḻi who claimed to have killed Sêramâṉ Kuḍakkô Neduñchêral Âthan probably refer to the same king.

The facts set forth above clearly show that the Pâṇḍya kings Talaiyâlaṅgânattuseruveṉṟa Neduñjeḻiyan and Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, the Chôḻa Sovereign Râjasûyamvêṭṭa Perunaṟkiḻḻi and the Chêra Mâveṇkô and Mândarañchêral Irumboṟai of elephant look, belonged almost to the same period. With the help of the copper-plate charters of the Pâṇḍyas, *viz*, the Vêḻvikuḍi grant and the Siṉṉamaṉûr plates and from the statement in the *Maduraikkâñchi* of Mâṅguḍi Marudaṉâr that Neduñjeḻiyan of Talaiyâlaṅgâṉam fame was a lineal descendant of Palyâgaśâlai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi, I have elsewhere attempted to ascribe Neduñjeḻiyan to the first half of the 7th century A.D. If Kiḻḻi, referred to in the *Kôyiloḻugu*, is identical with any of the kings bearing that name, who are contemporaries of Neduñjeḻiyan, it is quite evident that he must belong to the same age.

According to Maṇimêgalai, the Chôḻa king Veṟṟivêṟ-Kiḻḻi, whose identity with any of the kings named above is not certain and who probably belongs to an earlier age, married a Nâga princess called Pîlivaḻai, the daughter of Vaḻaivaṇaṉ and became the father of a child who, it is said,

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[9] The meaning of the word *tuñjiṉa* is 'who died.'

[10] *Vaḻavaṉ* is a synonym for the *Chôḻa*.

[11] *Vaḻudi* is a synonym for Pâṇḍya.

[12] Kônâḍu is a territorial division in the Pudukkôṭṭai State. During the time of the later Chôḻas, it was called *Kaḍal-aḍaiyâd-Ilaṅgai-koṇḍa-Chôḻa-Vaḷanâḍu*.

[13] *Seṉṉi* is a synonym for Chôḻa.

escaped a sea disaster. There are grounds to suppose that this prince was Toṇḍaimâṉ Iḷandiṟaiyaṉ, the ancestor of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram. This account is interesting, as it shows the connection between the Chôḷas and the ancient Pallavas who had by this time advanced southwards and established a dominion near Conjeeveram. Evident traces of the rule of the Kiḷḷis in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts exist in such names as Kiḷiñalûr, Nalaṅkiḷinallûr and Kiḷḷikudi, *etc.* The abbreviated form of Kiḷḷi in the first two names supports the supposition that Kiḷi is only a shortened form of Kiḷḷi.

We cannot ignore the fact that the Pallavas had extended their sway into the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts in ancient times. The inscription of the Pallava king Mahêndravarman in the upper rock-cut cave at Trichinopoly, the ancient names of villages such as Siṁhavishṇu-chaturvêdimaṅgalam[14] and Mahêndramaṅgalam[15] and the structural monument of the Pallavas discovered at Tiruppaṭṭûr[16] amply bear testimony to this fact. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to expect the mention of some of these Pallava sovereigns in *Kôyiloḻugu.* Râjamahêndra referred to in the book is perhaps identical with Mahêndravarman. It is inexplicable why he is called a Chôḷa, except by supposing that the connection between the Chôḷas and the ancient Pallavas which we have already noticed in the legend about Toṇḍaimâṉ Iḷandiṟaiyaṉ, led the author of *Kôyiloḻugu* to regard this king as a Chôḷa. Among the Chôḷas described in Tamiḻ literature, there is none bearing the name Nanda-Chôḷa. Nor does this name occur in the genealogy of the Chôḷas given in stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants of that branch of the revived Chôḷa kings who ruled from their capital at Tanjore. But in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency have been discovered a number of inscriptions which belong to an earlier line of the same family who trace their descent from Karikâla. Here, a sovereign called Nandivarman actually figures and he might be the person referred to in the *Kôyiloḻugu.*

A short note on the date of the three Âḻvars will not be out of place here. Tirumaṅgai's notice of the military achievements of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, in his hymn on Paramêśvaraviṇṇagar is very well known. Rai Bahadur Venkayya has shown that this Vaishṇava saint was a contemporary of the Pallava king Vayiramêgan whom he identifies with Dantivarman, the immediate successor of Nandivarman. The date thus arrived at for the saint is the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. *Kôyiloḻugu* makes Madhurakavi and Nammâḻvâr contemporaries of Tirumaṅgai. Nammâḻvâr appears to have been elder to Madhurakavi who is expressly stated to have set up an image of the former at Tirunagari. This statement is against what is said in the *Guruparamparâ-prabhâva,* where the relationship between Madhurakavi and Nammâḻvâr is stated to be that of preceptor and disciple. Madhurakavi Âḻvâr's real name was Mâṟaṅgâri, which we find in the Vêḷvikudi copper-plate grant, and in a stone inscription in the Narasiṁha-perumâḷ temple at Ânaimalai in the Madura district. In these, he is described as conversant with the *śâstras,* as a poet and as an eloquent speaker. He was a chief of Karavandapuram, bore the title Mûvêndamaṅgalapêraraiyaṉ and was the crest-jewel of the Vaidya family. He was the *uttaramantrin* of the Pâṇḍya king Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ. In the third year of this king the saint was living but appears to have died sometime before A.D. 769-70, when the cave temple of Narasiṁha-perumâḷ at Ânaimalai was consecrated. It is thus evident that Madhurakavi lived prior to A.D. 769. If Tirumaṅga Âḻvar was a contemporary of Madhurakavi, as stated in the *Kôyiloḻugu,* it is just possible that he lived during the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla whose last date is A.D. 765 and of his successor Vayiramêgan *alias* Dantivarman. Nammâḻvâr's real name was Kârimâṟaṉ and he was the *adhikârin* of the city of Kurugur *alias* Âḻvâr-Tirunagari. The name suggests that he must have been the father of Madhurakavi, if the statement in the *Kôyiloḻugu,* that the latter set up an image of

[14] Kañjanûr in the Tanjore district was known by this name in ancient times.

[15] This village is in the Trichinopoly district.

[16] This village is also in the Trichinopoly district.

Nammâḻvâr is true; but it is against the traditional account of the Vaishṇavas. At any rate, there is no doubt that the three were contemporaries and that they lived in the middle of the 8th century A.D.

The next royal person who contributed to the repairs of the Śrîraṅgam temple is Chôḻêndrasiṁha. This Chôḻêndrasiṁha has not yet been identified with any of the known kings of the Chôḻa dynasty. But there is not the slightest doubt as to his being a historical personage. At the village of Mêlpâḍi on the western bank of the river Nugâ are two temples, at present called Chôḻêśvara and Sômanâtha. The inscriptions in the former state that it was built by the Chôḻa king Râjarâja I (A.D. 985-1013), who named it Ariñjigai-Îśvara. The lithic records in the other temple disignate it as Chôḻêndrasiṁhêśvara and one of them, dated in the 14th year of the reign of Râjarâja I, mentions Chôḻêndrasiṁha Mâyilaṭṭi who, as his name indicates, must have been an officer under the king. From the first part of his name it can be said that Chôḻêndrasiṁha was a surname of Râjarâja I. Though there is no statement in the Mêlpâḍi records to the effect that Chôḻêndrasiṁha-Îśvara was built by Râjarâja, there is thus no doubt that the temple came into existence during his time as Chôḻêndrasiṁha was one of his surnames. In this connection it may also be noted (1) that the village of Mêlpâḍi itself was called Râjâśrayapuram after one of the surnames of Râjarâja, (2) that the two temples in the village bear records of his, and (3) that the name Chôḻêndrasiṁha does not occur in earlier records than the time of Râjarâja.

Râmânuja and his predecessors.

When Uyyakkoṇḍâr and Maṇakkâlnambi were managing the affairs of the Śrîraṅgam temple, there was a powerful invasion by one of the Gajapati kings of Orissa. When the news of it reached the island, the people removed the god Aḻagiyamaṇavâḷa to Tirumâliruñjôlai and kept it there for one year. At this time, several residents of Śrîraṅgam proved themselves enemies of the god and most of those who performed worship in the temple, died. Persons belonging to other creeds occupied the temple premises and built houses of their own. Worship in the temple fell into the hands of *Nambis* who were conversant in the *Vaikhânasa* śâstras. Under the influence of these two managers, a certain Âḷavandâr was induced to become a Vaishṇava and entrusted with the management of the temple which he ably conducted for a long time.

The successor of Âḷavandâr in the office of the manager of the Śrîraṅgam temple was the great Vaishṇava teacher Râmânuja. Of him the book relates a long story. He was born at Śrîperumbûdûr and was undergoing educational training under Yâdavaprakâśa. When entrusted with the management of the temple, he went minutely into every account and fixed the scale of expenditure required for each occasion. In his scrutiny, he found out that the treasury was in a state of confusion and he, therefore, applied himself strenuously to organise a system for the better conduct of business. In this, he was strongly opposed by the temple servants who began to give him trouble. He was, therefore, forced to leave the place. He is said to have spent two years at Tiruveaḷḷaṟai where he built a tank. Coming back to Śrîraṅgam, he divided the work of the temple in 10 different branches and appointed persons to carry them out. It is said that the arrangement made by him contributed largely to increase the wealth of the temple. After providing for the recitation of *Tiruvâymoḻi*, *Tirumoḻi* and other Vaishṇava hymns in the temple, he went out on a tour to establish the superiority of the Vaishṇava creed in all quarters, leaving Mudali Âṇḍâṉ in his place at Śrîraṅgam. Râmânuja soon fell out with the Chôḻa king who was a staunch Śaiva and whose persecutions of the Vaishṇavas drove the teacher to seek shelter in the country of the Hoysaḷas. Râmânuja is said to have been in charge of the Śrîraṅgam temple for a period of 60 years prior to the commencement of his religious tour. *Kôyiloḻugu* also records that a certain Kulôttuṅga succeeded the Chôḻa king who persecuted Râmânuja and that the new sovereign was rather favourable to the Vaishṇavites.

It is interesting to note that Biṭṭi was the Hoysaḷa sovereign that gave Râmânuja protection. An important event in the career of this sovereign was his conversion from the Jain faith to that of Vishṇu by the apostle Râmânuja who had taken refuge in his territory from the persecutions of the Chôḷa king, an uncompromising Śaiva. This step accompanied by a change in his name to Vishṇuvardhana, by which he is principally known, probably took place in about A.D. 1117.[17] As Biṭṭi's conversion seems to have happened not long after Râmânuja left Śrîraṅgam on his religious tour, we may roughly assign A.D. 1057-1117 for his management of the temple. The date of the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana enables us to identify the Kulôttuṅga referred to in the *Kôyiloḻugu* with Kulôttuṅga I. In this connection it may also be noted that in an inscription of Biṭṭi, he claims to have defeated Râjêndra-Chôḷa, who must be identical with Kulôttuṅga I, because the latter called himself by that name in his earlier records. It is nowhere stated who the Chôḷa king that persecuted the Vaishṇava teacher was; but as *Kôyiloḻugu* makes him the predecessor of Kulôttuṅga I, we may not be wrong to identify him with Vîrarâjêndra, whose dates range from A.D. 1052 to 1062.

Hoysaḷa Kings and Ministers.

We have now to notice some of the Hoysaḷa kings and their ministers that are represented in the *Kôyiloḻugu*. To a certain Vîra-Naraśiṅgarâja, the king of the Kanarese people (*Kannaḍiya-râja*) is ascribed the building of one of the *maṇḍapas* in the temple. Without more details, it is not possible to say if this king is identical with Narasiṁha II or Narasiṁha III, both of whom had interfered with the politics of the Chôḷas. Narasiṁha II rescued the Chôḷa king Râjarâja III at Śêndamaṅgalam where he was kept as a prisoner by Kô-Peruñjiṅga. As Vîrasômêśvara is called the uncle of Râjêndra-Chôḷa III, it might be inferred that Râjarâja III had married a daughter of Narasiṁha II, and it was probably this relationship that induced Narasiṁha II to help the other when overpowered by the Pallava general, Peruñjiṅga. The establishment of the Hoysaḷa capital at Kaṇṇanûr, *i.e.* Samayavaram in the Trichinopoly district, might partly be to help the sinking Chôḷa power from the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas and partly also to guard the extended Hoysaḷa dominions. Gaṅgaiyadêva Śiṅgaya-Daṇḍanâyaka, the secretary of the Hoysaḷa king (*Pratâpa-chakravartin*), is said to have improved or constructed the sacred hall (*ârôgyaśâlai*) and the covered enclosure (*tirunaḍaimâligai*) round the temple. In an inscription of the 23rd year of Vîrasômêśvara, mention is made of a certain Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanâyaka who might probably be identical with the person referred to above. The construction of the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa* in the temple was begun prior to the time of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I, by a certain Perumâḷe-Daṇḍanâyaka who was an officer under Kampaya-Daṇḍanâyaka. From an inscription[18] at Mannârguḍi in the Tanjore district, we know that Kampaya-Daṇḍanâyaka was the minister (*pradhâni*) of Vîra Sômêśvara and that he set up an image of a god in the Kailâsanâthasvâmin temple at the place in the 26th year of the king. It is interesting to note that another officer of the same king was Appaṇṇa-Daṇḍanâyaka who figures in a record at Tirumaiyam in the Pudukkôṭṭai state[19] where he is styled as the conqueror of Kâṇa-nâḍu. The Tiruvêndipuram record shows that this general was originally in the employ of Narasiṁha II.

Kôyiloḻugu next registers the fact that Kampaya-Daṇḍanâyaka, the minister (*pradhâni*) of Pratâpachakravartin Râmanâthadêva, a descendant in the line of Ballâḷa contributed very largely to the additions and repairs. The *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine of Paravâsudêva, that in front of the goddess and the shrines of Sudarśana-Perumâḷ and Lakshmînârâyaṇa, as well as several other minor works, are attributed to him. Certain improvements are also ascribed to the minister's elder brother, Kariyamâṇikka-Daṇḍanâyaka.

[17] I have extracted this from Mr. Rice's *Mysore*.

[18] No. 97 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1897.

[19] Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907, p. 69.

Stone inscriptions of Vîra-Râmanâtha have also been found at Srîrangam. The date of his accession to the throne had been fixed at A.D. 1255 from the fact that one of his Kaṇṇanûr records couples the 17th regnal year with the cyclic year Prajâpati. One of the inscriptions of Râmanâtha at Srîrangam is dated in his second year (=A.D. 1257), and this had been taken to show that the defeat inflicted by J. Sundara-Pâṇḍya I, on Vîrasômêśvara in A.D. 1255, had no lasting effect. It is worthy of note that Kampaya-Daṇḍanâyaka served both under Vîrasômêśvara and his son, Râmanâtha.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I.

We have now to notice the works of another and a more important person. This is Sundara-Pâṇḍya who, as his name indicates, was a Pâṇḍya king. *Kôyiloḷugu* says of him that he defeated the Chêra, Chôḷa, the Vallâḷa (*i.e.*, the Hoysaḷas) and others, assumed the *biruda* 'who took every country' and made munificent gifts from the immense booty that he had obtained from the vanquished sovereigns. As agent to the royal donor, Pallavaṉ Viḷupparaiyaṉ Kariyamâṇikkaṉ, a native of the Pâṇḍya country, effected innumerable repairs and additions to the Ranganâtha temple. Construction of several *tulâpurusha maṇḍapas* and the completion of the work in the thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*, already referred to, are ascribed to Sundara-Pâṇḍya and it is also said that the festival conducted in the latter place thenceforward came to be called after him. The king caused to be made two gold images, one of Nîlâmśai *alias* Śêrakulavalli which he set up on the southern side of the flower-*maṇḍapa* and the other was of the god but was called Poṉmêynda-Perumâl, after the donor. It was set up in the stone shrine or strong room on the eastern side adjoining the *Santâna-maṇḍapa* of *Periyatiruvaḍi*. It is said that the donor originally wanted to present an image of himself in gold under the name Poṉmêynda-Perumâḷ, but finding that the temple authorities did not very much relish this idea, he had to abandon it and shape the image after the deity. He made presents of jewelled ornaments and coat of gems to the gods Periya-Perumâḷ and Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa; a coat of gems to Tiruvanantâḷvâr; ornaments of ruby (*mâṇikkam*) and diamond (*vayiram*), a coat and crown of gems, a garland of ruby (*mâṇikkam*), a necklace of lotuses, a garland of gold *Śeṇbaga* flowers, another of *Kaḷunîr* flowers in gems, a cloth of gold and various other ornaments to Periya-Perumâḷ. He then caused to be covered with gold-plates several parts of the temple; erected a gold flag-staff; presented tubs, lamp-stands and dishes, all made of gold; caused to be dug up a spring in the Kâvêrî for the bathing of the god; made a gold boat for the pleasure-roving of the god and his consorts; provided richly for the sacred offerings in the temple and presented gold cars, *etc.* Sundara-Pâṇḍya is said to have expended 18 lakhs of gold pieces for covering the temple with gold plates and another 18 lakhs for other purposes and thus acquired the name 'he who covered the temple (of Srîrangam) with gold.'

The title *Emmaṇḍalamuṅgoṇḍa*, given in the book to Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva, enables us to identify him with Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I, the date of whose accession fell in A.D. 1251. He appears to have reigned until at least A.D. 1271.[20] In the historical introduction of this king, he styles himself as the ornament of the race of the Moon, *i.e.* the Pâṇḍya, the Mâdhava of the city of Madhura, the uprooter of the Kêraḷa race, *a second Râma in plundering the island of Laṅkâ*, the thunderbolt to the mountain—the Chôḷa race, the dispeller of the Karṇâṭa king, the fever to the elephant Kaṭhâka king, *i.e.* (the Gajapati) king of Cuttack (in Orissa), the jungle fire to the forest Vîragaṇḍagôpâla, the lion to the deer Gaṇapati (*i.e.* the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati), who was the lord of Kâñchî, who performed the anointment of the victors at Vikramasiṅgapura, *i.e.* Nellore. He is said to have taken Srîrangam from the Moon of the Karṇâṭa which means the Hoysaḷa Vîrasômêśvara. That the latter's capital, Kaṇṇaṉûr, *i.e.* Samayavaram, was amongst his possessions

[20] No. 198 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

has been surmised from the fact that he issued a grant from that city. Inscriptions of his reign are found from the distant Nellore to the extreme south, and point unmistakably to the vastness of his empire. Sundara-Pâṇḍya's conquest of the Hoysaḷa king Vîrasômêśvara and the capture of his new capital, Kaṇṇaṇûr, must have left him in possession of the Koṅgu country and what surrounded Trichinopoly. The victory over the Chôḷas and Vîragoṇḍagôpâla should have brought almost the rest of the Tamil districts under his sway. The subjugation of the Gajapatî king of Cuttack in Orissa and the Kâkatîya sovereign, Gaṇapati, should have secured the Telugu country for the invincible conqueror. His performance of the anointment of the victors at Vikramasiṅgapura, *i.e.* Nellore, is of the greatest significance in history, as it shows that not only the southern portion of the Presidency but the north as well acknowledged his supreme power. Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. may thus be regarded as the greatest Pâṇḍya sovereign, as his dominions reached the utmost limit of expansion. In this connection we may note the remark made by the Muhammadan historian that 'Ma'bar (the name by which the Pâṇḍya country was known to the Muhammadans) extends from Qulam, *i.e.* Quilon, to Nilawâr (Nellore), nearly 300 *pharasangs* along the sea-coast; and in the language of the country, the king is called Dewar which signifies that he is the lord of the Empire.'[21] Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Paṇḍya I. seems to have issued coins bearing several legends. Some at least of those with the inscription Sundara-Pâṇḍya are his. Dr. Hultzsch has adduced grounds to show that coins bearing the legend *Ellâṇdalaiyâṇân*[22] belong to him. Mr. Tracy has secured a coin which contains the characteristic emblem of the Pâṇḍyas, *viz.*, the double fish on the obverse side, while the reverse bears the legend *Kôdaṇḍarâma.* There are reasons to suppose that this coin is one of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I's. In his historical introduction, the king calls himself *a second Râma in plundering the island of Laṅka.* There are also stone epigraphs of the same sovereign which provide for festivals called *Kôdaṇḍarâman-śandi*, and these declare that the festivals were so named after the king himself. Nothing could be more convincing than the two grounds here set forth for the identity of the *Kôdaṇḍarâma* of the coins with Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. A great conqueror as he was, there is nothing fabulous in the estimate of his munificent gifts to the Śrîraṅgam temple.

The next royal personage referred to in the book is Kulôttuṅga. There were three kings of this name and it is not possible to say which of them is alluded to here.

Muhammadans advance on Śrîraṅgam.

On page 44, *Kôyiloḻugu* registers the fact that in Śaka 1149 expired Akshaya-saṁvatsara, the Muhammadans (*tulukkar*) took hold of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and advanced southward passing Śamayavaram (on their way). Consternation prevailed when the news of this reached the temple authorities at Śrîraṅgam. Śrîraṅganâtharâja, who was then in charge of the affairs of the temple, is said to have ordered that the 12,000 images in the *Tiruvôlakkam* should not be disturbed. To save them and the temple treasure from the destruction and plunder of the invading iconoclasts, a stone structure covering the particular spot was ordered to be erected. Some of the important deities and part of the treasure of the sacred place were sent away to the south. As apprehended, the Muhammadans entered the Raṅganâtha temple, mutilated and destroyed such of the images that they came by.

The same event is referred to on page 61 where Śaka 1249 coupled with the cyclic year Akshaya is assigned to it instead of 1149. It may be noted that the cyclic year Akshaya regularly corresponds to Śaka 1249 but not to Śaka 1149. The latter is, therefore, an evident mistake.

[21] Sir W. H. Elliot's *History of India*, p. 32.

[22] The legend of *Ellâṇdalaiyâṇân* in Nos. 136 and 137 of Sir Walter Elliot's collection has been misread as *Samarakôlâhala* but appears to have been subsequently corrected.

God Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa was removed by way of Jyôtishkuḍi where they kept it for one month, Tirumâliruñjôlai near Madura where it was kept for one year, Kôḻikkôḍu in the Malayâḷam country where it was kept for one year and whither several deities from other parts of the country had also been removed, Tirukkaṇâmbai, Puṅgaṇûr, Tirunârâyaṇapuram (*i.e.* Mêlakôṭe) where it was kept for a long time and finally to the hill at Tiruvêṅgaḍam (*i.e.* Tirupati). In the last place it was worshipped for several years until Śaka 1293.

It is worth while to note here what Dr. Burnell says about the advent of the Muhammadans in Southern India. "About the year A. D. 1311 (Nelson says A. D. 1324, but does not give his reasons) the Musalmans under Malik Kafur conquered Madura and held the country for 48 years. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar and his successors conquered and held both the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa countries till towards the end of the century when gradually the whole of the South of India fell under the sovereignty of Vijayanagar (A. D. 1370)"[23]. Though Malik Kafur's invasion of the Dekhan took place about A. D. 1310-11, yet it is reasonable to suppose that some time elapsed before the Musalmans could go so far south as Madura or Trichinopoly. Mr. Nelson's view that the Muhammadans entered Madura about A.D. 1324 seems to get some support from *Kôyiloḻugu* which places the event at A. D. 1327. Dr. Burnell's statement that about A. D. 1370 the whole of Southern India fell under the sovereignty of Vijayanagar is completely borne out by the book under reference which assigns the reconsecration of god Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa in the Śrîraṅgam Temple to Śaka 1293.

Vijayanagara Kings.

Kôyiloḻugu records that, by the influence of Vidyâraṇya, the city of Ânaigondi, where the Râyas had established a dynasty, grew in importance. This statement is completely in accordance with the stone inscriptions. The first great sovereign of the Vijayanagara dynasty who added greatly to the dominions was Harihara I (Śaka 1261-1271). In his reign flourished the highly learned Vidyâraṇya also known by the name of Vidyâtîrtha and Bhâratitîrtha Śrîpâda, who in a record at Śriṅgêri is said to have been greatly instrumental in founding the dynasty. This inscription registers that in order to celebrate the victorious establishment of his empire from the eastern to the western Ocean, Harihara with his five brothers made a grant of nine villages to the *maṭha* at Śriṅgêri in Śaka 1268, Pârthiva.

Continuing, the book relates that during the reign of Harihara II, Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam was conquered. One of the officers, of this king named Goppaṇa-Uḍaiyar who was residing at Śeñji (in the South Arcot District) visited Tirupati to worship the god and under orders from the lord of Chandragiri he went and resided with him for some time. Goppaṇa then removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷâ from Tirumalai (*i. e.* Tirupati) to Śiṅgapuram near Śeñji. He marched against the Muhammadans with a strong force and defeated them completely. In Śaka-saṁvat 1293, the Paridhâvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month of Vaiśâkha, Goppaṇa brought back the image of Perumâḷ to Śrîraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his consort (*Nâchchiyâr*). He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by Dharmavarman) the following verse:

आनीया नीलशृंग (published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII).

Goppaṇa-Uḍaiyar also granted to Uttamanambi for the benefit of the temple, 52 villages, the income from which amounted to 17,000 gold pieces. A certain Guṇḍu Sâḷuvaiya who accompanied Goppaṇa to Śrîraṅgam cast in bell-metal the plate of the flag-staff and set it in place of the gold one which the Muhammadans had destroyed. At the instance of prince Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of king Harihara II, Uttamanambi built a *tulâpurusha-maṇḍapa* to the east of the

[23] Mr. Sewell's *List of Ant.* Vol. I. p. 284.

flag-staff. Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyar performed here his *talâbhâra* ceremony. The gold presented on this occasion, together with what was given when Harihara performed the same ceremony, the gilding of the *vimâna* of Kuṭṭikkôyil and the present of 9 gold vessels, form the rich gifts of the time. When Uttamanambi was managing the affairs of the temple at Śrîraṅgam, the Vijayanagara empire was ruled by no less than three kings. The names of these and those of their chief ministers are mentioned on p. 47. Here we find that during the 15 years from Śaka 1304 expired, Rudhirôdgâri-Saṁvatsara, Uttamanambi went to Vijayanagar four or six times and received rich donations and endowments at the hands of Harihararâya-Mahârâya, Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyar, Gôpaṇa-Uḍaiyar, Muttaya-Daṇṇâyaka and Aṇṇar-Goppaṇar, the chief officer who executed the orders of Sômaya-Daṇṇâyaka who was the minister of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar.

The dates of Kampaṇa II range from Śaka 1283 to 1296, those of Harihara II, from Śaka 1299 to 1324 and of the latter's son Viruppaṇa II, from Śaka 1301 to 1322. In the first place it is necessary to note that according to *Kôyiloḻugu* Aṇṇar-Goppaṇar and Goppaṇa are two different persons. A record of Kampaṇa II, found at Daḷavâṇûr, not far from Gingi in the South Arcot district, is dated in the cyclic year Subhakṛit (=Śaka 1285) and registers an order of Sâḷuva Maṅgu issued in accordance with a letter from Aṇṇar-Goppaṇar. It is evident from this that Aṇṇar-Goppaṇar was an officer under Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu draws attention to a statement in the Telugu work, *Jaimini Bhâratam*, which credits this Sâḷuva Maṅgu with successes obtained for a certain Sâmparâya in his battles with the Sulṭân of the South. The above fact coupled with what has been said of Goppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar that he gained victories over the Muhammadans shows that the Bahmânî kings were a source of trouble during this period and that they were put down by the power of the Vijayanagara kings. Among the persons who took an active part in the war against the Muhammadans, we may mention Goppaṇṇa, Sâḷuva Maṅgu and Guṇḍu Sâḷuva. We have made a short notice of the first two, and it will be useful to note what we know of the last member who appears to be identical with Sâḷuva Maṅgu's father. Guṇḍu was the general of Kampaṇa (Śaka 1283-1296) and his exploits are described in the following terms in a stone inscription discovered in the Mysore State:—'Into the flames of his valour the *Yavana*, the *Turushka* and the Ândhra hostile kings, fell like moths. Dragging the elephant-like Sâipa, Patheya and other proud *turushkas* along by their hair in battle, he tied them up in his stables like monkeys'[24]. At Tiṭṭakuḍi there is an inscription[25] of Kampaṇa II, dated in Śaka 1295, Paridhâvi, which registers gifts made by Sômayya-Daṇṇâyaka. An Achchararapâkkam record (No. 250 of 1901) of the same king mentions both Goppaṇa and Sômappa as the ministers of the sovereign. There is little doubt as to the identity of Sômappa of this inscription with Sômayya; and Goppaṇa is probably identical with Gopaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Muddaya-Daṇṇâyaka referred to in *Kôyiloḻugu* is probably the same as Mudda-Daṇḍâdhipa mentioned as donor in a record of Harihara II, found at Harihar (No. 142 of 1899). Another variant of his name occurring in inscriptions is Muddapa. He was the minister of Bukka I (Śaka 1274-1298) and continued to hold the same office under Harihara II (Śaka 1299-1324)[26].

According to *Kôyiloḻugu*, there was some dispute between the Saivites of Jambukêśvaram and the Vaishṇavites of Śrîraṅgam between the Saka years 1294 and 1297. The management of the Śrîraṅgam temple, in the interval between Śaka 1304 and 1319, when Harihara II and his son Viruppaṇa were ruling at Vijayanagar, was in the hands of Periya-Kṛishṇarâya Uttamanambi. At the instance of Harihara II, he made an ivory cot and a fine bed for the god, and placed them in the *maṇḍapa* of Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa. At this time, Nâgamaṅgalam Aṇṇappa-Uḍaiyar gilded the pillars of *Amudu-maṇḍapa* and covered with silver-plates the plank on which food was served and distributed to the temple servants. Timmarâhuttarâya, the agent of Sâḷuva Gôpâlarâja also contributed his mite of gilding. During the three years, *viz.*, Śaka 1319-1322, a certain Vêdâryabhaṭṭa

[24] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Hassan district. [25] No. 13 of 1903. [26] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, p. xxix.

looked after the temple affairs. His arrogance and gross mismanagement led Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiya to interfere. The following verse states that a certain Gôpaṇa Timmarâja was sent from Vijayanagar to depose Vèdârya and to invest Meynilaiyiṭṭa Uttamanambi with powers to manage the temple affairs which he performed satisfactorily till Saka 1340, Vikrama-Saṁvatsara.

श्रीमच्छकाब्देनवलोकभाजिविकारिणीह्युत्तमनम्बिनानं : । वेदार्यभट्टाधुरितिम्मराजोवितार्यभद्रंसमयंतथामहीत् ॥

The next Vijayanagara king represented in the book under review is Bhûpati-Uḍaiyar. The copper image of Garuḍa set up by a Chôḷa king in former times having been mutilated, a fresh one was made in its place. This fact is recorded in the following stanza:—

मन्मथवर्षे ज्येष्ठे रविवारे रेवतीतारे । श्रीचक्रराय विभुना श्रीमान्गरुडः प्रतिष्ठितो भूत्यै ॥

The shrine of Srî-Râma, which was also built by a Chôḷa king, was now repaired and the image of Sûḍikkûḍutta-Nâchchiyâr was placed in it. A kitchen was newly constructed to this shrine. Repairs of those parts of the temple which had suffered damage at the hands of the iconoclasts as well as certain additions are attributed to Chakrarâya who appears to have executed them at the instance of the king. In honour of the king's birthday a festival was also conducted in the temple on the day when Punarvasu was the nakshatra, the month Tai and the year Manmatha. It is said that on this occasion the goddess was taken round the town in a car. The cyclic year Manmatha fell in Saka 1337. Two kings are known by the name of Bhûpati Uḍaiyar. One of them was the son of Bukka II, while the other was the father of Dêvarâya II. As the dates of both range from Saka 1331 to 1343, it is not easy to say which of them is referred to in the *Kôyiloḷugu.*

In Saka 1343 expired, Plava-Saṁvatsara, Ellainilaiyiṭṭa Uttamanambi went to Vijayanagar, pleased Gejavêṭṭai Pratâpadêvarâya, received several *birudas* from him, secured for his younger brother Chakrarâya, the seal of the great Râya (*i.e.*, the Vijayanagara king), performed a tour of pilgrimage to important centres of worship, returned to Srîraṅgam and resided there scrutinizing the accounts relating to the villages granted to the temple, until the cyclic year Promôdûta corresponding to Saka 1345. The king here referred to is Dêvarâya II, son of Vîravijaya *alias* Vijaya Bhûpati. Most of his inscriptions furnish him with the title 'who witnessed the elephant hunt.' As the dates of this sovereign range from Saka 1343 to 1368, Uttamanambi's visit to the court of Vijayanagar appears to have taken place soon after his coronation.

In Saka 1347, Bhûpâlarâya was the Vijayanagara sovereign. This king must be identical with Srîgiri Bhûpâla whose copper-plate grant dated in the same year is published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 306 ff.

Troubles with the Sâḷuvas.

Tirumalainâtha Uttamanambi went to Vijayanagar in Saka 1366, Raktâkshi-Saṁvatsara and in Saka 1374 Prajâpati during the reign of Prauḍhadêvarâya Mallikârjuna and received a grant of 22 villages for the temple. He effected certain repairs, constructed the hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa* and bathed the god with 1,000 pots of water. At the instance of the Vijayanagara officer (Daṇṇâyaka), the same person built a shrine to Hanumat. A certain Kamparâja was sent in Saka 1380, Pramâdhi, to Trichinopoly to put down the power of Sâḷuva Tirumalairâja who appears to have tried to assert his independence and in Saka 1383 expired, Chitrabhânu, he executed extensive gilding work at a cost of 1,600 *palam* of gold. About the same time Jannaya-Nâyaka set up on one of the *gôpuras*, the image of the *dvârapâlakas* which had been mutilated by the Muhammadans. Two years after this, Sâḷuva Tirumalairâja contended that he must be left in undisturbed possession of the Trichinopoly district and this was the cause of quarrel between him and Kamparâja. The people of the Southern and Northern banks (of the Kâvêrî) the members of the *sabhâ* (village assembly), all the country-men and ryots gathered together, destroyed the *sîmai* and lived for 12 years (*i.e.*, from Saka 1380-1392) in the hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa* of the temple and outside of

the town. Finally, in Saka 1392 expired, Khara, Sâḷuva Tirumalairâja established himself firmly over Trichinopoly and the Taṇḍalśîmai. In the *maṇḍapa* of Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa, he raised a platform in sandal-wood and made an ivory bed to the god. Mallidêvanputtûr is said to have been granted by a certain Aṇṇappa-Uḍaiyar in Rudhirôdgâri-Saṁvatsara corresponding to Saka 1385. And in the same year, Âṇḍappa-Uḍaiyar Tirumalaitandâr granted Guḍiyâlam village to the temple and Nâgarasa-Uḍaiyar built the enclosure wall of the shrine of the goddess.

At Srîraṅgam there is a stone inscription[27] of Sâḷuva Tirumalai râja dated in Saka 1385 expired, Subhânu, which may, in all probability, refer to the chief against whom Kamparâja was sent. Another record of the same ruler dated three years earlier, *i.e.*, in Vikrama is found at Tirukkâṭṭuppaḷḷi.[28] About the first of these records, Dr. Hultzsch remarks that he is identical with the Tuḷuva king Timma, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagar, as in the Sanskṛit verses at the end of the inscription the king is called Gôpa-Timma.[29] The Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôḷapuram record[30] of Virûpâksha III dated in Saka 1405, Subhakṛit, mentions Tirumalairâja and this is perhaps the latest reference to Sâḷuva Tirumalairâja. The inscriptions of the Sâḷuva king Tirumalai discovered in the Trichinopoly district and his final triumph in asserting his independence prove the weakness of the Vijayanagara sovereign of the day and the growing importance of the Sâḷuvas who in the end overthrew the Central Government.

Sâḷuva Usurpation.

Kṛishṇarâya Uttamanambi, the younger brother of Tirumalainâtha Uttamanambi came to manage the affairs of the temple in Saka 1409 expired Plavaṅga. He secured as many as 20 villages from persons like Eṛamañchi Timmappa-Nâyaka and contributed his share of the repairs to the temple. Vîra-Narasiṅgarâya defeated Prauḍhadêvarâya in Saka 1409, Saumya, and ruled the Vijayanagara kingdom with Kaṇigiri[31] as his capital. Râmarâja, the elder brother of the conqueror and a learned scholar, obtained from him an order to the effect that the 108 sacred places of the Vaishṇavas should be under his sway. He went to Srîraṅgam where he received the name Kandâḍai Aṇṇaṉ. At this time Kôṇêrirâja, who succeeded Sâḷuva Tirumalairâja in the Government of the Trichinopoly district (*śîmai*) favoured the people of Tiruvânaikkâval, gave away the temple villages to Kôṭṭai-sâmantan Seṉṉappa-Nâyaka, extracted *puravari, kâṇikkai, paṭṭu, parivaṭṭam* and such other taxes and caused much annoyance to the temple authorities at Srîraṅgam. When the matter was repeatedly reported by Kandâḍai Râmânuja to Narasâ-Nâyaka, the latter came with a large army, put down Kôṇêrirâja and took away the charge of the district from his hands. Narasa then got back to the temple those villages which it had been dispossessed of, remitted the newly imposed taxes, and removed all the grievances of the people. Some persons, being unable to bear the oppression of Kôṇêrirâja, mounted up the *gôpura* and put an end to their lives by falling from it. The images of these were set up on the *gôpura*. As brother of the king and partly also on account of his good works, Kandâḍai Râmânuja was treated with great respect. The number of villages got back to the temple from Seṉṉappa-Nâyaka and others was 63. Two years after, *i.e.*, in Saka 1413, Virôdhikṛit, a few of the *dêvadâna* villages were sold away to put right Râjamahêndran-tiruvâśal, which had suffered considerable damage by the fall of a thunderbolt during the commotion caused by the Muhammadan invasion.

Narasâ-Nâyaka's action in the Trichinopoly district receives confirmation from other sources. It is well expressed in the following extract from Mr. Sewell. "The glorification attached to the name of Saṅgama coincides with that ascribed in a subsequent period to the then sovereign Narasa and it was probably a formula. It states that he worshipped at Râmêśvaram, built a bridge over

[27] No. 59 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1892. [28] *Ibid* for 1897.
[29] *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1892, p. 9. [30] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p 265.
[31] This place is in the Nellore district.

the Kâvêrî, crossed it, defeated his enemy, and captured Srîrangam." The statement that Vîra-Narasimha defeated Praudhadêvarâya is not new to history. Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu in his article on the Dêvulapalli plates of Immadi Nrisimha sums up the events of this period as narrated by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz. "According to Nuniz, the following are briefly the circumstances that led to the downfall of the *first* and the accession of the *second* dynasty. The last great king of the first dynasty was Dêvarâya II who ruled till about A. D. 1449. The next 40 or 50 years saw no less than five sovereigns. All of them were weak and imbecile. The last of them, whom Nuniz calls '*Padea Rao*,' seems to have been the worst of the lot. And in his time the empire declined even more than in the time of his four immediate predecessors. It occurred to Narasimharâya, who was the principal minister and general of the state, that a change of sovereign was necessary to prevent the kingdom from falling a prey to its hereditary enemy, the Bahmânî kings. And with the consent and support of the other generals and ministers, he seized the throne and kingdom, allowing the king to make his escape." As regards the date of the usurpation by Narasymgua, the same writer remarks "there are no means of fixing the exact year of the usurpation ; but this event must be placed between the Saka year 1408 (= A. D. 1486-7) which is the latest known date of the first dynasty and Saka 1418, Râkshasa (= A. D. 1495-6) which is the earliest known reliable date of Immadi Narasimha." Narasymgua of Nuniz has been identified with the Sâluva king Vîra-Narasimharâya. The statement in the *Kôylolugu* that Vîra-Narasimharâya defeated Praudhadêvarâya places beyond all possible doubts the identity of Nuniz's '*Padea Rao*' with Praudhadêvarâya. It is also worthy of note that the date of the first usurpation by Vîra-Narasimharâya took place some time before Saka 1411, if not in that year. An inscription of Vîra-Narasimharâya has been found at Varichchiyâr in the Madura district. That Vîra-Narasimharâya prior to his obtaining the Vijayanagara throne was in the service of the last kings of that dynasty may be gathered from several stone records. He figures in an inscription of Saka 1390 when Râjaśêkhara-Mahârâja son of Mallikârjuna was king. His general Narasâ-Nâyakka who put down the power of Kônêrirâja, usurped the Vijayanagara kingdom on the death of Vîra-Narasimharâya. And his records are found in the Madura and Trichinopoly districts, and establish in a way his conquest and the extent of his dominions. Sennappa-Nâyakka is perhaps identical with Sennayadêva who figures in No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896. It may be noted here that after Immadi Narasimha, Krishnarâya and Achyuta had sway over the Trichinopoly district. It was during the time of these kings that the Nâyakas of Madura got more or less independent power; but it may be said that they acknowledged the central authority of the Vijayanagara kings.

The Nâyakas of Madura.

In Saka 1420, Trichinopoly and Madura were under the rule of Viśvanâtha-Nâyakka. A certain Narasimha-Dêśika, son of Vâthûladêśika, with the help of the Nâyakka presented several gold vessels and gave three lakhs of gold (pieces) in addition. In Saka 1447 during the rule of Krishnappa-Nâyakka, he presented many jewels to the god and built steps on the southern bank of the Kâvêrî. As agent to Kumâra Krishnappa, the same individual made for the god a coat of jewels and a crown at a cost of 1,50,000 gold pieces. In Saka 1500, Muttu-Vîrappa-Nâyakka was ruling. Now Uttamanambi and Bhattar Tirumalâchâri quarrelled and the Vijayanagara king (*râyar*) sent an army against Trichinopoly, which was encamped at Tôgûr, perhaps identical with the village of the same name near the Grand *Anicut*. Raghunâtha-Nâyakka was the Râyar's agent. The treachery of Uttamanambi led to the captivity of Bhattar Tirumalâchâri, who was removed to the *Durgam* and kept there for six months until redeemed by a Reddi on payment of a ransom of 20,000 gold pieces. The famous Gattivâl-Nâyakkan flourished during this period. After Muttu-Vîrappa, Tirumalai Sauri, perhaps Tirumalai-Nâyakka, visited Srîrangam.

This is the account given in the *Kôyiloḻugu* of the Nâyakas of Madura and their connection with Srîrangam. The dates furnished here appear to be incorrect. Stone and copper-plate inscriptions hitherto discovered prove the correctness of the chronology as given in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 200, for Muttu Kṛishṇa, Muttu Vîrappa Tirumalai-Nâyakka, Muttu Vîrappa II, or Viśvanâtha IV, and Chokkanâtha. Muddu-Kṛishna's line seems to have become extinct and it was only that of Viśvanâtha III. that continued to the 18th century, as several records call Muttu-Vîrappa and his brother Tirumala the sons of Viśvanâtha III. For an account of the origin of the Nâyakas, see *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1909. Mr. Moore in his *District Manual*, p. 126, states that up to Viśvanâtha's reign Uṛaiyûr was the capital of the country, and that he, if he did not found Trichinopoly, at all events fortified and enlarged it. Mr. Sewell adds that the fort at Trichinopoly was strengthened by Kṛishṇappa *alias* Periya-vîrappa, and Viśvanâtha II, that perpetual fighting occurred during this period and that this district was the scene of constant bloodshed and strife. It is to Viśvanâtha that the town and rock of Trichinopoly owes much of their present grandeur and importance. Though *Kôyiloḻugu* stops with the mention of Tirumalai-Nâyakka, there are evidences of the rule of his successors over Trichinopoly. The present Taluk Katchery buildings are popularly ascribed to M.ṅgammâḷ and a copper-plate of her time registers gifts to the Srîrangam temple.

NADOL PLATES OF THE MAHARAJAPUTRA KIRTIPALA OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 1218.

BY PANDIT RAM KARNA; JODHPUR.

THE inscription has been edited by Prof. Kielhorn,[1] but as will be seen from the transcript subjoined and the photo-litho accompanying it, his transliteration was not correct in many respects. Besides, he was not able to identify the various places mentioned in the inscription. It, therefore, stands in need of being re-edited.

The plates are in the possession of the *panchāyat* of the village of Nāḍōl in the Dēsūrī (Gōḍwāṛ) district of Mārwāṛ, although they relate to a Jaina temple at Nāḍlāī, a village in the close vicinity of Nāḍōl. It is a rule rigorously observed by this *panchāyat* that unless all the members of it are present, the room wherein these plates are deposited is not to be opened. Fortunately, all the members were present at Nāḍōl, except one, when I visited it in company of Mr. D. R. Bhāndārkar in 1908. The one absent had but gone to a village close by. He was called back and the plates were shown and impressions taken.

The account of its contents has been ably given by Prof. Kielhorn, and stands in no need of being modified or amplified except in two respects. In line 12 is mentioned the name of Alhaṇa's queen, Annalladēvī, whose father, according to Prof. Kielhorn's reading, was Aṇahula of the Rāshṭrauḍa race. But, as will be seen from the photo-litho, the name is distinctly written Sahula, and not Aṇahula. Secondly, Prof. Kielhorn was unable to identify the twelve villages specified in the inscription, except two. But, all the places except one can be identified. They are Naddūlāī-grāma, Sujērā, Harijī, Kavilāḍaṁ, Sōnāṇaṁ, Mōrakarā, Haravaṁdaṁ, Māḍāḍa, Kāṇasuvaṁ, Dēvasūrī, Nāḍāḍa, and Mauvaḍī. Naddūlāī-grāma is, of course, Nāḍlāi (or Nāṛlāi). Sūjera is Sūjāpurā near Nāṛlāi but now desolate. Harijī is the same as Harjī (in Jālōr) on the border of the Gōḍwāṛ district, at a distance of 20 *kōs* from Dēsūrī. Kavīlāḍaṁ is probably Kailvāḍā in the Udaipur territory about 16 miles N.-W. of Dēsūrī. Sonāṇaṁ is obviously Sonāṇā, 4 miles N.-W. of Dēsūrī. Mōrakarā is Mōrkhā about 8 miles S.-S.-W. of

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 66 ff.

i.

PHOTO, LITHO. BY B. I. PRESS

iib.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

PHOTO, LITHO. BY B. I. PRESS.

Sōnāṇā. Haravaṁḍaṁ cannot be identified. Māḍāḍa is obviously Mōḍāḍā or Muṇḍāḍā, 4 miles S.-W. of Mōrkhā. Kāṇasuvaṁ is, in all likelihood, Kāṇā, a mile south of Sōnāṇā. Dēvasūrī is doubtless Dēsūrī. Nāḍāḍa is Nādāṇā in Bālī (Gōḍwāṛ) 8 miles from Nāḍōl and Maüvaḍī is, perhaps Mōrī or Mōḍī near Beḍā in the Bālī district and a Railway station on the R.-M. Railway.

The inscription records a grant by the Rājaputra (or king's son) Kīrtipāla, son of Ālhaṇadeva of Naddūlāī in favour of a Jaina temple, and consists of 34 lines of a *praśasti* with eight verses chiefly of genealogical matter, and the rest in prose.

It opens with a verse invoking the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Vishṇu) and Śaṁkara (Śiva), who, always free from passions, are famous in the world as Jinas or Jaina Arhats. It is curious that the Hindu gods comprising the trinity are here called Jinas (V. 1). In the town of Śākambharī, there was born a king named *Vākpatirāja* in the Chāhamāna race (V. 2). His son named *Lakshmaṇa* became king of Naddūla and was succeeded by his son *Sōbhita*. From him sprang *Balirāja*. and after him there ruled his paternal uncle named *Vigrahapāla*, son of Sōbhita (V. 3). Vigrahapāla's son was *Mahendra*, who was succeeded by his son *Aṇahilla*, who again had *Jēndrarāja* as his son, from whom was born *Āśārāja* (V. 4). Āśārāja's son was *Ālhaṇa* who was the lord of Naḍḍūla and who having defeated the ruler of Surāshṭra (Sōraṭh in Kāṭhiāwāṛ), extended his dominions (V. 5). He was married to Annalladēvī[2] the daughter of Sahula[3] of the Rāshṭrauḍa (Rāṭhōṛ) race (V. 6). She gave birth to three sons, who were well versed in learning as well as in wielding arms, *viz.*, *Kēlhaṇa*, *Gajasiṁha* and *Kīrtipāla* (V. 7). Of these, Kēlhaṇa, the eldest, who was possessed of all merits, was made a *Kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government by his father (V. 8).[4] *Rājakula*[5] Ālhaṇadeva and the *Kumāra* Kelhaṇadeva were pleased to grant to the prince (*Rājaputra*) Kīrtipāla twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlāī (Nāḍlāī) (ll. 17-19). The *Rājaputra* Kīrtipāla after bathing and performing religious rites : such as worshipping the Sun and Maheśvara (Śiva), etc., and realising the transitoriness of this world, granted on Monday the 5th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa of the Vikrama year 1218 (corresponding to A.D. 25th July, 1160) a yearly sum of 2 *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlāī to (the temple of) the Jina Mahāvīra at the village of Naddulāī, and ordered that the money in question should be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing from that year [(*i. e.*, 1218) (ll. 20-26)]. The names of the twelve villages are enumerated (l. 27), *viz.*, Naddūlāī-grāma, Sūjera, Harijī, Kavilāḍaṁ, Sōnāṇaṁ, Mōrakarā, Haravaṁdaṁ, Māḍāḍa Kāṇasuvaṁ, Dēvasūrī, Nāḍāḍa, and Maüvaḍī. It is further ordered (ll. 28-29) that this grant-money should be paid at the celebration of the *Saṁvatsarī*[6] each year and that none should interfere with this grant in future. If his descendants are deprived of their kingdom and some one succeeds them, he binds such new-comers also not to discontinue this grant (l. 30). Then follow the usual verses imprecating those who resume grants (ll. 31-32).[7] This grant is given with his own hand (*i. e.*, sign-manual) by the *Mahārājaputra*, the illustrious Kīrtipāla. This grant was written under orders by Śubhaṁkara, son of Dāmōdara and grandson of the Kāyastha Sōḍha of the Naigama lineage (ll. 33-34).

[2] She is no doubt the Ānaladevī mentioned in a Sāṇḍerāv inscription, for the particulars of which, see *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., West. Circle.* for 1909, pp. 51-52.—D.R.B.

[3] Prof. Kielhorn reads Aṇahula, but it is Sahula

[4] Here the verses end and hence numbers of lines are quoted below.

[5] This was a title borne by many Râjpût princes of the mediæval times, who had become disciples of ascetic belonging to a sect called Râvaḷ (see above for 1910, p. 190)—D.R.B.

[6] *Saṁvatsarī* is the name given to the festival held by the Jainas on Bhādrapada sudi 5th, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Tīrthaṁkara named Mahāvīrasvāmī when he obtained Nirvāṇa.

[7] These verses are quoted in all grants whether small or large.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1–ॐ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रियै भवंतु वो देवा (।)[8] ब्रह्मश्रीधरशंकराः । सदा विरागवं (।)–

2–तो ये (।) जिना जगति विश्रुताः ॥ १ शाकंभरीनामपुरे पुरासी (।) च्छ्रीचाह–

3–मानान्वयलब्धजन्मा । राजा महाराजनतांन्हियुग्मः ख्यातोवनौ वाक्प (॥)–

4–तिराजनामा ॥ २ नडूले[9] समभूत्तदीयतनयः श्रीलक्ष्मणो भूपतिः[10] स्त (॥)–

5–स्मात्सर्व्वगुणान्वितो नृपवरः श्रीसोभिताख्यः[11] सुतः । तस्मा[12]च्छ्रीवलिराजना–

6–मनृपतिः पश्चात्तदीयो महीख्यातो विग्रहपाल [13]इत्यभिधया राज्ये पितृव्योभवत् ॥ छ[14]

7–तस्मात्तीव्रमहाप्रतापतरणिः पुत्रो महेंद्रोभवत्तज्जाच्छ्रीअ[15]णहिल्लदेवनृपतेः श्रीजें--

8--द्रराजः सुतः । तस्माद्दुर्द्धरवैरिकुंजरवधप्रोत्तालसिंहोपमः सत्कीर्त्या धवलाकृता[16]--

9--खिलजगद्वी[17]आशराजो नृपः ॥ ४ तत्पुत्रो निजविक्रमार्जितं[18] महाराज्यप्रतापोहयो[19]

10--यो जग्राह जयश्रियं रणभरे व्यापाद्य सौराष्ट्रिकान् । शौचाचारविचारदानवसतिर्नड्डू–

11--लनाथो [20]मह (।) त्संख्योत्पादितवीरवृत्तिरमलः श्रीअल्हणो[21]भूपतिः ॥ ५ अनेन राज्ञा जनविश्रुते (।)–

12--न (।) राष्ट्रौडवंशजवरा सहुलस्य पुत्री । अन्नल्लदेविरिति[22] शीलविवेकयुक्ता (।)रामेण वै जनकजेव वि--

13–वाहितासौ ॥ ६ आभ्यां जाताः सुपुत्रा जगति वरधियो रूपसौंदर्ययुक्ताः (।) शस्त्रैः शास्त्रैः प्रग (॥)–

14--ल्भाः प्रवरगुणगणास्त्यागवन्तः सुशीलाः । ज्येष्ठः श्रीकेल्हणाख्यस्तदनु च गजसिंहस्तथा की (।)–

15--र्त्तिपालो (।) यद्वन्नेत्राणि शंभोस्त्रिपुरुषवदथामी जने वंदलीयाः[23] [। *] । ७ मध्यादमीषां परि—

Second Plate—First Side.

16--वारनाथो ष्टेष्टोऽग्रजः[24] क्षोणितले प्रसिद्धः । कृत[25] कुमारो निजराज्यधारी

17--श्रीकेल्हण[26] सर्व्वगुणैरुपेतः । [। *] [८ *] आभ्यां राजकुलश्री आल्हणदेव (।) कुमारश्रीकेल्ह--

18--णदेवाभ्यां राजपुत्रश्रीकीर्त्तिपालस्य प्रसादे दत्तनडूलाई[27]प्रतिवद्धद्वादसग्रामाणि[28] ॥

19--ततो राजपुत्रश्रीकीर्त्तिपालः । सं. १२१८ श्रावणवदि ५ सोमे ॥ अद्ये[29] श्रीनडूले स्नात्वा धो[30]--

20--तवाससी परिधाय तिलाक्षतकुशप्रणायिनं दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवानुदकेन संतर्प्य (।) व[31]–

21--हलतमातिमिरपटलपाटनपटीयसो निःशेषपातकपंकप्रक्षालनस्य दिवाकरस्य

22--पूजां विधाय (।) चराचरगुरुं महेस्वरं[32] नमस्कृत्य (।) हुतभुजि होमद्रव्याहुतीर्हत्वा[33] नलिनी--

23--दलगतजललवतरलं जीवितव्यमाकलय्य । ऐहिकं पारविकं[34] द्य[35] फलमगीकृत्य[36] स्वपुण्य--

24--यशोभिवृद्धये शासनं प्रयच्छति यथा ॥ श्रीनडूलाईग्रामे (।) श्रीमहावीरजिनाय नडूलाइ--

25--द्वादशग्रामेषु ग्रामं प्रति द्र २ द्वौ द्रम्मौ स्नपनविलेपनदीपधूपोपभोगार्थं (।) शासने

26--वर्षं प्रति भाद्रपदमासे चंद्रार्क्कक्षितिकाल[37] यावत् [38]प्रदत्तौ ॥ नडूलाईग्राम । सूजेर । हरिजी [। *]

27--कविलाडं । सोनाणं । मोरकरा । हरवंदं [। *] माडाड । काणसुवं । देवसूरी । नाडाड [। *] मउवडी ॥

28--एवं ग्रा[39] १२ [। *] एतेषु द्वादशग्रामेषु सर्व्वदापि[40] अस्माभिः शासने दत्तौ । एभिर्ग्रामैरधुना संवत्स--

29--र[41] (।) लगित्वा सर्व्वदापि वर्षं प्रति भाद्रपदे दातव्यौ । अत[42]: ऊर्द्धं केनापि परिपंथना न कर्त्तव्या ।

30–अस्मद्वंशे[43] व्यतिक्रांते योन्यः कोऽपि भविष्यति [। *] तस्याहं [वै *] करे लग्नो न लोप्य[44]मम शासनं ॥ षष्टिव-

1--र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति दायकः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमता[45] च तान्येव नरकं[46] वसेत् ॥ [47]वहुभिर्वसुधा

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[8] Read ब्रह्म°

[9] Read नडूले.

[10] Read °पतिस्त°

[11] Read शोभिता°

[12] Read °च्छ्रीव°

[13] Read इत्य°

[14] Read 3

[15] Rules of *saṁdhi* violated

[16] Read धवलीकृ.°

[17] Read °गच्छ्री आश°, and mark violation of *saṁdhi*.

[18] Read °मार्जित°

[19] Read °पोदयो°

[20] Read महान्स°

[21] Read °आल्हणो; and here, again, observe the wrong *saṁdhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible.

[22] देवि is wrongly used for देवी which would have offended against the metre.

[23] Read वंदनीयाः.

[24] Read ज्येष्ठो.

[25] Read कृतः.

[26] Read केल्हणः.

[27] Read °बद्ध°

[28] Read ग्रामाः.

[29] Read अद्येह.

[30] Read धौत°.

[31] Read बहल°.

[32] Read महेश्वरं.

[33] Read हुत्वा.

[34] Read पारात्रिकं.

[35] Read च.

[36] Read °मगी.°

[37] Read कालं.

[38] Read प्रदत्तौ.

[39] That is ग्रामाः.

[40] Read °दाप्यस्माभिः.

[41] Read °त्सरं.

[42] Read अत ऊ°

[43] Read °स्मद्वंशे.

[44] Read लोप्यं.

[45] Read °मंता.

[46] Read नरके.

[47] Read बहु°.

Second Plate—Second Side.

32--भुक्ता राजिभि[48] सगरादिभिः । जस्य[49] यस्य यदा भूमि [50]तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ स्वहस्तोयं म--
33--[51]हारानपुत्रश्रीकीर्त्तिपालस्य ॥ नैगमान्वयकायस्थसाढनसा शुभंकरः । दामोदरसु--
34--तोलेखि[52] शासनं धर्म्मशासनं ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

THE MEDS OF MAKRAN.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE, F.Z.S.; CALCUTTA.

THE Meds of Makran are at the present day fishermen and sailors. It is an especially interesting study to trace their ancient history in order to find out who they are, and from where or how they came to the Southern Coast of Baluchistan. Herodotus in Vol. VII, page 62, (Rawlinson) says, "These Medes were called anciently by all people Arians, but when Medea, the Colchican, came to them from Athens, they changed their name." Ritter (V. 458) adds that "those Eastern and proper Indians, whose territory, however, Alexander never touched by a long way, call themselves in the most ancient period Arians (Arier). Manu (II, 22, X, 45) mentions a name coinciding with that of the ancient Medes." Sir Denzil Ibbetson, in quoting General Cunningham, says in his Punjab Census Report, 1881, that the Meds entered India about a century before Christ, that they followed the Jats or Jatii of Pliny and that the Jats and Meds of Sind were ruled over by a Brâhmaṇ dynasty. MacCrindle in his invasion of Ancient India by Alexander identifies the River Polver with Medos (page 33). The Encyclopædia Britannica tells us that Media is the ancient name of a country of considerable extent in Western Asia now forming portion of Persia, inhabited by Turanians called Medes, that they belong to the Aryan race, that they resemble the Persians, and that they have been traced to the countries beyond the Indus. They were conquered by Cyrus (550 B.C.) Balfour's Cyclopædia says that the Medes occupied the Western tableland of Iran and the bordering mountains. Among the ancient Sanskrit works of India, the Meds have been mentioned in the *Yama-Saṁhitâ*. Vyâsa is also said to have described them. I give the quotations for what they are worth.

(*A*) रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव चः ।
कैवर्त-मेद्-भिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥

The washerman (*rajaka*) and the shoe-maker (*charmakâra*), Naṭ, Buruḍ, Kaibartta, *Med* and Bhil are low-born (untouchables).

(*B*) वराटो मेद्–चांडाल-दास-श्वपच–कोलकाः ।
एतेन्त्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः ॥

Together with Varâṭa, etc., the *Meds* are counted low-caste (*antyaja*).

(*C*) Manu says—
कारावरो निषादात्तु चर्मकारः प्रसूयते ।
वैदेहिकारंध्रमेदौ बहिर्ग्रामंप्रतिश्रयौ ॥ x. 36.

A Vaiśya's son from a Brâhmaṇ woman called Vaidehika gives birth to out-castes like Andhra and *Med*.

Again—

(*D*) विप्रायां वैश्यतो वैदेहः । तस्मात्कारावर्यामन्ध्रः ।
निषाद्यां मेद् इति मेधातिथिः ॥

Medhâtithi says that Vaideha is born of a Vaiśya from a Brâhmaṇ woman, from this Vaideha a Kârâvarî woman gives birth to an Andhra, and a Nishâda woman gives birth to a *Med*.

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48 Read राजभिः 49 Read यस्य. 50 Read भूमिस्त° 51 Read °राज°

52 The passive aorist is wrongly used for the active अलेखीत्.

(*E*) राजस्त्रियां च शूद्रेण क्षत्ता मैंदश्च जायते।
श्वाविध्यमथ गोधानां स चक्रे वधबंधनम् ॥

The son of a Kshatriya woman from a 'Sûdra is called a Mainda (Meda) or Kshattâ.

(*F*) मेदस्य वनिता कायात्संगतान्ध्रेण चेद्रहः।
सा सूते यवनं पुत्रं तुरुष्कः स प्रकीर्तितः ॥
प्रसिद्धो म्लेच्छदेशे यो गोवधेनास्य वर्तनम्।

The son of a Med woman by an Andhra is called a Yavana. He is a Turk, a foreigner, killer of cows.

All these quotations, containing allusions to the Meds, may be compared with the quotations from European scholars given above.

On the authority of the Mujmal-ul-tawârikh, the Jats and Meds are reputed to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah and that they occupied the banks of the Indus in Sindh. During the period of the Arab occupation, Muhammad, son of Kasim, represented them as "sea-farers and pirates, with whom the men of Basora were then at war."

Lord Curzon, in his *Persia,* states that "the Province of Milan on the Caspian coast contains descendants of the ancient Medes, that the Province of Milan is the original seat of sericulture for which Persia was celebrated." [1]

So strong is the attachment of the primitive man to his soil that it is not surprising to find in the lowest stratum of the population of a country the representatives of its earliest races in spite of revolutionary changes at the surface. The human wave of emigrants is often compared to the disturbances, on the surface of an ocean, which leave the mud or shells at the bottom undisturbed in spite of cyclones and tempests. It is, therefore, quite possible that Milan, the ancient Media, retains a part of its original residents to this day, that the Medes originally a maritime nation on the coast of the Caspian Sea, have, after being driven out, gone southwards, following the course of the Polver where they possibly had their agents trading with India in raw silk. Along the Western coast of India, Karachi, Tata, Cutch, Surat, Broach, and Thana, Sopara, and Cheul are well-known seats of silk manufacture; and it has been often recorded that the raw material came from Persia. Western India does not produce silk.

The modern Meds or the ancient Medes, an oceanic tribe, is, therefore, possibly the one that supplied the raw material. It is more natural to suppose that these people came from Media where they could get wood for building their ships and canoes than to accept the modern tradition of their having gone to Makran from Gandova simply because they worship a *Pir* from that place. The *Pir*, who first converted them, may have come from Gandova, but not the people. It would be interesting to find out if Gandova can produce timber for building ships. Makran surely does not. But the distinct link of the Meds from the Caspian coast or Milan to the Persian Gulf and from there, along the Makran coast, to India is plain enough.

Added to these surmises are the anthropometric measurements of the people. Their average Cephalic Index is 82, Nasal Index 68·1, their orbito-nasal Index 127·3. Their oval faces present a purer Persian cast than that the one seen among the half-Arab half-Persian Baloches of the Northern portion of that province, their heads are broader and noses more prominent, in spite of palpable intermixture with the African and Indian races. Their characteristic traits also coincide: (1) They belong to the Aryan race, (2) they resemble Persians, (3) they are pirates with whom the people of Basora were at war in the time of the Arab occupation and (4) they were considered out-castes (foreigners) in India by the ancient writers. Until, therefore, future investigation proves to the contrary, it would not be unreasonable to accept the theory that the Meds of the Makran Coast

[1] Lord Curzon's *Persia,* Vol. I, pp. 239 to 240.

are the remnants of the maritime Medes, who migrated to the Persian Gulf and Makran after they were driven out of their father-land, and have considerably got mixed with the Arabs, Africans, Indians, and Baloches. Their blood connection with the Koris of the River Kori in Sindh has been the cause of the formation of a sept of that name. The Koris of Sind are possibly the oceanic race who helped them as pilots to the Bombay coast where they have a colony quite distinct from the Dravidian Hill Kolis, and known as Son-Kolis, exhibiting a conspicuous strain of Aryan blood. It is noteworthy that these Son-Kolis or mixed 'Kolis and Meds' are found only along the Thana and Kolaba coast, and that they have no racial representatives in the interior—the Hill-Kolis being quite a dark and Dravidian race. Ancient trade in Western girls may also account for the fairer skin, occasional blonde hair and Aryan features of these old pirates of Bombay. From the Persian Gulf to Bombay, we have thus a trace of people whose ancient history may have direct connection with the old sea-borne trade-route from Persia to India culminating in the establishment of a colony of Parsis or 'Guebres' a Persian tribe at Billimora, Navsari, Surat, and Bombay.

They are divided into three septs: Meds, Koris and Gadras. The Meds are fishermen, the Koris are sailors like Bombay Kolis, and the Gadras are bastards born of African slaves. They have no totems, or endogamous divisions, being Musalmans. They do not inter-marry cousins and brothers, and seem to have no objection to marry any Musalman if he accepts their profession. They have settled themselves along the Makran coast, and are no longer nomads. They do not migrate. They admit outsiders into their community and marry Baloches. The marriage is adult. They observe Mahomedan customs in marriage and inheritance. Polygamy is allowed, polyandry is not known. Widow marriage and divorce are practised. The dead are buried. In dress, they resemble ordinary Musalmans of Baluchistan.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ARIYUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA: SAKA-SAMVAT 1312.

MY attention has been drawn to a remark made by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in editing the record on these plates. He said (*ante*, Vol. 38, 1909, p. 12):—"The plates were made over to Mr. Naṭêśa Śâstri, who did not remember what he did with them, but thought he might have sent them to Dr. Fleet." It would seem from this that the plates had been lost sight of in 1909, and perhaps are still missing. If so, it is desirable that an attempt should be made to trace them, and without further delay. But inquiries must be made elsewhere. The plates were not sent to me: and I have no knowledge of them apart from Mr. Gopinatha Rao's publication of the record on them.

J. F. FLEET.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[THE following letter has been sent to me by Dr. Grierson containing a valuable criticism on my paper—"Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population" which has appeared in the January number. As he has so very kindly allowed me to make any use of it I like, I cannot do better than publish it here almost in its entirety; and I doubt not that it will be found to be extremely important and interesting, as it comes from no less a veteran linguist, scholar and antiquarian, than Dr. Grierson.—D. R. B.]

"DEAR MR. BHANDARKAR,—I have read both your articles with the greatest interest, and am specially indebted to you for the excellent way in which you have put together your proofs in the second paper. It has supplied a want which I have long felt.

"P. 17 ff. above. With regard to Sâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇs it may interest you to know that I met several of them in Gayâ when I was Collector there. Have you seen the *Pâraśîprakâśa* of Kṛishṇadâsa, a Śâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇ? (note the termination *dâsa*). It was written for the

Emperor Akbar, and has been edited, with a translation, by the late A. Weber in the year 1887 in the *Abhandlungenic der Konigl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, at Berlin[1]. In the preface Weber gives a long account of the connexion between the Magi and the Śâkadvîpa Brâhmaṇs. The book itself is a Persian Grammar and *Kôśa* written in Sanskrit.

"P. 20, above. Regarding the Haihayas there are many traditions about them in the country to the east of Benares, and in Bihâr. In Darbhanga, a district of Bihâr, there is Hayâ Ghâṭ on the river Bâghmatî. I used to be told, when I was there, that it was named after the Haihayas, who fought a battle there. In the Gorakhpur district (north-east of Benares), the Majhaulî Râjâs are *Bisên* Râjpûts, but a scion of the family used to maintain to me in conversation that they were by origin Haihayas. These Majhaulî Bisêns, at any rate, intermarry with the *Hayôbans* (= Haihaya-vaṁśa), Râjpûts of Baliâ (a district on the Ganges, to the East of Benares). See Gorakhpur *Gazetteer* (1881), p. 519. You will find much information about Râjpûts in this volume, and also especially in the Gazetteer of the Himâlayan Districts (Kumaun, &c.) of the N.-W. P. Crooke also gives an article on Hayôbans Râjpûts in his book.

"P. 21, above. I see you follow Dr. Fleet in considering that "Gujarât" is derived from "Gurjaratrâ."[2] I would suggest that this is not certain. It is quite possible that the reverse is the case, and that "Gurjaratrâ" is a Sanskritization of "Gujarât." To me the difficulty is that Gurjaratrâ as a Sanskrit word has no meaning, while *Gurjara-râshṭra* has a meaning. The phonetic change of the cerebral *ṭṭh* of *Gujjaraṭṭha* to *Gujarât* is quite regular in Gujarâtî (see the Linguistic Survey on the point). It looks to me as possible that the writer of the inscription in which "Gurjaratrâ" is found, already knew the word "Gujarât" and concocted the word "Gurjaratrâ," because he did not know the real derivation.

"P. 21, above. In regard to the statement about Gûjars in Gujarât, I venture to mention a few points which may interest you. You perhaps know that I call the languages of the N.-W. Frontier (Kâfir, Khôwâr of Chitral, Shînâ of Gilgit, Kâshmîrî, &c.) by the name "Piśâcha." Now these modern languages have several very peculiar phonetic rules, such as the occasional hardening of a soft consonant (*e.g.*, *lakâm* for *lagâm*), the disaspiration of sonant aspirates (*guru* for *ghôṛâ*, &c.), inability to differentiate between cerebrals and dentals, the frequent occurrence of epenthesis, and so on. Now the Linguistic Survey shows that these peculiarities can be followed down the Indus into Sind, across North Gujarât, and into the Bhîl Hills. I do not think that we can attribute these peculiarities to the original language of the Gurjaras. Rather they indicate the presence of *another* language alongside and intermingling with that of the Gurjaras, and I have little hesitation in looking upon them as remnants of the language of the Khaśas of the Sub-Himâlaya. These Khaśas still survive. They are numerous in the North Panjâb, in Gaṛhwâl, in Kumaun (*i.e.*, Kûrmâchala, from the *Kûrm-âvatâra*), and in Nepâl. In the last country, the language which Europeans call "Nepâlî" is locally known as "Khas-kuṛâ" *i.e.*, the language of the Khaśas. In all these tracts the same "Piśâcha" peculiarities exist in the local languages, although the local languages are all closely connected with Râjasthânî. But I think that I can definitely state that these phonetic peculiarities are not inherent parts of the local language. They all occur more or less sporadically. They are there, but they are always unexpected when they appear.

"We find a similar state of affairs again in "Nepâlî," in regard to Tibeto-Burman languages. Although "Nepâlî" is essentially a form of Râjasthânî, it also presents numerous unexpected forms which are certainly borrowed from Tibeto-Burman languages, *e.g.*, there is an honorific conjugation of the verb built exactly on Tibeto-Burman lines. In this case the explanation is obvious. The speakers of the Aryan *quasi*-Râjasthânî came into Nepâl (we know from history that they came originally from Udaipur), and conquered the local Tibeto-Burmans. As time went on, their language

[1] I intend publishing a translation of this important paper of Prof. Weber, in this *Journal*, for the benefit of the Indian Scholars.—D. R. B.

[2] This derivation had been suggested by me first in my paper on the Gurjaras, (*Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI.) long before Dr. Fleet's note appeared in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*—D. R. B.

became infected with Tibeto-Burman peculiarities. I have records to show that the language has changed in the course of the last twenty years, and in the case of these changes (which the Nepâlis themselves tell of) the forms which they call "old-fashioned" are all essentially Aryan, while those which they call "modern" are really (though they are unaware of the fact) Tibeto-Burman. As an example of these, I may quote the use of the case of the Agent. In the old language this was used only before the *past* tenses of transitive verbs, exactly as in Hindî or Marâṭhî, but now-a-days the same case is used for the subject of *any* tense of a transitive verb, past, present, or future, exactly as in Tibeto-Burman languages.

"It is reasonable to presume that a similar state of affairs exists in the Sub-Himalayan tracts of the Upper Provinces and of the Panjâb (as well *also* in Nepâl). Here the original Aryan inhabitants were undoubtedly Khaśas. Sanskrit literature, history, and modern traditions agree as to this. These people were conquered by people speaking *quasi*-Râjasthânî, and the language of the latter has become infected with typical peculiarities of the language of the former.

"You will observe that I here use the term "*quasi*-Râjasthânî." By this I mean that the language is closely connected with Râjasthânî, but that we must not therefore assume that its original speakers all necessarily came from Râjputânâ.

"Before going further, I would like to state, with reference to a remark of yours (p 22, note 75), that Mr. Jackson pointed out that the term "Gauḍa" refers to the province round *Thânêsar*, and not to Bengal,—that the fact was long before pointed out by Dr. Hoernle about the year 1875, and that *on this account*, he called the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, "Gauḍian."

"On p. 30, above, you quote some theories of mine, in which I attempt to account for the existence of this *quasi*-Râjasthânî in the Sub-Himâlayas. I have, as you correctly state, implied that the speakers came from Râjputânâ and imposed their language on the people whom they conquered. Since I wrote this, I have been preparing the Pahâṛî section of the Linguistic Survey, and a consideration of all the facts revealed by a closer examination of the many hill dialects between Chambâ and Nepâl inclusive, has led me to modify this opinion.

"I still believe that there were important migrations from Râjputânâ into these hills. The local histories give full particulars. It is, for instance, historically true that the Gorkhâs who conquered Nepâl (or at least the principal founders of the tribe) came from Udaipur. The Gaṛhwâl Râjpûts say, they came from Gujarât, and the Têhri Gaṛhwâl Râjpûts have a genealogy which pretends to carry them back in a straight line to Kanishka (!). Nearly all the Râjâs of the Panjâb-Himâlaya, as far west as Chambâ, claim to have come from Râjputânâ. One of them (Mandî) claims descent from the Lakshmaṇa Sêna of Bengal, who was a Chandravaṁśî. So, the original title of the Chambâ Royal Family was *varmâ*. These claim to have come from Ayôdhyâ, and to be descended from Kuśa, the son of Râmachandra. There are several other high Râjpût families in Chambâ which "were all founded by Râjpût leaders—each probably with a small band of followers—who either came directly from the plains, or were scions of one or other of the ruling families who had previously established themselves in the Hills. [8]

"So far my facts stand. But for some time the importance of the fact that the Gûjars of the hills still further to the west in Kâshmîr and the neighbourhood talk a language akin to Râjasthânî, has been more and more borne upon my consideration. The language of these men is what Sir H Risley calls a "morient" language, that is to say, it is the language spoken by a remnant of a tribe, and fast dying out, while most of the members of the tribe have abandoned it for some other. Most of the Panjâb Gûjars (those of the plains) have abandoned their own language for Panjâbî or some other. Although it is, as a rule, unsafe to base ethnological speculations upon linguistic evidence, it is allowable, in the case of a "morient" language, to assume that it is the original language of the few people who continue to speak it after it has been abandoned by most of the tribe. We may thus assume that the original language of the Gûjars of the Panjâb was once everywhere a language akin to the ancestor of what is now Râjasthânî. Now, I do not think that it is at all extravagant to assume that the Gûjars and Ahîrs (who also in Sub-Himâlaya speak a form of Gujarî) over-ran and settled in the greater part of the Sub-Himâlaya of the Panjâb and United Provinces, after conquering the previously settled Khaśas. This would at once account for the existence of a language akin to Râjasthânî in the hills. In later times it received fresh drafts from Râjputânâ which quite possibly strengthened the

[8] *Chamba Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 63. You will find a mass of valuable information in this and the other local Panjâb Gazetteers lately published.

Râjasthânî spoken there. This theory well accounts for the existence of the *quasi*-Râjasthânî in these hills, with its Khaśa subs ratum.

"Regarding the Nâgar Brâhmans of Gujarât, have you seen Nagêndranâtha Vasu's paper on "the Origin of the Nâgaras and the Nâgarî Alphabet" in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, for 1896, p. 114 ff? If you have not seen it, I think you would find it interesting. Though the subject is rather out of my line, I think there is a good deal in his contention as to the origin of the name "Nâgarî." As you know, the Nâgar Brâhmans, although Gujarâtîs, do not employ the Gujarâtî alphabet.

"I must apologize for this long letter. I should not have written it were I not intensely interested in the subject-matter of your paper, and desired to explain to you exactly what my present opinions are regarding the Râjpûts of the Sub-Himâlaya."

RATHFARNHAM, CAMBERLEY, SURVEY. — G. A. GRIERSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF THE CLEVER BUILDER.

AT Aurangâbâd there is a well, known as the Sonebaurî or Golden Well, and the story goes that Bîbî Mugbira, said to be a daughter of the Emperor, Shâh Alam, died in that city. A tomb was to be raised to her memory and four masons of the highest class offered to construct it, but before commencing their work they went to bathe in the famous well, when there appeared to them some of the water nymphs inhabiting it. Two of them succumbed to the charms of the nymphs and disappeared under the water, but the remaining two built the beautiful mausoleum to the princess, which is still standing, and were richly rewarded.

They desired to go elsewhere and earn further rewards, and were only permitted to do so on condition that they lost their right hands, so that they might never again construct so fine a building. This did not deter them from repairing to Hyderabad with the loss of a hand each. There they built the great Chchâr Mînâr, on completing which they each lost the other hand. Eventually they died "in peace."

M. N. CHETTANAH, *Hyderabad, Deccan.*

NIZAM COLLEGE, HYDERABAD (DECCAN).

A NOTE ON YATIRÂJA-VAIBHAVAM.

(See *Ind. Ant.* 1909, May, p. 129 ff.)

SIR—Apart from typographical errors, I consider it a duty to point out the following for the information of your readers.—

(1) According to the traditions of the Teṅgalai or the Southern School of the Srî-Vaishṇavas, no work called *Yatirâja-vaibhavam* is attributed to **Ândhra pûrṇa** or **Vaḍuganambi**. A Sanskrit hymnal **Srî-Râmânuj-âshṭottara-śata-nâmâni** alone is attributed to him, containing the colophon:—

"**Yad Ândhra-pûrṇena** mahâtman-edam stotraṁ kṛitaṁ sarva-jan-âvalâya, Taj-jîvabhûtam bhuvi Vaishṇavânâm babhûva Râmânuja-mânasânâm."

(2) "Nothing is really known about Ândhra-pûrṇa" is what I read in para. 2, Introduction, p. 129. But as a matter of fact, a good deal is known about him, (and a part of it is already available in English in my "**Life of Râmânuja** and his masters and disciples"). There is a separate book itself called the *Ândhra-pûrṇâchârya-charitram(u)*"

(3) Page 129, para. 1. Instead of **Tiruvaraṅ. gattandâdi**, it ought to be **Râmânuja-nûtṛ andâdi**.

(4) Page 130, footnote 3. I would from "Yâga=worship of God *in one form*," omit "*in one form*."

(5) Page 133, verse 29, instead of "Gaṅgâ-taṭâd-**Yâmuna**-mantra-vaśyo," it ought to be read:—"Gaṅgâ-taṭâd-**Yâdava**-mantra-vaśyo." It is most unfortunate that Yâmuna and Yâdava have been mixed up.

(6) Page 133, Footnote. 'Châudokya' should be 'Chhândogya'

Page 134. 'Tiu-Kachchinambi' should be 'Tiru-k-kacchinambi.'

Page 134. 'Madurântakam' should be 'Madhurântakam.'

Page 137. 'Madurakavi' should be 'Madhurakavi'.

Page 137. 'Saṭâri' should be 'Śaṭhâri.'

(7) Page 138. 'Śaraṇâgatha-gadya' should be 'Saraṇâgati gadya' And the third *Gadya* of Râmânuja is never known as **Srî-gadya** as is written in the footnote, but is known as the Vaikuṇṭha-gadya.

(8) In all our reliable traditions, the *son* of the ruler of Kâñchî was not possessed by the evil spirit, but the *daughter*. The verse should be corrected accordingly after collation with another good copy. This alone raises a doubt as to Ândhra-Pûrṇa being the author of **Yatirâja-Vaibhava**.

A. GOVINDACHARYA, C.E., M.R.A.S.

MYSORE (VEDA GRIHAM) 5th *July* 1910.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

(*Continued from p. 130.*)

In connection with verse 10, the following from Hemachandra's work may be read :—

मध्ये समवसरणं चैत्यद्रुर्व्यन्तरैः कृतः ।
क्रोशत्रयोच्यो रत्नत्रयोदयमिवादिशत् ॥ ४५२ ॥
तस्याधो विविधै रत्नैः पीठं विदधिरे च ते ।
तस्योपरि च्छन्दकं चाप्रतिच्छन्दमणिमयम् ॥ ४५३ ॥
तन्मध्ये पूर्वदिग्भागे रत्नसिंहासनं ततः ।
सपादपीठं ते चक्रुः सारं सर्वश्रियामिव ॥ ४५४ ॥

Translation.

452. In the centre of the *samavasaraṇa* a *chaitya* tree was set up by the Vyantaras, three *krośas* in height and declaring as it were the prosperity of the Three (Sacred) Gems.

453. Underneath it they prepared a dais with various jewels, and on it a *chhandaka* of incomparable rubies.

454. In the centre thereof (but) facing the east, they prepared a gem-studded lion-throne accompanied by a foot-stool, (which was), as it were, the essence of all beauties.

There are two points in these verses which require a little elucidation. The first is about the height of the *chaitya* tree, which is here said to be 3 *krośas* high. I have stated above that the *samavasaraṇa* described in Hemachandra's work, from which extracts are here cited, is that of Ṛishabhanâtha. The height of this Jina, according to Jaina mythology, is 500 *dhanus*, and as the general rule is that the height of a *chaitya* tree is twelve times the height of the Jina to whom it belongs, the height of Ṛishabhanâtha's tree is 500 × 12 *dhanus* = 6,000 *dhanus* = 3 *krośas*, the height specified in Hemachandra's verses. The second point is as regards the lion-throne on the *devachchhanda*. According to our *Samavasaraṇa-stavana*, v. 10, four such have to be made, but Hemachandra speaks of only one, as will be seen from his verse 454 just quoted. There is, however, really speaking, no great discrepancy here, for in verse 464, which will be cited further on, we are told that the Vyantaras made three images of the Jina as seated on the lion-throne. The ultimate result is the same, though according to Hemachandra only one, and, according to the other authority, four, lion-thrones are in reality made.

तदुवरि चउछत्ततिया पडिरूवतिगं तहट्ठचमरधरा ।
पुरओ कणयकुसेसयठिअफालियधम्मचक्क चऊ ॥ ११ ॥

तदुपरि (?) छत्रत्रिकानि । प्रतिरूपत्रिकं वानव्यन्तरेन्द्रकृतं च । तथाष्टचामरधरा भवन्ति । कनककुशेशयस्थितानि स्फाटिकानि धर्मचक्राणि चत्वारि सिंहासनपुरतो भवन्ति ॥ ११ ॥

(V. 11). On those (four lion-thrones) there are four triads of parasols. There are three reflections (of the Jina, produced by the Vâṇa-Vyantaras). Similarly there are eight *chauri* bearers (two for each lion-throne). In front (of the lion-thrones) are four wheels of the Law, (one for each) made of crystal gems and resting on gold lotuses.

What is contained in this verse is dilated upon in the following lines from the *Trishashṭi-śalâkâ-purusha-charitra*.

तस्योपरि विचक्रेऽथ तैश्छत्रत्रयमुज्ज्वलम् ।
स्वामिनस्त्रिजगत्स्वाम्यचिह्नत्रयमिवोच्चकैः ॥ ४५५ ॥
यक्षाभ्यां तत्र दध्राते पार्श्वयोश्चामरौ शुची ।
हृद्यमान्तौ बहिर्भूतौ स्वामिभक्तिभराविव ॥ ४५६ ॥
ततः समवसरणद्वारे हेमाम्बुजस्थितम् ।
अत्यद्भुतप्रभाचक्रं धर्मचक्रं विचाक्रिरे ॥ ४५७ ॥
तत्रान्यदपि यत्कृत्यं तत्सर्वं व्यन्तरा व्यधुः ।
साधारणे हि समवसरणे तेऽधिकारिणः ॥ ४५८ ॥
रत्नसिंहासनस्थानि दिक्ष्वन्यास्वपि तत्क्षणम् ।
भगवत्प्रतिबिम्बानि व्यन्तरास्त्रीणि चक्रिरे ॥ ४६४ ॥

Translation.

455. On that (lion-throne) they made three bright parasols, which, as it were, were the three distinct cognisances of the supremacy of the Lord over the three worlds.

456. There two sacred *chauris* were on two sides, caused to be held by two Yakshas,—*chauris* which were two excesses of devotion to the Lord, become external, not being contained in the heart.

457. Then at the portal of the *samavasaraṇa* they made a wheel of the Law, resting on a gold lotus and which was the wheel of a highly wonderful effulgence.

458. The Vyantaras did whatever other there was to be done. For, when the *samavasaraṇa* is of a general class, they are the proper functionaries.

464. Three reflections of the Lord as resting on a gem-studded lion-throne were in a moment generated by the Vyantaras in other directions also (*i. e.*, the south, west and north).

झयछत्तमयरमंगलपंचालीदामवेइवरकलसे ॥
पइदारं मणितोरणतिअ धूवघडी कुणंति वणा ॥ १२ ॥

वप्रेषु प्रतिद्वारं ध्वजच्छत्रमकरमुखमङ्गलपञ्चालीपुष्पदामवेदिकारचनाविशेषपूर्णकलशान्मणिमयतोरण-त्रिकानि धूपघटीश्च कुर्वन्ति व्यन्तराः ॥ १२ ॥

(V. 12). At every gate (of the *vapra*), the Vâṇa-Vyantaras put up flags, parasols (ornamental) *makaras*, auspicious marks, figures, garlands, dais, (water-filled) pitchers, three, (ornamental) arches inlaid with jewels, and incense-pots.

Hemachandra has enlarged on this point in the following lines :—

तोरणानि विचक्रुश्च रत्नमाणिक्यकाञ्चनैः ।
चतसृष्वपि ते दिक्षु तद्भूषाकण्ठिका इव ॥ ४२७ ॥
अन्योन्यदेहसंक्रान्तप्रतिबिम्बैर्बभासिरे ।
आलिङ्गिता इवालीभिस्तत्रोच्चैः शालभञ्जिकाः ॥ ४२८ ॥
स्निग्धेन्द्रनीलघटिता मकरास्तेषु रेजिरे ।
प्रणश्यन्मकरकेतुत्यक्तकेतुभ्रमप्रदाः ॥ ४२९ ॥
भगवत्केवलज्ञानकल्याणभवया मुदा ।
हंसा इव दिशां रेजुः श्वेतच्छत्राणि तत्र च ॥ ४३० ॥
ध्वजाश्च भ्रेजिरे तत्र भूदेव्यातिप्रमोदतः ।
उत्तम्भिता इव भुजाः स्वयं नर्तितुकामया ॥ ४३१ ॥
तोरणानामधस्तेषां बलिपट्टेष्विवोच्चकैः ।
मङ्गलस्याष्टचिह्नानि स्वस्तिकादीनि जज्ञिरे ॥ ४३२ ॥
माणिक्यतोरणास्तत्र पताकामालभारिणः ।
रश्मिजालैर्विरचितान्यपताका इवाभवन् ॥ ४४० ॥
प्रतिवप्रं च चत्वारि गोपुराणि चकाशिरे ।
चतुर्विधस्य धर्मस्य क्रीडावातायना इव ॥ ४४१ ॥
इन्द्रनीलमणिस्तम्भायितधूमलतामुचः ।
द्वारे द्वारे धूपघट्योऽमुच्यन्त व्यन्तरामरैः ॥ ४४२ ॥

Translation.

427. And in the four (cardinal) directions they made arches with jewels, rubies and gold, as if they were necklaces for their decoration.

428. There the figures, on their upper members in consequence of their reflections being transferred to one another's bodies, shone as if they were embraced by their friends.

429. Thereon shone the *makaras* formed of resplendent sapphire and causing the mis-impression of (their being) the banner cast aside by Cupid when dying.

430. And there the white parasols shone like swans of the quarters through delight produced by the supreme knowledge and blessedness of the Lord.

431. And there the flags shone as if they were the arms tossed aloft through intense delight by the goddess Earth, being desirous of dancing in person.

432. Underneath these arches, the eight marks of auspiciousness, such as *svastika* and so forth, were distinctly made as if on pieces of cloth accompanying oblations (to the spirits).

440. There the arches of rubies, bearing a number of flags, appeared as if they were producing other flags by their own net of rays.

441. At every rampart shone four ornamented gateways as if (they were) the sporting-windows of the four-fold religion.

442. At every gate were placed incense-pots, by the Vyantara divinities, giving out creeper-like smoke which resembled the pillar of sapphire gems.

जोयणसहस्सदंडा चउज्झया धम्ममाणगयसीहा ॥
ककुभाइजुआ सव्वं माणमिणं निअनिअकरेण ॥ १३ ॥

धर्मध्वजमानध्वजगजध्वजसिंहध्वजनामानश्चत्वारो ध्वजाश्चतुर्दिक्षु ककुभशब्देन लघुलघुतरघण्टिकापताकिकाद्युच्यते । सर्वं चैतत् निजनिजहस्तेन ॥ १३ ॥

(V. 13). Four banners with staves of one thousand *yojanas* each in length (and named) Dharma, Māna, Gaja and Siṁha (and) accompanied with *kakubhas*, *i. e.*, smaller bells, flags, &c.—all this measurement to be counted by the *hasta* (hand) of each respective *Tīrthaṁkara*.

पविसिअ पुव्वाइ पहू पयाहिणं पुव्वआसणनिविट्ठो ॥
पयपीढठवियपाओ पणमिअतित्थो कहइ धम्मं ॥ १४ ॥

प्रदक्षिणं प्रविश्य प्रणतं तीर्थं चतुर्विधः संघो येन स नमो तित्थस्स इति वचनात् प्रभोर्वाणीं योजनप्रसारिणीं वप्राणामधस्तात् गच्छन्तो जनाः शृण्वन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

(V. 14). Having entered from the east and from left to right, having sat on a seat facing the east, having placed his feet on a foot-stool, and having saluted the *tīrtha* (*i. e.*, the four-fold congregation) the Lord discourses on the Law.

The contents of this verse are repeated in the following lines from Hemachandra's work, but with somewhat greater details :—

चतुर्विधानां देवानामथ कोटीभिरावृतः ।
भगवान्समवसर्तुं प्रचचाल दिवामुखे ॥ ४५९
सहस्रपत्राण्यब्जानि सौवर्णानि तदा नव ।
विदधुर्निदधुश्चाग्रे क्रमेण स्वामिनः सुराः ॥ ४६०
विदधे तेषु च स्वामी पादन्यासं द्वयोर्द्वयोः ।
पुरः संचारयामासुराशु शेषाणि नाकिनः ॥ ४६१
पूर्वद्वारेण समवसरणं प्राविशत्ततः ।
चक्रे च चैत्यवृक्षस्य जगन्नाथः प्रदक्षिणाम् ॥ ४६२
तीर्थं नत्वा प्राङ्मुखोऽथ जगन्मोहतमश्छिदे ।
स्वामी सिंहासनं भेजे पूर्वाचलमिवार्यमा ॥ ४६३

Translation.

459. Being surrounded by crores of the four classes of gods, the Lord set out for the *samavasaraṇa* at the break of the day.

460. Then the gods prepared nine golden lotuses of a thousand petals each and placed them in succession in front of the Lord.

461. And the Lord placed his feet on pairs of them, (and) the gods forthwith pushed in front the remainder (*i. e.*, those on which he had placed his feet).

462. Then the Lord of the world entered the *samavasaraṇa* from the eastern portal and circumambulated the *chaitya* tree.

463. Having saluted the *tîrtha* and with his face turned towards the east, the Lord, for dispelling the darkness, *viz.*, the infatuations of the world, occupied the lion-throne just as the Sun (occupies) the eastern mountain.

मुणिवेमाणिणिसमणी सभवणजोइवणदेविदेवतिश्रं ॥
कप्पसुरनरित्थितिश्रं ठंति ग्गेयाइविदिसासु ॥ १५
चउदेविसमणि उ-द्धट्ठिश्रा निविट्ठा नरित्थिसुरसमणा ॥
इय पण सग परिस सुणंति देसणं पढमवप्पंतो ॥ १६

आग्नेयीनैऋतीवायवीऐशानीविदिक्षु यथोक्तं सभात्रयं यथाक्रमं पूर्वस्यां दक्षिणायां पश्चिमायामुत्तरायां प्रविश्य प्रदक्षिणां दत्वा तिष्ठति । तथा चैतयोरक्षराणि । अवसेसा संजया निरइसेसिश्रा पुरत्थिमेणं चेव दारेणं पविसित्ता भयवंतं ति पयाहिणी काउं वंदित्ता नमो तित्थस्स नमो अइसेसिआणं ति भणित्ता अइसेसिआणं पिट्ठश्रो निसीश्रंति । वेमाणिआणं देवीश्रो पुरत्थिमेणं चेव दारेणं पविसित्ता भयवंतं ति पयाहिणी करित्ता वंदित्ता य नमो तित्थस्स नमो अइसेसिआणं नमो साहुणं ति भणित्ता निरइसेसिआणं पिट्ठश्रो ठायंति न निसीयंति। समणीश्रो पुरत्थिमेणं चेव दारेणं पविसित्ता तित्थयरं ति पयाहिणी करित्ता वंदित्ता नमो तित्थस्स नमो अइसेसिआणं नमो साहुणंति भणित्ता वेमाणिआणं देवीणं पिट्ठश्रो ठायंति न निसीयंति । भवणवासिणीश्रो देवीश्रो जोइसिणीश्रो वंतरीश्रो एश्राश्रो दाहिणेण दारेण पविसित्ता तित्थयरं ति पयाहिणी करित्ता वंदित्ता य दाहिण-पच्छिमेणं ठायंति भवणवासिणीणं पिट्ठश्रो जोइसिणीश्रो तासिं पिट्ठश्रो वंतरीश्रो । भवणवासिदेवा जोइसिश्रा देवा वाणमंतरा देवा एए अवरदारेणं पविसित्ता तं चेव विहिं काउं उत्तरपच्छिमेणं ठायंति जहासंखं पिट्ठश्रो । वेमाणिश्रा देवा मणुस्ता मणुस्सीश्रो श्र उत्तरेणं दारेणं पविसित्ता उत्तरपुरित्थिमेणं ठायंति जहासंखं पिट्ठश्रो ॥ एषा चूर्णिरथ वृत्तिः ।

अत्र च मूलटीकाकारेण भवनपतिप्रभृतीनां स्थानं निषीदनं वा स्पष्टाक्षरैर्नोक्तम् । अवस्थानमेव प्रतिपादितम् । पूर्वाचार्योपदेशलिखितपट्टिकादिचित्रकर्मबलेन तु सर्वाश्चतस्र एव देव्यो न निषीदन्ति । देवाश्चत्वारः पुरुषाः स्त्रियश्च निषीदन्तीति प्रतिपादयन्ति केचनेत्यलं प्रसंगेन ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥

(V. 15.) (I.). The male ascetics, Vaimânika goddesses and female ascetics, (II.) the goddesses of the Bhavanapatis, Jyotishkas, and Vyantaras, (III.) the three classes of gods, and (IV.) the Kalpasuras, men and women, (having entered the *samavasaraṇa* from the east) and other cardinal directions respectively) stand in the south-east and other intermediate directions respectively.

(V. 16.). The four (orders of) the goddesses and female ascetics remain standing, and men, women, the (four orders of the) gods and male ascetics sit. Thus do the (first) five and the (second) seven [*i.e.*, in all twelve] congregations listen to the sermon from (*i.e.*, remaining in) the first (*i.e.*, uppermost) rampart.

There are twelve congregations, of which five stand up and seven sit down. The former are Sramaṇîs and the four divisions of the goddesses, *viz.*, the wives of Vaimânikas, Bhavanapatis, Jyotishkas, and Vyantaras. The latter are just these four classes of gods, Sramaṇas, men and women.

We need not enter further into the details of the commentary, especially as they have been sufficiently well set forth in the following verses from the *Trishashṭi-śalâkâ-purusha-charitra.*

प्रविश्य पूर्वद्वारेण कृत्वा च त्रिः प्रदक्षिणाम् ।
तीर्थनाथं तीर्थं च नत्वा प्राकार आदिमे ॥ ४६९ ॥
स्थानं विहाय साधूनां साध्वीनां च तदन्तरे ।
पूर्वदक्षिणदिश्यूर्ध्वास्तस्थुर्वैमानिकास्त्रियः ॥ ४७० ॥ युग्मम् ॥

प्रविश्यापाच्यद्वारेण विधिना तेन नैर्ऋते ।
क्रमेणास्थुर्भवनेशज्योतिष्कव्यन्तरास्त्रियः ॥ ४७१ ॥
प्रविश्य प्रत्यग्द्वारात्प्राग्विधिपूर्वं मरुद्दिशि ।
अतिष्ठन्भवनपतिज्योतिष्कव्यन्तराः सुराः ॥ ४७२ ॥
प्रविश्योदीच्यद्वारेण तेनैव विधिना क्रमात् ।
ऐशान्यां कल्पदेवाश्च नरा नार्योऽवतस्थिरे ॥ ४७३ ॥

Translation.

(Vs. 469-70). Having entered by the eastern gateway, having performed the circumambulation thrice and having saluted the *tîrtha* and the lord of the *tîrtha* (*i.e.*, the Jina) on the first (*i.e.*, uppermost) rampart, the Vaimânika goddesses, having left the place of the male and the female ascetics, remained standing in the south-east direction in their midst.

(V. 471). Having entered by the southern gateway, the wives of the Bhavanapatis, Jyotishkas and Vyantaras, after (the performance of) the same mode (of salutation), remained in order in the south-west.

(V. 472). Having entered by the western gate, the gods Bhavanapatis, Jyotishkas and Vyantaras, after (performing) the previous mode (of salutation), remained in the north-west.

(V. 473). Having entered by the northern gate, and (performed) the same mode of salutation, the Kalpadevas, men and women, remained in succession in the north-east.

इअ आवस्सयवित्ती वुत्तं चुन्नीइ पुण मुणि निविट्ठा ॥
वेमाणिणिसमणी दो उड्ढा सेसा ठिआ उ नव ॥ १७ ॥

मुनयो निविष्टा उत्कृष्टिकासिंहासनेन वैमानिकादेवी श्रमणी द्वयं उर्द्धं स्थिता । शेषा नव सभाः स्थिता उपविष्टाः ॥१७॥

(V. 17). (Such is the *Âvaśyaka-vṛitti*, but it is said in the *Chûrṇi*, that) the Munis (male ascetics) sit (in an *utkaṭikâ*[8] attitude); the Vaimânika goddesses and female ascetics both stand, and the nine remaining congregations sit (ordinarily).

बीअंतो तिरि ईसाणि देवच्छंदो अ जाण तइ अंतो ॥
तह चउरंसे दुदु वावि कोणउ वट्टि इक्किका ॥ १८

द्वितीयवप्रान्तस्तिर्यञ्चः । तत्रैव ईशानकोणे प्रभोर्विश्रामार्थं देवच्छन्दकः रत्नमयः । यानानि वाहनानि भवन्ति तृतीयवप्रान्तः । चतुरस्रे सर्वकोणेषु वापीद्वयं वृत्ते च एकैका । बहिवप्पतरमज्झे दोदो वावी अ इंति कोणेसु इति च स्तोत्रान्तरे पाठः ॥ १८

(V. 18). Inside the second (rampart) are the animals and, in the north-east (corner thereof) a *devachchhaṁda*; inside the third are the vehicles and also two step-wells in each corner when it is a square, and one (at each gateway) when it is a round, *samavasaraṇa*.

The following from Hemachandra's work may be cited in this connection :—

प्रतिद्वारं च चक्रे तैर्वापी काञ्चनपङ्कजा ।
समवसरणवप्र इव द्वारचतुष्कभृत् ॥ ४४३ ॥
प्राकारस्य द्वितीयस्यान्तरे चोत्तरपूर्वतः ।
देवच्छन्दं विचक्रुस्ते स्वामिविश्रामहेतवे ॥ ४४४ ॥
द्वितीयस्य तु वप्रस्य तिर्यञ्चस्तस्थुरन्तरे ।
वाहनानि तृतीयस्य प्राकारस्य तु मध्यतः ॥ ४७६ ॥
प्राकारस्य तृतीयस्य बाह्यदेशेऽभवन्पुनः ।
विशन्तः केपि निर्यान्तः केपि तिर्यग्नरामराः ॥ ४७७ ॥

[8] *Utkṛishṭikâ-siṁhâsana* of the commentary, which is meaningless, is probably a mistake for *Utkaṭik-âsana*.

Translation.

443. At each gateway they constructed a step-well with gold lotuses and bearing four doors like the rampart of a *samavasaraṇa*.

444. In the north-east of the interior of the second rampart, they prepared a chamber for the rest of the Lord.

476. Inside the second rampart stood the animals, but in the middle of the third the vehicles.

477. Outside the third rampart again, were some animals, men and gods entering or going.

पीश्र-सिश्र-रत्त-सामा सुर-वण-जोइ-भवणा रयणवप्पे ||
धणु-दंड-पास-गयहत्थ सोम-जम-वरुण-धणयक्खा || १९ ||

अथ रत्नमये प्रथमवप्रे पूर्वादिद्वारचतुष्केऽपि क्रमेण द्वारपालदेवानां नामादिकमाह । सोमयमवरुणधनदाख्या य थाक्रमं पीतादिवर्णाः सुरादयः धनुर्दण्डपाशगदाहस्ता द्वारपालाः || १९ ||

(V. 19.,) At (the eastern and other gateways of) the rampart of jewels (*i.e.*, the first or the uppermost rampart) stand Sura (Vaimânika), Vâṇa-Vyantara, Jyotishka and Bhavanapati, respectively, called Soma, Yama, Varuṇa and Dhanada, yellow, fair, red and dark (in complexion) and with hands bearing a bow, staff, noose and mace respectively.

Side by side with this may be read the followiug verses from Hemachandra:—

तत्र प्रथमवप्रस्य द्वास्थौ प्राग्द्वारि तस्थतुः ।
स्वर्णवर्णावुभयतो वैमानिकदिवौकसौ ।। ४४५ ।।
तस्यैव दक्षिणद्वारे पार्श्वयोर्द्वारपालकौ ।
प्रतिबिम्बे इवान्योन्यस्यास्थातां व्यन्तरौ सितौ ।। ४४६ ।।
अभितः पश्चिमद्वारं ज्योतिष्कौ द्वारपालकौ ।
रक्तवर्णौ वितष्ठाते सायमिन्दुरवी इव ।। ४४७ ।।
तस्थतुश्च प्रतीहारावुत्तरद्वारपार्श्वयोः ।
भवनाधिपती कृष्णौ मेघाविव समुन्नतौ ।। ४४८ ।।

Translation.

445. There, at the eastern gateway of the first rampart, stood on both sides as door-keepers two Vaimânika gods of gold complexion.

446. At the southern gateway of that (*samavasaraṇa*) on two sides stood as door-keepers two Vyantaras, fair in (complexion) (and looking) as if they were reflections of each other.

447. On both sides of the western gateway, stood two Jyotishka door-keepers of red complexion (and looking) like the sun and the moon, at the evening time.

448. And on the two sides of the northern gateway stood as door-kepers two dark-complexioned and tall Bhavanapatis as if (they were) two dark and lofty clouds.

जयविजयाजिय श्रपराजिश्रत्ति सिश्रश्ररुणपीश्रनीलाभा ।
बीए देवीजुश्रला श्रभयंकुसपासमुगरकरा ॥ २० ||
तइश्रवहि सुरा तुंबरुखट्टंगि कवालिजडमउडधारी ||
पुव्वाइ दारवाला तुंबरुदेवो श्र पडिहारो ।। २१ ||

(V. 20). At (the gateways of) the second rampart stand in pairs the goddesses Jayâ, Vijayâ, Ajitâ and Aparâjitâ, of fair, reddish, yellow and blue complexion and with an *abhaya*, goad, noose and hammer (*mudgara*) in (their) hands.

(V. 21). Outside the third rampart are the gods Tumbarus (at each gateway) holding a *tumbaru*, skull-crowned mace and a garland of skulls (and) bearing matted hair like a coronet.

This account may be supplemented by the following lines from Hemachandra's work:—

द्वितीयवप्रद्वारेषु प्राक्क्रमेण चतुर्ष्वपि ।
सर्वा अप्यभयपाशांकुशमुद्गरपाणयः ।। ४४९ ||
देव्यो जया च विजया चाजिता चापराजिता ।
तस्थुश्चन्द्राश्मशोणाश्मस्वर्णनीलत्विषः क्रमात् ।। ४५० ।।
|| युग्मम् ||

अन्त्यवप्रे प्रतिद्वारं तस्थौ द्वास्थस्तु तुम्बरुः ।
खट्वाङ्गी नृशिरःस्रग्वी जटामुकुटमण्डितः ।। ४५१ ||

Translation.

(Vs. 449-50). At the four gateways of the second rampart, in accordance with the order, stood the goddesses Jayâ, Vijayâ, Ajitâ and Aparâjitâ, all with *abhaya*,[9] noose, goad and hammer in (their) hands (and) with complexion like the moon-stone, ruby, gold and blue.

(V. 451). At each door of the last rampart stood as door-keeper Tumbaru, bearing a skull-crowned mace and a garland of human skulls, and decorated with matted hair and coronet.

सामन्नसमोसरणे एस विही एइ जइ महिड्डिसुरो ॥
सव्वमिणं एगोवि हु स कुणइ भयणोयरसुरेसु ॥ २२ ॥

एष विधिः सामान्यसमवसरणे । यदि महर्द्धिको देवपतिः स एकोऽपि सर्वमिदं करोति । यदीन्द्रा नागच्छन्ति तदा भवनपत्यादयः कुर्वन्ति । समवसरणं वा न वा इति भजना । भयणोयर सुरेसुत्ति इतरसुरेषु भजना कुर्वन्ति न वेति ॥ २२ ॥

(V. 22). If there be a god possessed of high supernatural powers, *i. e.*, Indra, he alone does all this; if not, the other gods may or may not do it. This is the rule in the case of ordinary *samavasaraṇas*.

पुव्वमजायं जत्थउ जत्थेइ सुरो महिड्डिमघवाई ॥
तत्थ ओसरणं नियमा सययं पुण पाडिहेराइं ॥ २३ ॥

यत्र च तत्तीर्थंकरापेक्षया अभूतपूर्वं समवसरणं येन च श्रमणेनादृष्टपूर्वं तेन तत्र द्वादशयोजनेभ्यः आगंन्तव्यं स्यात् । अनागमे तु तस्य चतुर्लघवः प्रायश्चित्तं भवन्ति । यदुक्तं ॥ जत्थ अपुव्वो सरणं अदिट्ठपुव्वं च जेण समणेण । बारसहिं जोअणेहिं स एइ अणागए लहुआ ॥ तथा प्रभुः प्रथमपौरुषीं संपूर्णां यावद्धर्ममाचष्टे अभ्रान्तरे बलिः प्रविशति । तं च बलिं क्षिप्यमाणं देवादयः सर्वेपि यथोचितं गृह्णन्ति सर्वामयप्रशमनं शुभं । तेन च षण्मासान्तरे नान्यः कुप्यति रोगः । बलिक्षेपादनु प्रभुराद्यवप्रादुत्तरेण निर्गत्य ऐशान्यां देवच्छन्दकमेति । गणधरश्च द्वितीयपौरुष्यां धर्ममाचष्टेऽसंख्येयभवकथिता इत्यादिविस्तर आवश्यकाशै ॥ २३

(V. 23). Where it is not done previously, and where there comes a god possessed of supernatural powers such as Maghavat and so forth, there the *samavasaraṇa* takes place with certainty; (and) the *prâtihâryas*, again, are (displayed) constantly.

The *prâtihâryas* are eight, and are so called because they are constantly associated with the Jina. They are described in a verse which runs thus:—

अशोकवृक्षः सुरपुष्पवृष्टिर्दिव्यध्वनिश्चामरमासनं च ।
भामण्डलं दुन्दुभिरातपत्रं सत्प्रातिहार्याणि जिनेश्वराणां ॥

Translation.

The Aśoka tree, a shower of heavenly flowers, celestial music (accompanying the sermon), *chauri*, seat (*i. e.*, lion-throne), nimbus, drum and parasol—(these are) the excellent *prâtihâryas* of the supreme Jinas.

The commentator makes no comments on this verse, but supplements it with two items of information. The first is that if the *samavasaraṇa* of a *Tîrthaṁkara* is the first of its kind, and if a *Sramaṇa*, who has never seen a *samavasaraṇa*, happens to be within twelve *yojanas* of it, he may absent himself from it on pain of performing a penance called *chatur-laghu*. Secondly, during the first fourth part of the day (*paurushî*) when the Lord delivers a sermon, an oblation is thrown into the skies, which is partaken of by the various gods according to their rights, and thereafter, during the second *paurushî* the Gaṇadhara gives a religious discourse after the Lord has made his exit from the uppermost rampart and resorted to the *devachchhaṁda* in the north-east.

दुत्थिअसमत्थअत्थिअजणपात्थिअअत्थसत्थसुसमत्थो ॥
इत्थं थुओ लहु जणं तित्थयरो कुणउ सुपयत्थं ॥ २४ ॥

दुःस्थिता दुःखिता ये समस्तार्थिकजनास्तेषां प्रार्थितार्थपूरणसमर्थः लघु शीघ्रं जनं तीर्थकरः सुपदस्थं मोक्षपदस्थं करोतु ॥ २४ ॥

इति श्रीसमवसरणस्तवस्यावचूरिः संपूर्णा ॥

(V. 24). May the *Tîrthaṁkara*, who is able to fulfil the objects asked for, by all the supplicants that are ill-circumstanced, being so praised, speedily grant good position to such people.

[9] *Abhaya* is not a weapon, but means an *abhaya-pâṇi*, a hand so held as to indicate the granting of safety, as will be seen from the translation of v. 20 above.

Thus ends the gloss. on *Srî-Samavasaraṇa-stava.*

From the above description it is clear that the *Samavasaraṇa* is a structure, constructed by an Indra, and, in default of him, by the gods, and, pre-eminently amongst them, the Vyantaras. The structure is intended for the delivering of religious discourse by a Jina, immediately after his attainment to the condition of a *kevalin.* Each Jina had thus his own *Samavasaraṇa*; and, like all other objects, sacred to these Jinas, such as *Ashṭâpada, Sammeta, Satruñjaya* and so forth, *Samavasaraṇa* is also sculptured. Not a single Jaina temple of eminence exists without a sculpture of *Samavasaraṇa* in it. Fig. 1 represents that in the temple of Vimala Sâ on Mount Âbû, as stated above. This sculpture is in a side chamber near the south-west corner. But there is another, larger but plainer, in the *Hâthi-śâlâ* of the same temple. In the figure in question, the *Samavasaraṇa* represented is a round one. The three ramparts of it with their battlements can be recognised without any difficulty. Two gateways of each rampart are here visible, and at each gateway may be seen two door-keepers, standing, but too indistinct to be identified with those whose details have been specified above. On the lowermost rampart, between the door-keepers of the two gateways, are one elephant and one horse, and between these two a step-well,—doubtless the *vâhanas* and *vâpî,* which, according to verse 18, are to remain in that rampart. In the intermediate one, are noticeable the *tiryañchaḥ, i. e.,* the lower animals such as deer, stags, and so forth, of which one is undoubtedly fabulous. In the first, *i. e.,* uppermost, rampart are shown several persons squatted and with hands folded, unquestionably the twelve congregations that come to listen to the religious sermon. It is, however, curious that all of these are represented as sitting and none standing, as some at any rate ought to stand, as verses 16 and 17 distinctly tell us. On this rampart can no doubt be recognised the lion-thrones with a *dharmachakra,* or wheel of the law carved in front, but all other details are different from those specified in the works, and are exactly those of an ordinary *chaumukh.* Thus the *devachchhaṁda* and the Aśoka tree are conspicuous by their absence here. Nay, the pose of the Jina here is the ordinary one of meditation, and not of teaching *(deśanâ)* as it ought to be.[10] In fact, I have not yet found any *Samavasaraṇa* which faithfully depicts all or even almost all the details set forth in the works.

It is worthy of note, that like the *Chaumukh* or *Ashṭâpada,* even temples are built dedicated to *Samavasaraṇa.* One such exists on Kumalgaḍh in the Udaipur State, though in a somewhat ruinous condition. It is locally known as the Golerâ temple from the round *(gol)* enclosure wall that surrounds it. Like a *Chaumukh* temple it has four doors. "It was not, however, a Chaumukh, but a *Samasavaraṇa* temple. This is doubtless seen from the different classes of gods and goddesses sculptured at the corners of the walls near the top of the interior. Near the western door of the shrine is a fallen sculpture with an insciption on it. It is dated V. S. 1516, and speaks of one Goiṁda as having caused to be made the pedestal *(parikara)* of Yugâdideva, *i. e.,* Ṛishabhadeva in (the temple of) *Samavasaraṇa.* This shows that the *Samavasaraṇa, i. e.,* the first sermon in question, was of the first *Tîrthaṁkara.*"[11] With regard to "the different classes of gods and goddesses sculptured," the following notes were taken down by me in my notebook when I visited Kumalgaḍh.

South-east corner: (I) Inscription. *Âgneya-kûṇi 1 parshada mahâtmânâṁ rûpa* = south-east corner, 1st congregation : 4 figures of the high-souled (sages). [These are male ascetics sitting on *âsanas* with the right foot dangling and the left placed on the knee of the right; hands folded, with besoms between hands and breasts; heads like those of the modern Jatis].

[10] This view is corroborated by the *Chaitya-vandana-bhâshya,* which runs as follows :—
अत्र केचिच्चैत्यगृहादिषु दृश्यमानमेव जिनासनं वदन्ति । परमेष लोकव्यवहारः । निश्चयस्तु भगवान्पादपीठे पादौ संस्थाप्य सिंहासने निषण्णः सन्योगमुद्रया करौ धृत्वा देशनां करोतीति ।

[11] *Prog. Rep. Archæol. Surv. Ind., West. Circle,* for 1908-09, p. 40.

South-east corner : (II) Inscription. *2 Parshada Vaimânika-devînâṁ 4 rûpa* = 2nd congregation: 4 figures of the Vaimânika goddesses. [Females standing with hands folded near breasts; heads bearing five-peaked coronets.]

South-east corner: (III) Inscription. *3 Parshada mahâsatînâṁ 4 rûpa*= 3rd congregation : 4 figures of the great *Sâdhvîs*. [They are four female ascetics, all standing. Three face full front with hands folded and besoms held like the Jatis above. The fourth has her face turned towards the right; her left hand is lowered and holds a besom, and the right is upraised and bears a manuscript; her feet are touched by a person fallen prostrate.]

North-east corner : (IV) Inscription. *Nairita-kûṇi 4 parshada Jyotishinî-devî*[12]=North-east corner, 4th congregation. The Jyotishka goddesses [though the number is not here specified through inadvertence, I think, these are four females standing. The remaining details as in II].

North-east corner : (V) Inscription. *5 Parshada Bhavanapatinî-devînâṁ 4 rûpa*=5th congregation : four figures of the Bhavanapati goddesses. [Four females standing with hands folded near breasts and heads canopied by three-hooded cobras.]

North-east corner: (VI) Inscription. *6 Parshada Vyaṁtaranî-devînâṁ 4 rûpa* = 6th congregation: four figures of the Vyantara goddesses. [Four females standing. The remaining details as in II.]

North-west corner: (VII) Inscription. *Vâyavya-kûni 7 parshada Jyotishî-devânâṁ 4 rûpa* = north-west corner, 7th congregation: four figures of the Jyotishka gods. [Four males sitting and with hands held as in I, head-dresses raised in three tiers.]

North-west corner: (VIII) Inscription. *8 Parshada Bhavanapati-devânâṁ 4 rûpa* = 8th congregation: four figures of the Bhavanapati gods. [Four males sitting, as in VII; heads canopied by three-hooded cobras.]

North-west corner: (IX) Inscription. *9 Parshada Vyaṁtara-devânâṁ 4 rûpa* = 9th congregation : four figures of the Vyantara gods. [Four males sitting ; details as in VII.]

South-west corner: (X) Inscription. *Îśânakûṇi 10 parshada Vaimânika-devânâṁ 4 rûpa* = south-west corner, 10th congregation: four figures of Vaimânika gods. [Four males sitting, as in I.]

South-west corner : (XI) Inscription. *11 Parshada Manushyânâṁ 4 rûpa*=11th congregation : four figures of men. [Four males sitting, as in I, but with beards.]

South-west corner : (XII) Inscription. *12 Parshada Mânushî-strîṇâṁ 4 rûpa*=12th congregation : four figures of women. [Four females standing; one only has her head-dress raised in three tiers.]

These notes speak for themselves, but it is evident from them that the intermediate directions such as the south-east, north-east and so forth, assigned in the Golerâ temple at Kumalgaḍh to the various congregations exactly agree with those specified for them in the works. There is also a perfect agreement as to who is to stand and who to sit except in one respect. In the Golerâ temple the twelfth congregation, *i. e.*, women, is sculptured standing, whereas, in verse 16, as we have seen above, they are represented as sitting.

Whenever the diagram of a *Samavasaraṇa* is given in old works, it is always represented as in Fig. 2. It is, roughly speaking, a ground-plan of it. Instances of it are also met with in temples. There is a representation of it in a ceiling of the north corridor of Tejaḥpâla's temple on Mount Âbû. The Jaina temples at Kumbhâriâ also in the Dântâ State contain similar representations. It is, in fact, the custom in Jaina temples to carve ceilings with the principal incidents in the life of the Jina, to whom the main shrine or a corridor cell is dedicated.

[12] *Devînâṁ 4 rûpa* was originally meant to be engraved.

THE KALIYUGA, YUDHISTHIRA AND BHARATAYUDDHA ERAS.

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THE usual eras, by which our Hindus assign dates to events are, like the Christian era of the West, the Vikramârka and Sâlivâhana, otherwise known as *Saṁvat* and *Saka* respectively. Of these, the latter begins 78 years after and the former 56 years before the Christian era. So when they had to deal with events before the commencement of the Vikrama era, they did not adopt the system of retrograde calculation, but used other eras which began many thousand years before it. Two of these are the *Yudhishṭhira* era and *Kaliyuga.* Besides these the same writers reckoned their dates according to yet another era, which we can rightly call the *Bhâratayuddha* era like the *Anus Urbis Canditæ* of the Romans. One understands the importance of these eras to the history of India, when one comes to know that the Kashmîr chronology of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, the Magadha chronology as well as the chronicles of the solar and lunar races of the *Purâṇas*—these and other chapters of the ancient history of India—chiefly base themselves on the abovenamed ancient eras. Moreover, as deeper and deeper researches are made into the history of our land, the importance of these ancient eras increases considerably.

At present, however, our modern astrologers and others make use only of the *Kaliyuga* along with *Vikramârka* and *Sâlivâhana* eras. But they have certain data from which they can calculate the other two ancient eras, *viz.*, Yudhishṭhira and Bhâratayuddha *kâla*, and the data are such that the results of their calculation show that these eras are identical with *Kaliyuga* in respect of their beginning. For instance, taking the year A.D. 1901-2, it is dated 1823 Saka and 5002 Kali. Therefore, *Saka begins with Kali 3180.* Again, they say that the year, according to the Yudhishṭhira era, is obtained by adding 3044 to the Vikrama Saṁvat which, in its turn, is got by adding 135 to the Saka date. This, we learn from the following of *Pañchâṅga-saraṇi* :—

अस्मिन् कलियुगे षट् शका वर्तन्ते—
 युधिष्ठिरो विक्रम-शालिवाहनौ ततो नृपस्स्याद्विजयाभिनन्दनः ।
 ततस्तु नागार्जुनभूपतिः कलिः कलौ युगे षट् शककालवत्सराः ॥
एतेषां प्रमाणाब्दाः—
 क्रमेण वेदांबुधिशून्यरामाः [३०४४]
 शराग्निचन्द्राः [१३५] खखखाहिभूमयाः [१८०००] ।
 ततोऽयुतं [१००००] लक्षचतुष्टयं च [४०००००]
 शशाङ्कनेत्राष्ट [८२१] मिताः शकाब्दाः ॥

So the date of the Yudhishṭhira era also is obtained by adding 3179 to the Saka year; *i.e.*, **the Saka begins with the 3180th year of the Yudhishṭhira era.** Again, on a hill near Aihoḷe, Bijapur District (Bombay Presidency), there is an inscription,[1] in a Jaina temple of Pulakêśî II, of the Chalukya family, in which it is stated that the temple was erected 3735 years after the Mahâbhârata battle and when 556 years of the Saka era had passed. The verses of the inscription run thus :—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु [३७३५] ॥
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् [५५६] ॥

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 7 and 12.

Hence we clearly see that the Great Battle is supposed to precede the Saka era by (3735 − 556 =) 3179 years ; *i.e.*, **the Saka begins with the 3180th year of the Bhâratayuddha era also.**

Now, in considering whether these three eras are really identical with one another, we must note that they are somehow or other connected with the kings of Hastinâpura who flourished about the time of the Great Battle. So we must first understand who were the monarchs of that city about that time. Chronologically they are:

i. Śantanu.

ii. Vichitravîrya (his son) assisted by Devavrata (Bhîshma).

iii. Dhṛitarâshṭra, the blind.

Dhṛitarâshṭra was blind from birth. So, though he was the crowned monarch, there were appointed regent princes to rule over the country. First, his brother, Pâṇḍu, supplied the place. After the death of Pâṇḍu, and before the Pâṇḍavas and the Dhârtarâshṭras attained their majority, Devavrata or Bhîshma reigned as regent. When he attained his majority, Duryodhana assumed the office ; and Yudhishṭhira, who was the eldest was pacified by the grant of a portion of the kingdom. It is during the regency of Duryodhana that the Great Battle took place—the world-renowned battle of Kurukshetra—between the Pâṇḍavas and the Dhârtarâshṭras. After the battle. the victorious Pâṇḍavas did not dethrone their blind uncle, but Yudhishṭhira, with his four brothers, acted as his regents. This regency of Yudhishṭhira lasted for fifteen years.

पाण्डवाः सर्वकार्याणि संपृच्छन्ति स्म तं नृपम् ।
चक्रुः तेनाभ्यनुज्ञाताः वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च ॥ ६ ॥ [अध्या. २]
ततः पञ्चदशे वर्षे समतीते नराधिपः ।
राजा निर्वेदमापेदे भीमवाग्बाणपीडितः ॥ १३ ॥ [अध्या. ३.]
(महाभा—आश्रम-पर्व.)

Translation.—The Pâṇḍavas consulted the king in all matters, and performed them according to his orders, for fifteen years.

Then when the fifteenth year passed away, the king had much depression of spirits, being inflicted by the words of Bhîmasena.

Thus we see that Yudhishṭhira did not become the independent ruler of Hastinâpura, until fifteen years after the Great Battle, *i.e.*, until the retirement of Dhṛitarâshṭra. Then Yudhishṭhira sat on the throne of Hastinâpura for 35 years ; and it is said that in the 36th year he saw indications of destruction.

षट्त्रिंशे त्वथ संप्राप्ते वर्षे कौरवनन्दनः ।
ददर्श विपरीतानि निमित्तानि युधिष्ठिरः ॥ २ ॥ [अध्या. २.]
(महाभा—मौस—पर्व.)

Translation.—Then, the thirty-sixth year having come, the Kaurava prince, Yudhishṭhira, saw many forebodings.

Just then the king received the news that Kṛshṇa and the rest of the Yâdavas (except the young and the female) had perished and that help for the protection of the survivors was needed. Thereupon, he sent Arjuna who offered libations to the dead. On his return the five Pâṇḍavas with their wife Draupadî started for Mahâprasthâna, leaving the kingdom in the hands of their grandson, Parîkshit.

In the above verse the phrase षट्त्रिंशे त्वथ संप्राप्ते वर्षे may be said to be indefinite, and a question may arise, why we should not understand by it as "the thirty-sixth year after the Great Battle."

Here is the answer to the question. Nîlakaṇṭha, the great authority on the *Mahâbhârata*, says about this phrase in his commentary :—

तत्र राज्यप्राप्त्यनन्तरं षट्त्रिंशत्तमे वर्षे. . . . . .

and we have already seen that Yudhishṭhira did not assume the reins of sovereignty until 15 years after the Great Battle.

Hence we see that first the Great Battle took place ; next, 15 years after it, Yudhishṭhira became king, the blind king having retired to the forest to lead the life of an ascetic ; and in the 36th year of Yudhishṭhira's accession, the *nirvâṇa* of Kṛishṇa took place.

Now, *Bhâratayuddha* era, as the name itself explains, must naturally be reckoned from the date of the Great Battle, while the Yudhishṭhira era must evidently be reckoned from Yudhishṭhara's ascending the throne of the kingdom. Vâyu, Vishṇu, Matsya and other purâṇas[2] are unanimous in declaring that Kaliyuga begins on the very day of Kṛishṇa's decease. Therefore it is obvious that the Yudhishṭhira era must have been older than Kaliyuga by 35 years ; and that the Great Battle must be assigned a date 15 years before the Yudhishṭhira era, or in other words half-a-century before Kaliyuga. In the instance cited above, since the year A.D. 1901-2 is dated 5002 Kali, it cannot be 5002 but 5037 Yudhishṭhira. Similarly, the same year must be 5052 Bhâratayuddha era and not 5002.

Yet there is one apparent objection to this. It is an objection to the old view as well. Let us consider what it is. Kalhaṇa, in his *Râjataraṅginî*, says: —

शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ॥५२॥ [तरङ्गः १.]

Translation.—When three years and six centuries and a-half of the Kaliyuga had elapsed, the Kurus and the Pâṇḍavas flourished (on the earth).

This is consistent neither with the old view nor with the one expounded above by me. The fallacy of Kalhaṇa's calculation will be evident on a little consideration. He says[3] that 2330 years have elapsed between Gonanda III and himself, and 1266 years between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. Therefore (2330+1266=) 3596 years must have elapsed between Gonanda II and himself, who lived in 1070 Śaka.[4] This assigns a date (3596—1070=) 2526 years before the Śaka era to Gonanda II. But from older authorities, Kalhaṇa learns the fact that king Gonanda II was too young at the time of the Great Battle to take part in it. According to the old view, the Battle of Mahâbhârata took place 3179 years before Śaka era (*i.e.*, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga), while Kalhaṇa's calculation makes the time of Gonanda II (a contemporary of Pâṇḍavas) to be 2526 years before Śaka era. So to get over this difficulty, Kalhaṇa brings down the Pâṇḍavas to 635 (=3179–2526) Kali. This is the explanation of Kalhaṇa's calculation. The author's real mistake lies in the statement that 1266 years have elapsed between Gonanda II and Gonanda III. For he says in his own book :—

पञ्चत्रिंशन्महीपाला मग्ना विस्मृतिसागरे! [1. 83].

Translation.—Thirty-five kings were drowned in the ocean of forgetfulness.

Such mistakes in his chronology led him to his wrong conclusion. As the inaccuracy of Kalhaṇa's chronology is discussed at length by Dr. M. A. Stein in the introduction to his English translation of the work *Râjataraṅginî* and also by Paṇḍit Ananda Koul in his paper[5] on the History of Kashmir, I have here but briefly shown the unreliable nature of Kalhaṇa's statement.

[2] Vâyu (Śiva), II, xxxvii, 422-23 ; Vishṇu, IV, xxiv, 31-32. ; Matsya, cclxxi, 51-52 ; Bhâgavata, XII, ii, 33.
[3] *Vide Râjataraṅginî, Taraṅga* I, *śloka* 53-54.
[4] *Ibid, śloka* 52.
[5] *Journal* of A. S. B., Vol. VI, pp. 195-219 [N.S.].

SONGS OF THE MUTINY.

BY WILLIAM CROOKE (LATE I.C.S.).

(*Continued from p. 124.*)

No. IV.

The Mutiny—1857.

Sung during the Mutiny and repeated by Râmeśwar Dayâl Misrâ of Kotârâ, District Itâwâ. Recorded by Raghunandas, a teacher in the Kotârâ School.

Text.

Chaudah kî sâl jang Merat se shurû' huâ. Badal, Karâpat, Bangâl baṛâ Haṭṭâ hai.
Binâsh kâl âyeṅ matî bhang bhaî Firangîṅ kî. Kâlî Vilâyat dubâyâ chattâ hai.
Gâî aur sûar wâhî ke kârtus. Sunnat sipâhîṅ bikheṛ dage lattâ hai.
Kahaiṅ Dhawal Râm : "Ikkabhî chaudah ke sâl bich bhâgaiṅ Angrez log chhoṛî Kalkattâ haiṅ.

Translation.

The war began at Meerut in the year fourteen.[2] Bombay, Madras and Bengal are great Presidencies.[3]
When the time of destruction came, the English lost their heads[4]. Kâlî wished to sink England.
The cartridges were of cow and pig's fat: when the soldiers heard of it they threw off their uniforms.
Saith Dhawal Râm : "In the year fourteen have the English fled and deserted Calcutta.

No. V.

The Dirge of the Begams on the Banishment of Bahâdur Shâh of Delhi.

Sung by Sâligram Kayâsth of Âmarpur, District Itâwâ.
Recorded by Lâltâ Prasâd, a teacher in the School at Âmarpur.

Text.

Ab kaisî kariho nimak harâmî deswâ begâuo kardîṅ, re?
Galiâṅ galiâṅ raiyat rowâi, haṭiâṅ baniâ bajâj, re.
Mahâl meṅ baiṭhe Begam rowaiṅ, deharî paî rowaiṅ khawâs, re.
Motî-mahal kî baiṭhak chhuṭî, chhuṭî hai Mînâ Bâzâr, re.
Bâgh Zâmanîyâṅ ki sairaiṅ chhuṭîṅ, chhuṭe haiṅ mulk hamâr, re.
Jo maiṅ aisî jânatî, miltî Lâṭ se jâyâ, re.
Hâhâ karatî, paiâṅ paratî, letî deswâ chhorâgâ, re.

Translation.

O, for what infidelity to my salt have I now been banished from my country?
O, the people weep in the streets, the merchants weep in the shops,
O, the Princesses sit weeping in the Palace, and the servants weep at the door.
O, deserted is the meeting-place in the Women's Palace, deserted is the Fancy Bazar.
O, gone all the walks in the Zâmanîyâ Gardens, gone is the whole country.
O, had I known of this, I would have gone to meet the Lord (Governor-General).
O, I would have lamented, I would have fallen at his feet, I would have got my country back.

---

[2] Saṁvat 1914 A. D. 1857.

[3] The terms in the text are extremely interesting.

[4] *Lit.* became sunk in drugs.

No. VI.

Song in honour of the rebel Rânî of Jhânsî.

Sung by Râmeshwar Dayâl Misrâ of Kotârâ, District Itâwâ.

Recorded by Raghunandan, Teacher of the School at Kotârâ.

Text.

Râg Dâdarâ.

Khûb laṛî mardânî ; are Jhânsîwâlî Rânî.
Burjâṅ burjâṅ topaiṅ lagâî daiṅ, golâ chalai âsmânî.
Are Jhânsîwâlî Rânî, khûb laṛî mardânî.
Sugare sipâhiâṅ ko peṛâ jilebî ; apne chabâî guṛ dhânî.
Are Jhânsîwâlî Rânî, khub laṛî mardânî.
Chhoṛ Morchâ, lashkar ko bhâgî ; dhûṅ ohe milai nahîṅ pânî.
Are Jhânsîwâli Rânî, khub laṛî mardânî.

Translation.

Well fought the brave one ; O, the Rânî of Jhânsî.
The guns were placed in the towers, the heavenly (magic) balls were fired.
O, the Rânî of Jhânsî, well fought the brave one.
All the soldiers were fed with sweets ; she herself had treacle and rice.
O, the Rânî of Jhânsî, well fought the brave one.
Leaving Morchâ, she fled to the army ; where she searched and found no water.
O, the Rânî of Jhânsî, well fought the brave one.

No. VII.

Khudâganj (Fattehgaṛh), 1857.

Sung by Shital Parsâd Shuklâ of Mirzâpur.

Recorded by Râm Gharib Chaube.

Text.

1.

Kâhanpûr se kûnch kiyâ, ân Khûdâganj mârâ, mora.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, laṛe khub jangî gorâ.

2.

Sâbiq meṅ chaṛhî gai Dubâî, kiyâ jâgâ us ne hallâ.
Parâ bândhî ke sawâr, pahunche pichhe se dhâyâ Ghallâ.

3.

Hindu kahate 'Râm Râm,' aur Musalmâṅ 'Allah Allah.'
Laṛe mard bedard kheṭ meṅ, uthe zor jin ke kallâ.

4.

Tuktuk hoyâ laṛe, sipâhî, nahîṅ pichhe moryo.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, laṛe khub jangî gorâ.

5.

Pahale huî muth bheṛ, chale shamshîr, kathîn huî laṛâî.
Khudâganj naddî ke ûpar laṛe sûrmâ sipâhî.

6.

Dhâwâ kar bargaî Dubâî, zarâ nahîn dahshat khâî.
Mâre hâth chhâtî par barhkar, karî dast kî safâî.

7.

Karain wâr par wâr sipâhî katal karain porâ porâ.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, lare khûb jangî gorâ.

8.

Pair bich pahire gurgâbî, badan ghânghrâ bannâtî.
Resham ke lachchhe kî topî, jis par kalangî labrâtî.

9.

Aise ran men ghuse surmâ jaise mast âwai hâthî.
Nahîn khauf marne ke, mutlaq na karain sâmne ko chhâtî.

10.

Bain alag kamar kî lag bhag jinke latak rahâ jhorâ.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, lare khûb jangî gorâ.

11.

Dhâwâ karhî ke barhe Firangî â pahunche naddî ke tîr.
Rahâ morchâ ek qutal karne ko, karne lage us kî tadbîr.

12.

Katate katate phauj kâtî gaî : Juzabî jawân râh gayâ akhîr.
Kahâ karon târîf main us kî ? Khûb kare us ne shâmshîr.

13.

Katî katî kar margaye surmâ, nâm nahîn apnâ borâ.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, lare khûb jangî gorâ.

14

Mâru mâru kâ mâru bâjâ, bajatâ bigule sâbiq dustûr.
Garar, garar, gar. gar, gar, gar, gar bajai, sang mâru tambûr.

15.

Mâru maya kâ narhâ chhâ rahâ, jin ke ankhon men bharpûr.
Mâr mâr karat, nahîn darate, baras rahâ mardon par nûr.

16.

Mâr mâr sangîn sâmne dushman kâ sinâ torâ.
Châro taraf se bândhî morchâ, lare khûb jangî gorâ.

17.

Risâldâr laike risâlâ kil kilâyâ ke ghus gayâ pil.
Mârî bârh goron ne top kî, huâ zamîn ûpar shâmil.

18.

Jît liyâ dushman ko, bare Firangî hain qâbil.
Dabal kûnch karke, naddî se hue Fattehgarh men dâkhil.

19.

Phaujân parî gaîn sab pared par, huâ shahar men jab shahrâ.
Châro taraf se bandhî morchâ, lare khûb jangî gorâ.

20.

Jorî chhutîn harkâron kî, ghoron par âte aswâr.
"Khabar karo Bangash Nawâb ko fauj Firangî hai hazâr."

21.

"Qutal huî Galla aur Dubâî, ghajab top gole kî mâr.
Nahîṅ koî bachne ki surat, utar chalo Gangâ ke pâr."

22.

Beghmât Nawâb Barelî kunj kiyâ chorî chorâ.
Châro oṛ se bândhî morchâ ; laṛe khûb jangî gorâ.

23

De deke sob nazar Lâṭ ko mile shahar ke sahukâr.
Luṭ muâf ho gaî, sarâfâ khulâ shahar sârâ gulzâr.

24.

Kamalâpati kahen : Manî Râm sir jhalak rahî kalangî sardâr.
Lakhrâj Angrez Bahâdur, zabardast jin kî talwâr.

Translation.

1.

They marched from Cawnpore and faced the enemy at Khudâganj.
They made entrenchments all about them ; the white warriors fought well.

2.

First came on the Dubâî[5] and made an attack (on the English).
Wing-bound (swift) horsemen came and behind them the Ghallâ made a rush.

3.

The Hindus cried 'Râm, Râm' and the Musalmâns 'Allah, Allah.'
Fearless men fought in the field, and used all the force they could.

4.

The sepoys fought in small parties, and turned not back.
Entrenching themselves all round, the white warriors fought well.

5.

When the sides first met, sword was used and severe was the fight.
The brave sepoys fought at Khudâganj, above the river.

6.

The dauntless Dubâî advanced and had no hesitation.
They struck at hands and breast and showed their skill with weapons.

7.

Time upon time the sepoys struck their blows.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

8.

On their feet they wore boots, on their bodies, kilt.[6]
Tassels of silk on the hats and trembling aigrettes.

9.

The (British) braves entered the field like *vast* elephants.
With no fear of death they set the faces (lit. breasts) to the front.

10.

Round their waists, to the left, hung bags.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

[5] Nick-names for the first of the rebel Bangash Nawâb of Bareli.
[6] Ghâgrâ palṭan, kilted battalion, Highlanders.

11.

The Europeans advanced quickly to the bank of the river.
One (rebel) trench only remained to be taken, and they made their plans.

12.

Cutting and cutting the (rebel) army was cut down : only Juzabî the hero, remained
What shall I say in his praise? Well did he use his sword.

13.

Cut down and cut down the brave men died, not disgracing their names.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

14.

Drums upon drums were beaten and bugles sounded as is the custom.
Garar-garar, gar-gar-gar-gar-gar was sounded with the sound of drums.

15.

The intoxication of the drums was upon them, and filled their eyes.
They killed and killed, they feared not, the light (of fight) shone upon the heroes.

16.

They struck with their bayonets and broke the breasts of the enemy.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

17.

The Commander took his troop (cava'ry) and went on to the bridge.
The white men fired their cannon and levelled it to the earth.

18.

The Europeans are very wise and they conquered the enemy.
Making a double march, they entered Fattehgaṛh from the river.

19.

The army were encamped on all the parade grounds, and the news of it was in the city.
Entrenching all round them, the white warriors fought well.

20.

Messengers were sent in carriages, and horsemen came on horses.
"Let the Bangash Nawâb know that the European army is in thousands.

21.

"The Gallâ and Dubâî (forces) have been slain, and the balls of their cannon are wonderful.
There is no way of escape but by crossing the Ganges."

22.

The Begams of the Nawâb of Barelî secretly left him.
On all sides they made entrenchments; the white warriors fought well.

23.

The bankers of the city met the Lord (General) with presents.
He stopped the plunder (of the city), and the money-changers and all the city opened again (for business).

24.

Saith Kamalâpati: on Manik Râm trembled the aigrette of the chief.[7]
The rule of the great English, whose is the conquering sword.

[7] First given by the English.

KUMARAGUPTA, THE PATRON OF VASUBANDHU.

BY PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; POONA.

IN VÂMANA'S *Kâvyâlankâra-sûtra-vritti*, we have the following important passage to which I beg to invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars, who are interested in the history of Indian literature :—

सोयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।
आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात्साभिप्रायत्वम्.

Kâvyâlankâra-sûtra-vritti, Chap. *III*, Sect. *2*.
Vânivilâsa Press Ed., p. 86.

Translation.

"This very son of Chandragupta, young, shining like the moon, and the patron of men of letters has now become king, deserving congratulations on the success of his efforts.

The phrase: 'the patron of letters' is an instance of allusion, containing a reference to the ministership of Vasubandhu." [1]

Kumâragupta, the son of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, is alluded to, in the half verse quoted by Vâmana, as the patron of the illustrious Buddhist author, Vasubandhu. Paramârtha, another famous Buddhist author, who lived between A.D. 499-569, tells us that Vasubandhu died at the age of 80, during the reign of Bâlâditya (Narasimhagupta)[2]. This last-mentioned Gupta king was the grandson of Kumâragupta. Vasubandhu was, therefore, contemporary with three successive Gupta kings, namely: Kumâragupta, Skandagupta, and Bâlâditya. Paramârtha's statement about Vasubandhu being 80 years old at the time of his death is thus confirmed by the literary evidence discovered in Vâmana's work,[3] which belongs to the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. When Paramârtha, in his *Life of Vasubandhu*, speaks of king Vikramâditya of Ayodhyâ and his crown prince Bâlâditya as patronizing Vasubandhu, the Buddhist biographer obviously refers to the famous Gupta king Skandagupta who had the title of Vikramâditya. This confirms the identification which has been already proposed by Dr. Takakusu in his very valuable paper contributed to the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1905, pp. 33-53. As regards the date of Vasubandhu, the Japanese scholar has very fully examined all the Chinese authorities bearing on the subject, and sums up his conclusion in the following words :—

"At present we must rest satisfied with the result at which we have arrived, however small it may be, in establishing the date of Vasubandhu in the light of Paramârtha's valuable work. We can thus take Vasubandhu's date, A.D. 420-500, as well-nigh settled, and with it those of Vindhyavâsa (Îśvarakrishna), c. 450 (died before 480), and Vasurâta c. 480, being brother-in-law of Bâlâditya, who ruled from A.D. 481 or thereabouts."

This date of Vasubandhu and the identification of the Vikramâditya mentioned by Paramârtha with Skandagupta, the son of Kumâragupta is now confirmed by the literary reference given above. Vasubandhu's most important work was the *Abhidharma-kośa*. When Sanghabhadra challenged Vasubandhu to a personal discussion, the latter declined on the ground that "even a complete

[1] Attention to this passage was first drawn by M. M. Haraprasâd Śâstri, but his conclusions were different. (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* for 1905, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 253).—D. R. B.

[2] Smith's *Early Hist. of India*, p. 293.

[3] Introd. to *Kâvyamâlâ* edition.

refutation by the former would have no effect on his *kośa*." Vasubandhu's hope, that this literary production of his genius would be immortal, was amply realized, because the study of this *kośa* was so universally popular in the first half of the seventh century that, "even devout parrots expounded it." Bâṇa says:—

त्रिसरणपरैः परमोपासकैः शुकैरपि शाक्यशासनकुशलैः कोशं समुपदिशद्भिः

Harsha-charita, *VIII*, p. *317*.

Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition.

Here the word *kośa* is explained by the commentator, Śaṅkara, as कोशो बौद्धसिद्धान्तो वसुबन्धुकृतः, Bâṇa is misunderstood and mistranslated by Prof. Macdonell, when he tells his readers that "pious parrots expounded a Buddhist Dictionary" (*History of Saṅskṛit Literature*, p. 333). This testimony of the Brâhmaṇ poet Bâṇa to the immense popularity enjoyed by the Buddhist author Vasubandhu and to the fact that to explain the *Abhidharma-kośa* was a very common attainment in the first half of the seventh century is very important. We need not, therefore, be surprised that the rhetorician Vâmana has preserved for us the historical fact that Vasubandhu enjoyed the patronage of Kumâragupta. The interesting half-verse, which Vâmana has rescued from oblivion, is evidently taken from some lost *Guptavaṁśamahâkâvya*, in which the name of Vasubandhu is directly mentioned or which was composed by Vasubandhu himself, to congratulate Kumâragupta on his accession to the throne, as the word *saṁprati* in the verse shows. It may be hoped that manuscripts of this *Guptavaṁśamahâkâvya*, or whatever it may have been really called, may yet be recovered in Kâśmîr, where Vasubandhu spent many years of his life.

NOTE ON THE DRAVIDIAN CASES.

BY P. SESHACHAR, ESQ.; GOKARAM.

In the very interesting contribution to a 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages' on Dravidian Cases, by Mr. K. V. Subbayya, M.A., L.T., M.R.A.S. (above, May 1910), we are informed that 'the primitive Dravidian termination of the accusative was *am*, found in an unaltered form in old Kanarese.' I am inclined to believe that the primitive termination in Kannaḍa was not *am*, but *an*, as seen from the *saṁdhi* rules applied to substantive accusatives in combination with words having an initial vowel; *cf.*, *Nṛipanaṉ-abhimânadhananaṉ-atiśaya viśâla kîrtidhvajanu* (*Kavirâja-mârga* II, 16), *palavumaṉ-oḍagûdire* (II, 18), *Kanḍosedan banadoḷage Janakatanayaḷaṉ-Aṇuvan* (II, 38), *padaṅgaḷaṉ-amaṛdire* (II, 83). This is true of all genders and numbers. In the same paragraph we have 'In Mid. and New Canarese the *m* of *am* is softened to *n* and the transformed termination takes a final euphonic *u*, thus becoming *anu* or *annu*.' This is true without the 'softening' (?), since the primitive *an* can euphonically become *anu* or *annu*. 'For instance, we have *bhagavanu*, accusative of *bhagava*, god.' I have not been able to trace this *bhagava* or *bhagavanu* to any period of the Kannaḍa language unless as in Modern or New (so-called) Kanarese, both forms be regarded as accusatives of the Saṅskṛit *bhaga*, which evidently does not signify 'god.' The proper nominal theme in this instance would be *bhagavanta* from the Saṅskṛit *bhagavân* [see *Śabdanuśasana-sûtra* 129; *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa* 86].

In quoting the *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa* 115, we have to remember, that it is not the *ge* of the dative that is optionally doubled, but the *g* of the *ge* termination.

In connection with the augment *in* of the genitive, apparently Mr. Subbayya uses *Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa Sûtras* 108 and 109; but there is contradiction in (1) and (2) with regard to words ending in consonants which is not explained. Comparative study of the forms would render (1) untenable

for, *cf.*, *Kaṇṇa pâpeyum kavya nara mum-uḷḷannevaram* (*Kavi Kama, Salva*). Words ending in consonants incorrectly took the augment *in*, and if we remember Kêśava's rule 48, 'the letters *y*, *r*, *l*, *ṇ*, *n*, *ḷ*, *R*, *L*, very often occur at the end of words without any vowel,' it is clear that in Kêśava's time (if not before) there was a tendency to terminate such words in a vowel, and as a consequence, the augment *in* came to be too frequently used. Kêśava's rule 109 should, therefore, be read with rule 48; and the inference is that for words ending in consonants, the augment *in* was an exception in a few instances: *âgaḷ*, *igaḷ* (*êgaḷ?*), *pagal*, *iruḷ*, *sûḶ*. In other Kannaḍa words the *in* augment is an error (*dôsha*). Sanskṛit words ending in consonants do not become themes in Kannaḍa, until they have become the inflexion base. "Sanskṛit nominal themes ending in consonants are in Kannaḍa made to end in *a* or *u* with the final consonant doubled or the final consonant dropped" (*Smd.* 86).

Again we are told that the Primitive Dravidian uses the post-position *kâl* (instr.-abl.-loc.).

If by Primitive Dravidian is meant Old High Tamil, we should (in keeping with the principles of Dravidian Phonology) find the guttural preserved in Kannaḍa and dropped in Tamil (the late Primitive Dravidian). But we have a startling result from the comparative method. We find not *kâl* (leg) but *kay* (Kannaḍa) or *Chey* (Telugu) (hand), which is not an improper instrumental post-position.

The post-position *tô-ḍan* is preserved in the adverbial form in Old Kannaḍa *oḍam*, Modern Kannaḍa *oḍane*, meaning 'at once.' But comparing *birayigaḷa suygaḷ*odaneye *piriyavu divasangaḷâduvavara varaparisphuritaṅgaḷ* odane *kundidu virulgaḷum munche banda jaladâgamadoḷ* (*kâvyâvolôkana*) *giḷi-y-odan-ôdi-y-ôdi nuḍi galtu madâla sa raja haṁsa manḍaḷi-y-oḍan-âḍi-y-âḍi naḍe galtu* (*Smd.* S 195 ex), it will be evident that the post-position is not *oḍam* but *odan*, and that its use is not merely adverbial in the older dialect. It meant not only, 'at once' but 'with' also.

Under the locative—'In its primitive form *uḷ*, it is found in Tamil, Old Kannaḍa and in the word *uṇḍu* in Telugu. But in Middle Kannaḍa *uḷ* was changed to *oḶ*, *oḷ* ex *maradoḷ* in a tree, Tamil *marattuḷ*.' An important point in the history of the Kannaḍa language would have been settled if the grammarian had illustrated his statement regarding *uḷ* used as a post-position in what he calls Old Kannaḍa. If *uḷ* found a place in the list of case-signs in Old and Middle Kannaḍa (as certainly it does in Mr. Subbayya's table), it is a pity, we have not been lucky enough to find an example of its use. Dr. Kittel in his Dictionary writes *uḷ*=*oḷ*=in, inside, etc., and quotes *uḷḷaralda* =*uḷ-(l-)aralda*, a compound verb, meaning in-blossomed, so that *uḷ* instead of being a *post*-position is here a *pre*-position. Though I have not come across the post-positional use of this *uḷ* in Kannaḍa literature (Old or Mid.), I am yet inclined to believe Mr. Subbayya's statement regarding Tamil *uḷ*, the dialectic equivalent of the Kannaḍa *oḷ*. The inclusion of *oḷ* as a locative case-sign in New Kannaḍa is probably a mistake, whilst that of *attaṇ* + 3 in the table under New Kannaḍa is certainly an error.

Further, among the instrumental case-signs of Old and Mid. Kannaḍa, we find *im* for ablative *n*. Is this a real distinction between the case-signs? I am of opinion that it is *in* in both cases; cf. *Sampritiyin-âvanan-agalaḷ* (*Kavirâja-marga I*, 1); *Sukhadin-ire* (II, 20); *atiśaya-dhavaḷokti-kramadinaRipuven* (II, 53); *janapati nijabâhu-yugadin-âślêshisidan* (II, 74); *vyatyadin-iḍuvoḍe* (II, 88); *gurulajjâ bharadin-eRagi* (I, 59); *adaRin-allig-ant-avu dôsham* (I, 67); *tatvâlôkadin-âkankshipa mukti-y-akkum* (*Smd.* Pref. 10) *dhirarin-akshara-*(*Smd.* I, 1). In fact, illustrations could be drawn from almost any work of the so-called Old Kannaḍa dialect.

Yet another case-sign might have been added to under the instrumental ablative *e* as in *bharade*, *teRade*, *kramade*, etc., which in a later period became *bharadi*, *teRadi*, *kramadi*, etc.; the change of *e* into *i* is found not in New Kannaḍa (if I understand Mr. Subbayya's New Kannaḍa aright), but in late Mid. Kannaḍa where the *i* stood for the instr.-abl.-loc. case-signs.

A SHORT NOTE ON THE COINS OF THE ANDHRA DYNASTY, FOUND AT BATHALAPALLI, ANANTPUR DISTRICT.

BY Y. R. GUPTE, B.A.; NASIK.

THE learned Professor E. J. Rapson, M.A., has, in his unique and standard book, entitled *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, assigned a different class to the lead coins found in the Anantpur and Caddapah districts (Southern India). He says :—" The lead coins from Anantpur and Caddapah districts entitle them to be regarded as a distinct class. Like the coins of Fabric B from Andhradeśa, they have a 'horse' for their obverse type ; but they are of rougher workmanship and they have a different reverse type l. *caitya* ; r. tree. This reverse, it may be noticed, connects them with the class which is tentatively assigned in the catalogue to Feudatories of the Andhra dynasty. Indeed it is not improbable that they may belong to the same class."[1]

Specimens of the coins found at Bathalapalli are also noted further in the general description :—

" *Obverse.*—Horse standing r. above, ; in front, spherical object. Inscription not completely read.

Reverse.—Type (usually obliterated) left, *caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent; r., tree within railing ; both standing on a pediment ornamented with scroll and dots."[2]

Nine of these coins I have purchased through Mr. Henderson, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. I am glad to say, he has placed in my hands two coins, which, in my opinion, enable us to decide that, at least some of the coins found at Bathalapalli belong to the Andhra dynasty and not to their feudatories. They seem to be more regular in form. But so far as I know, no notice of the inscription on them is taken. Prof. Rapson says that it cannot be read. It appears that he was not fortunate enough in securing good specimens. One coin in my possession is covered with some red substance. The substance or colour—call it anything—is thick and fine, and is sufficient to preserve the coin and make it hard, so much so, that it cannot be scratched off with a penknife. But when the coating is removed, the lead yields to man's nails.

By applying impure soda (what we call *pâpaḍkhâr* in Marâṭhî), I am able to make out some words. The letters on my coin are rather small, but seem to be more carefully formed than any on the coins of the two feudatories of the Andhras, Chuṭukaḍânanda and Muḷânanda. The first word on it is *Râño* and it is very clear. The second is *Vâsiṭhiputasa* or *Vâsaṭhiputasa* (the vowel is uncertain). But the letter *ṭhi* is not as clear as one could wish, and the *va* is more ornamental than I have seen on other coins. As regards the remaining word, an eye copy of it is given below :—

The first letter seems to be *hâ*, and the second like *ta*, but the second is indistinct and puzzles me a little. The line that follows is, I believe, a portion of the pedestal on which the horse is standing. Then comes *ka*. The next letter is half lost, but the lower half that remains can be tolerably made out. The last letter appears like *sa* but is very indistinct, the vertical portion only being visible. I would thus like to take the word as Hâtakanisa, which, evidently stands for Sâtakaṇisa so that the whole name we obtain is *râño Vâsiṭhîputasa Hâtakaṇisa.*[3] The coin probably belongs to Vâsishṭhîputra-Śâtakarṇi, *viz.*, the Śâtavâhana prince of that name referred to in a Kaṇherî inscription.[4]

Another coin in my possession, which is a poor specimen, has *vâ* on it. But nothing more can be said about it. By the bye it would not be out of place to remark that very small lead coins, or perhaps those of mixed metals having a tree on the reverse, are sometimes met with in the Nâsik district. The tree is just like the one found on the coins of Mulânanda. But the obverse I am still unable to identify.

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[1] Intro., p. lxxxi.

[2] P. 25.

[3] The coin is much worn out, and does not yield any good cast. No illustration of it is, therefore, possible. There can, however, be no doubt about the reading proposed by Mr. Gupte, except in one respect. The initial letter of the third part of the legend is not *hâ*, as he says, but simply *sâ* with the slanting side stroke on the proper right being very much worn out.—D. R. B.

[4] *Arch. Surv. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 78.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

1.—Dhanop Inscription of Chachcha.

AN account of this inscription, whose transcript is given below, was first read by me in a Hindi booklet by Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur entitled *Râjpûtânâ-meṃ Prâchîna-śodha*. It appears from it that at Dhanop, sixteen miles north of Shâhpurâ, capital of the principality of the same name in Râjputânâ, two inscription stones were discovered as early as 1873, which have since disappeared. Impressions of the inscriptions were taken by Pandit Ramkaran of Tonk, and it was found that they both belonged to a Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty. One of these, however, was too fragmentary to allow anybody to make much out of it, but the other was, on the whole, well-preserved and gave in ten verses, an account of that dynasty. Two years ago, Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha had occasion to examine the papers and impressions of Pandit Ramkaran, which are now in the possession of his grandson Pandit Ramnivas. He was able to find out the impressions of one of these well-preserved inscriptions, and was kind enough to send them to me to make known the contents of it to the antiquarian world, which is already indebted to him for preserving and bringing to light many valuable epigraphic records.

The impressions are not quite satisfactory, but with patience and perseverance they enable one to decipher almost the whole of the inscription with certainty. It contains 13 lines of writings, which cover a space of 1′-6⅝″ high by 7¾″ broad. Line 11 is followed by an indented line which divides it from the remaining. Lines 11—13, again, do not run over the whole, but are engraved only up to the half of the length of the inscription. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 10th and 11th centuries. A noteworthy palæographic peculiarity of the inscription is the representation of the medial vowel *o* by superscript signs placed above the letters instead of by vertical strokes attached to their sides, no doubt, a reminiscence of what we find in the case of all medial vowels in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmalâta, the Udaipur inscription of Aparâjita, and so forth. Attention may also be drawn to the final *t* in line 13, and also to the numeral, in line 2. The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting *Oṃ namaḥ Śivâya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for attention are (1) the frequent doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r*, and (2) the use of *s* instead of *ś*.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva. Verse 1 invokes the blessings of that god. Verse 2 speaks of a king named Chachcha, who is represented to have revived the glory of the king Bhallîla and to have rebuilt the temple, where the inscription was originally put up. Then we are told that in the lineage of the Râshṭrakûṭas there was a king called Bhallîla (v. 3) and that his son was Dantivarman, who first built this temple (v. 4). The sons of the latter were the two kings, Buddharâja and Govinda (v. 5), who erected a temple apparently of red colour and surrounded it with the shrine of some *mâtâ*, a step-well and an orchard (v. 6). Many years after their demise, we are further informed, the land which had been granted to the god Śambhu was resumed, and the temple fell in disrepair. Verse 8 says that there was a devotee of Śiva and of the Śaiva denomination named Nagna-bhaṭṭâraka, who saw that the god received no worship. He went to king Chachcha, and said: "O king, this temple belonged to the princes of your family," and induced him to renovate it, which, we are told, had been dedicated to Śiva under the name of Dhaṅkeśvara (v. 9). This shows that Chachcha was a Râshṭrakûṭa, though we are not informed how he was related to the other Râshṭrakûṭa kings mentioned above. Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the sun, the moon, the Ganges, &c., last. The eleventh or the last verse tells us that the inscription was engraved by Râmadeva, son of Ramranasâhi. The record ends with the date: Saturday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the [Vikrama] year 1063.

The importance of this inscription consists in the fact that this is a record of a second and new Râshṭrakûṭa family found in Râjputânâ. The existence of the first was made known to us by an inscription found at Hâthuṇḍî near Bijâpur in the Bâlî district, Jodhpur State. It was first published, but partially, by the late Prof. Kielhorn in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXVII, Part I, pp. 309-14, and has now been fully and critically edited by Pandit Ram Karna of Jodhpur in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 17 ff. It informs us that a Râshṭrakûṭa family was reigning in the tenth century at Hastikuṇḍî (Hâthuṇḍî). But our inscription attests the existence of an entirely new Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty in Râjputânâ holding sway over a province nearly one hundred miles north-east of Hâthuṇḍî,

Text.[1]

1 ओं[2] ओं नमः शिवाय ।। गंगातोयेन सिक्ता[3] ससिकुसुमभृतो[4] नेत्त्रवह्निप्रतापक्रोधोद्यत्कंपमानोद्धत-
भुजगफणापुछपत्रप्रवा[5]-

2 लाः । शोभाभृत्पुंस्कपालप्रविरचितशिरोमालकैकालवालाः पापात्पांतु स्मरारेर्व्वरविकटजटावल्लयो वः सदैव ।।१

3 सुभ्राभ्राभमिदं[6] भवस्य भवनं कारापितं[7]भूतले(।)प्रालेयाचलकूटसन्निभमुपप्रासाददेवैः[8] सह । श्रीभल्ली-
लनृपादिकीर्तिर-

4 मला नष्टा हि येनोद्धृता(।)कीर्त्त्युद्योतितभूतलः स जयति श्रीच्चचनामा नृपः ।।[२*]अन्वये राष्ट्रकूटानां[9]
आसीच्छत्त्रुप्रमर्दनः । श्रीमां[10] भल्लील-

5 भूपालो भूपालः सेवितक्रमः।।[३*] तत्सूनुर्दन्तिवर्माख्यः श्रीमानभून्नृपोत्तमः । सद्मेदं कारितं तेन संभोर्भ-
वाब्धिमोचिना[11]।।[४*]द्वावुत्पन्नौ सुतौ

6 तस्य(।)नृपावन्वयभूषकौ[।]श्रीबुद्धराजगोविन्दौ कीर्त्या ख्यातौ हि भूतले।।[५*] भक्त्या विधापितं
चाभ्यामाम्रालोहितमंदिरं [मा]तृह[र्म्ये]ण [संयु]-

7 क्तं(।)वाप्या वाटिकयापि हि ।।[६*] शिवलोकप्रयातैस्तैर्हाय[नै]र्ब्बहुभि[र्ग]तैः । लुप्तायां शंभुभूमौच्च
(।) ततः क्षीणेत्र मंदिरे ।।[७*] शिवभ[क्तो]भ-

8 वच्छैवो नम्रभट्टारकाभिधः । अनर्च्चनादिको [दृष्ट्वा] देवस्तेना[यमाश्रि]तः[12]।। [८*] आसीद्भूप तवान्वये
नृपतय[स्ते]षामिदं की[र्तनं](।)

9 श्रीमच्चचनृप[स्य] पूर्ण्णगुणिनोभ्या[ख्या]य चेत्थं पु[नः] । ह[र्म्यं] [ते]न [विधापितं क्षि]तितले
धंकेस्वरस्य[13] प्रभोः(।)साधुः सद्गुणसं[यु]तः स जयति श्रीनम्र-

10 भट्टारकः।।[९*] यावद्भानुस्तपति गगने शीतगुश्चात्र तिष्ठ[तु]यावद्गंगा हिमशिखरिणो याति कल्लोल-
माला । अब्धौ यावच्च सहगिरिभिः

11 क्ष्मां फणेन्द्रो[14] विधत्ते(।)तवत्सत्कीर्तिरियममला[15] तिष्ठ

12 तु[र्व्यां] [सुमु] द्रा ।। [१०*] [16]आलिख[नसम]त्कीर्ण्णा[17] रत्नसाहिसूनुना । धी[मता] रा[मदेवेन]

13 वल्लाकसारभूनुना[18]।।[११*]संवत् १०६३ वोसाग[19]सुदि ५ सौरे

2.—Shergaḍh Stone Inscription.

This inscription was found engraved on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakshmî-Nârâyaṇa at Shergaḍh in the Koṭâh State, Râjputânâ. I edit it from an inked impression kindly supplied to me by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer.

The record contains fifteen lines of writing, which covers a space of 1′-3″ broad by $10\frac{1}{2}$″ high. The characters are Nâgarî. Of these, attention may be drawn to (1) the letter *bh*, whose form is rather peculiar, and (2) the subscript *y*, which gives the whole conjunct letter, the appearance

[1] From impressions of Pandit Ramkaran of Tonk supplied by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha.
[2] Denoted by a symbol. [3] Read सिक्ताः [4] Read शशि°. [5] Read °पुच्छ°.
[6] Read शुभ्रा°. [7] Properly कारितं; but this does not suit the metre.
[8] One dot of this *visarga* is above, and the other below, वै. [9] Read °कूटानामासी°.
[10] Read श्रीमान्. [11] Read शम्भो°.
[12] There is some space left between the letters श्रि and तः [13] Read धंकेश्वरस्य.
[14] Read फणीन्द्रो. [15] Read तावत्सत्कीर्ति°. [16] Read आलेखन°. [17] Read °समुत्कीर्ण्णा.
[18] I am unable to understand the meaning of these words. [19] Read वैशाख°.

of ending in *â*, *e.g.*, *Nagnakasya* in line 2, which looks as if it were *Nagnakasâ*. The **language** is an imitation of Sanskrit strongly tinged with vernacular words and syntax. The whole of the record is in prose excepting the single verse *yasya, yasya, &c., &c.*, in line 8. In respect of **orthography**, attention may be drawn (1) to the use of the dental, instead of the palatal, *s*, and (2) to the occasional doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. **Lexicography** calls for many remarks. In line 1 occurs the word *maṁḍapikâ*, which is met with in many inscriptions of this and later periods. Its meaning is, however, suggested by the Marâṭhî *maṁḍvî* 'a custom-house.' In line 2, we have the word *karsha*, which, according to some authorities is equal to two *tolâs*, a *tolâ* varying from 110 to 180 grains, according to local custom. Line 3 has the word *Kauptika*, which is of doubtful meaning. It occurs no less than three times in the Siyaḍoṇî inscription, and always in connection with *Maṇḍapikâ*. Probably *Kauptika* denotes the head of the local customs office. *Vṛishabha* in line 4 is obviously the name of some coin, and so also is *Varâha* in line 7. This last word appears to be a short form of *Âdivarâha*, and is met with no less than three times in the Sîyaḍoṇî inscription. Pallasâlâ, in line 6, probably means a store-house for grain, the Monier Williams' Dictionary giving the meaning of 'granary' for the word *palla*. The word *Âsanikâ*, which occurs no less than seven times in the inscription, is found several times used also in Sîyaḍoṇî inscription, and denotes in all likelihood 'a dwelling, residence.'

The inscription really consists of three distinct records. The first is dated the 3rd of the bright half Vaiśâkha in the [Vikrama-] year 1074, and states that from the produce of the *Maṇḍapikâ* or custom-house the *Seṭhs* Narasiṁha, Govṛisha and Dhîrâditya made, on the aforesaid date, a daily grant of one *karsha* of ghee as ungent to the feet of *Bhaṭṭâraka* Nagnaka. There can hardly be a doubt that this Nagnaka is the same as that of the previous inscription. The second record is dated the same day of the same month, but of the year 1075, and speaks of the benefactions of five *Vṛishabhas* from the produce of octroi duties by the *Kauptika* Varaṁga for sandal-incense to the god Somanâtha. The third is a long record. It is dated the 13th of the bright half of Mâgha in the [Vikrama-] year 1084. It records a series of benefactions. The first was made by *Ṭhakura* Devasvâmin, and consisted of (1) two of the oil-mills belonging to the oilman, Thâiyâka given for supplying lamp oil to the god Somanâtha, (2) one shell cowrie from the granary establishment for incense and (3) two *Varâha* coins on the *saṅkrânti* of every month. *Âvâsanikâs* or dwellings were given to the same god by various individuals, such as the traders Iṁdâ and Mahidâka, the oilman Thâiyâka, and so forth.

Text.[20]

1 ओं ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसाखसुदि[21] ३ अक्षततीयायां मंडपिकादायात्श्रेष्ठिनरसिंहगोवृषधीरा-
2 दित्यैः भट्टारकश्रीनम्नकस्य पादाभ्यंगाय दिनं प्रति घृतकर्षमेकं १ प्रदत्तं । आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ।
3 संवत् १०७५ वैसाखसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं मार्ग्गादाये कौप्तिक-
4 वरंगेन मार्ग्गादायात् दत्त वृषभ ५ आचंदार्कं यावत् ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३
5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठक्कुरदेवस्वामिना तैलिकराजथाइयाकघाण
6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं यावत् ॥ तथा पल्लसालायां धूपनिमित्तं कपर्दकवोडी १ दिनं प्र-
7 ति दातव्या आचंद्रार्कं ॥ तथा मासधारके संक्रातौ वराह द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचंद्रार्कं
8 यावत् । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि (।)
9 इंदामहिदाकाभ्यां सत्कावासानि[का] प्रदत्ता । तैलिकथाइयाकेन सत्कावासानिका प्र-
10 दत्ता । तथा वणि सोढाकेन सत्कावासनिका प्रदत्ता । तथा वणिक साइयाकेन स-
11 त्कावसानिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां स्वकीया वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-
12 दत्तौ । तथा वणिकमहल्लकेन सत्कावासानिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा [22]सांखिकलक्ष्मीधरेण
13 सत्कावासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवपल्लिकापूर्व्वतः देवमर्यादा । पश्चिमतः
14 ठक्कुरकुंडणकस्यवासनिकामर्यादा । उत्तरतः मार्ग्गमार्यादा[23] दक्षिणतः नदीमर्या-
15 दा । चतुराघाटसाधिता श्रीसोमनाथदेवपल्लिका ॥ छ ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ छ ॥

[20] From impressions supplied by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha.

[21] Read वैशाख°.

[22] Read शांखिक°.

[23] Read° मर्यादा.

THE CHHANDOVICHITI.

BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.B ; BOMBAY.

RÂJAŚEKHARA credits Daṇḍin with the authorship of three works (*trayô Daṇḍi-prabandhâś-cha trishu lokeshu viśrutâḥ*). The *Kâvyâdarśa* and the *Daśakumâracharita* are popularly regarded as the works of Daṇḍin. I have grave doubts as to whether the author of the latter was the same as that of the former. There is no unanimity as to the third work also being of Daṇḍin. Prof. Pischel in his introduction to Rudraṭa's *Śṛiṅgâratilaka* arrives at the rather startling conclusion that the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* is the third work of Daṇḍin. Dr. Peterson, in his introduction to the *Daśakumâracharita* (p. 5), says that Daṇḍin wrote a work called *Chhandovichiti*. Dr. Peterson's reasons are as follows :—Daṇḍin divided *Kâvya* into three varieties, *gadya*, *padya* and *miśra*. Afterwards Daṇḍin says that an exhaustive treatment of *padya* is given in *chhandovichiti* (*chhandovichityâṁ sakalas—tatprapañcho nidarśitaḥ* | *sâ vidyâ naus-titîrshûṇâṁ gambhîraṁ kâvya-sâgaram* ||[1]). Daṇḍin omitted the treatment of *padya*, because he had treated of it elsewhere. So Dr. Peterson says: "It seems clear that Daṇḍin is referring to a book here as also that he can only be referring to a book of his own composition," and further, "I think it probable that Daṇḍin wrote a *chhandovichiti* as Vâmana had done before him." Pischel doubts whether Daṇḍin is at all referring to a work called *Chhandovichiti*, and if he does refer to a work, then he is of opinion that, the 15th chapter of the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata, which in South Indian MSS. is styled '*chhandovichiti*,' is the work referred to by Daṇḍin. I shall try to show in the following that the *chhandovichiti* referred to by Daṇḍin is not his own work, that the word *chhandovichiti* means simply *chhandaś-śâstra* (*lit*., collection of metres) and is generally taken as referring to the *vedâṅga* on metrics ascribed to Piṅgala. By the way, it deserves to be noticed that Daṇḍin seems to have contemplated the writing of a work on the *kalâs* (arts) "*itthaṁ kalâ-chatuḥshashṭi-virodhaḥ sâdhu nîyatâm* | *tasyâḥ Kalâ-parichchhede rûpam-âvirbhavishyati*.[2]" ||

I think that the words of Daṇḍin are quite explicit as to whether he is referring to a work called *chhandovichiti*. About it he says that it will serve as a ferry to pass across the ocean of Poesy.

Daṇḍin simply says that an exhaustive treatment of *padya* has been given in *chhandovichiti*. He does not add 'by me' (*mayâ*). If we were to supply this ellipsis, then we shall have to ascribe, by a parity of reasoning, to Daṇḍin the authorship of a work on the dramatic art. He says "*Nâṭaka* and others constitute the third division of *Kâvya* called '*miśra*' and an exhaustive treatment of them (has been given) elsewhere" (*miśrâṇi nâṭakâdîni teshâm-anyatra vistaraḥ* |[3].). No one has so far asserted that Daṇḍin wrote on the dramatic art also. I, therefore, think that just as Daṇḍin here refers to a well-known work on dramaturgy (in my opinion the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata), so in the passage about *chhandovichiti*, he alludes to some work on metres, well-known to his contemporaries.

The assertion of Dr. Peterson that Daṇḍin wrote a *chhandovichiti* as Vâmana had done before is based on a misunderstanding. Apart from the question whether Vâmana preceded Daṇḍin (I think he did not), I question the composition of a *chhandovichiti* by Vâmana. His *sûtra* is '*Śabda-Smṛity-Abhidhânakośa-chhandovichiti-kalâ-kâmaśâstra-daṇḍa-nîti-pûrvâ vidyâḥ*.'[4] Vâmana himself paraphrases '*chhandovichiti*' by '*chhandaśśâstra*.' Besides, it is beyond the bounds of possibility that Vâmana would place a work of his own on the same level with the *vyâkaraṇa* of Pâṇini, the works on arts composed by Viśâkhila and others and ask all future generations of poets to study his own work. As all the other *vidyâs* referred to are dealt with by writers other than Vâmana, it naturally follows that the *chhandovichiti* also paraphrased in the most general terms is the work of some one else. Moreover, it should be noted that in the commentaries on the *Vṛittaratnâkara* and other works on metres, not a single reference is to be found to Daṇḍin and Vâmana as writers on metrics, although a host of other writers are so referred to.

As to the *Nâṭyaśâstra* of Bharata, it is sufficient to say that the very fact that all MSS. do not call the 15th chapter *chhandovichiti* raises strong doubts about its being the *chhandovichiti*

[1] *Kâvyâdarśa* I, 12. [2] Kâvyâdarśa, III, 171. [3] K. D. I, 31. [4] I, 3, 3.

referred to by Daṇḍin. *Chhandovichiti* is primarily a very general term and may be applied to any work on metres. My idea is that some copyists might have added the name at the end of the 15th chapter in this primary sense of the word '*chhandovichiti*.' It would be rather strange to suppose that Daṇḍin refers to a small chapter as exhaustively treating of *padya*. Bharata himself says that other scholars have given a larger number of metres than his own and that he omits them because they do not lend charm to dramas (*Santy-anyâny-api vṛittâni yâny-uktânîha paṇḍitaiḥ | na cha târi mayôktâni na śôbhâṁ janayanti hi*[5]). This being the case, the words of Daṇḍin '*sakalas-tat-prapañchaḥ*' would be thoroughly inappropriate if we understand by *chhandovichiti* the 15th chapter of the *Nâṭya-śâstra*, as Prof. Pischel did.

I shall now adduce the evidence of comparatively early writers to show that *chhandovichiti* is the name of the *Vedâṅga* dealing with metres.

Uvaṭa, while commenting upon *Ṛikprâtiśâkhya* XIV, 10 (*s=aitena śâstrair na viśishyate snyaiḥ kṛitsnaṁ cha Vedâṅgam=anindyam=ârsham*), remarks that *chhandovichiti* is one of the six *Aṅgas* of the Veda (*tasmâd anindyaṁ shaḍaṅgavat shaṭsu vedâṅgeshu idam=api aṅgaṁ Kalpô Vyâkaraṇaṁ Niruktaṁ Sikshâ chhandovichitir-jyôtishâm=ayanam-iti*).

Haradatta in his *Padamañjarî*, a commentary on the *Kâśikâ*, speaks of *chhandovichiti* as a *vedâṅga* thrice on the same page (p. 5 of the Benares edition); *e.g.*, '*tatra vyâkaraṇaṁ jyotishaṁ Niruktaṁ Sikshâ chhandovichitiḥ Kalpasûtrâṇy=aṅgâni*.'

Bhaṭṭa-kumârila in his *Tantravârtika* briefly gives the topics discussed in the six *Vedâṅgas* and remarks that, in the *Chhandovichiti*, *Gâyatrî* and other metres are distinguished (*Chhandovichity-âm=api Gâyatryâdiviveko loka-Vedayoḥ pûrvavad-eva pratyakshaḥ* | [6])

Jayamaṅgala in his commentary on *Bhaṭṭi* I. speaks of '*chhandovivṛiti*' as one of the six *Vedâṅgas* (*Sikshâ kalpo vyâkaraṇaṁ chhandovivṛitir Niruktaṁ jyôtishaṁ cheti shaḍaṅgâni śâstrâṇi*).

The *Vṛittaratnâkara* (VI. 3.) speaks of the *Chhandovichiti*, which word is explained by the commentator Nârâyaṇa as '*Chhandaśśâstram*' (*prastâro=syâṁ samâkhyâtaś-Chhandovichitivedibhiḥ* |).

We shall now quote from two writers, who speak of *Chhandovichiti*, but not as a *Vedâṅga*.

Varâhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*[7] mentions a *Chhandovichiti* (*vipulâm=api buddhvâ Chhandovichitiṁ bhavati kâryam=etâvat* | *Sruti-sukhada-vṛitta-saṁgraham=imam=âha Varâhamihirô ʼtaḥ* ||). Varâhamihira flourished in the 6th century A.D. He cannot be supposed to refer to the work of Daṇḍin, even if we conceded for the sake of argument that the latter wrote a *chhandovichiti*, as Daṇḍin cannot be placed earlier than the 6th century A.D.

Subandhu in his *Vâsavadattâ* twice speaks of the *Chhandovichiti* (*chhandovichitir=iva Mâlinî-sanâthâ*; *Chhandovichitim=iva bhrâjamâna-Tanumadhyâm*). Both the metres, *viz.*, Mâlinî and Tanumadhyâ are defined in the work of Piṅgala. Subandhu is also a very early writer, being not later than A.D. 600. Vâmana in his *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-vṛitti* quotes him. Bâṇa in his introduction to the *Harshacharita* is generally regarded as referring to the *Vâsavadattâ* of Subandhu. The words in the introduction to the Kâdambarî '*dhiyâ nibaddh-eyam=atidvayî kathâ*' must also be taken as referring to the Vâsavadattâ and the Bṛihatkathâ.

The work of Piṅgala is now looked upon as a *Vedâṅga*. It is written in the *sûtra* style and must be of great antiquity. The *Pañchatantra* speaks of him as a treasure of metrical knowledge (*Chhandojñâna-nidhiṁ jaghâna makarô velâtaṭe Piṅgalam*). The *Vṛittaratnâkara*, which is itself a comparatively early work, looks upon Piṅgala as the highest authority on metrics, and quotes him at every step. No ancient work, except Piṅgala's, that deals with both Vedic and similar metres as the *Chhandôvichiti* referred to by Kumârila appears to have done, has come down to us. From all these circumstances, it appears to me that the *Chhandovichiti* referred to by the writers quoted above, and by Daṇḍin and Vâmana is the work of Piṅgala.

The question whether Daṇḍin is the author of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, though an interesting one, does not at present concern us. We reserve the discussion of it for another issue of this journal.

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[5] Verse 144.

[6] Page 79.

[7] Chapter 101, verse 64, Prof. Dvivedi's edition.

MISCELLANEA.

THE FORM OF BUSTS ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

SOME time ago when reading an article on Roman Art in the *Quarterly Review*, I found mention of a classification of Roman busts which might possibly give a clue to the date of Kanishka, if applied to the Kushan coins. Recently I worked out the details, and, although no very definite conclusion has been attained, the investigation may be of interest to some readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

A Polish scholar has undertaken to determine the age of Roman busts by their form, defining six varieties, namely :—

I. Julio-Claudian (to A.D. 69)—shoulder not included;

II. Flavian (A.D. 69-98)—shoulder, but not junction of arm, included;

III. Trojan (A.D. 98-117.)—junction of arm included;

IV. Hadrian and the Antonines (A. D. 117—192 death of Commodus)—part of the upper arm included;

V. About A.D. 200.—half-length figure;

VI. Third century—partial reversion to older fashions.[1]

The want of busts in the Gandhâra school renders this test inapplicable to the sculpture, but I have applied it to the Kushan coins with the following result :—

The coins of Kadphises I (=Kadaphes, &c.), whether alone, or with Hermaios the last Greek king of Bactria, present a bust of Type I. As is well known, some of these coins are copied from issues of the time of Augustus. (Gardner, Pl. xxv, fig. 1-5). The conquest of Kabul by Kadphises I, may be dated about A.D. 20. In this case the Indo-Scythian king followed the fashion of contemporary Romans. Type II, is found on the Sassanian coinage of Persia from the reign of Ardashir Bâbakân (A.D. 226), and recurs in late Indo-Sassanian coins of about A.D. 500 (*I. M. Cat.* Pl. xxv). I have not found it on Kushan coins.

Nor do I know Indian examples of Type III. A gold coin of Kadphises II (? *cir*. A.D. 45-78) exhibits a bust of Type IV form (Gardner Pl. xxv, 8). Another coin (*ibid*, Pl. xxv, 9) includes the whole of the left arm If the dates assumed for Kadphises II are at all correct, he must have anticipated the change of fashion at Rome. The gold coinage of Havishker (? *cir*. A.D. 123-140) has the half-length figure (Gardner Pl. xxviii., 9), as in the Roman Type V. Here too, if the assumed dates are right, India was in advance of Rome. So far as it goes, the text would support rather later dates for the Kushan kings. I may note that a coin of Gondophernes (*I. M. Cat.* Pl. ix , 11) agrees with the Flavian Type II. The same type is found on a coin of Soter Megas (*ibid.* Pl., ix., 16), supposed to have been contemporary with Kadphises II, who used a slight advance on Type IV.

The Indian coins so far agree with the Roman bust series that, like it, they exhibit a progression from the head and neck without the shoulder to the half-figure, but the stages of the progression do not seem to coincide chronologically, and some of them are missing in the Indian series.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A NOTE ON "FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE HINDU POPULATION."

[*Vide* Above, for January, 1911.]

MR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., has inferred from palæological evidences that pure "Âryan blood does not run through the veins of the Brâhmaṇas" [p. 37. *Op. cit.*]. The question I am here tempted to put is, who are the Brâhmaṇas, through whose veins Âryan blood does not run? Are the Brâhmaṇas Âryan or non-Âryan? The foreign elements that came to India, *viz.* the Hûṇas, Śakas, Mihiras, Chalukyas, &c., what are they again, Âryan or non-Âryan ? If Âryans are different from these, did those Âryans come to India also from somewhere in the Central Asia? Are those who are called Brâhmaṇas autochthonous or exotic? If the Brâhmaṇas are Âryans and are exotic, the blood running through their veins is Âryan; but if they are a race autochthonous to India, there is no Âryan blood in them, for *ex hypothese*, the Âryans are a race trans-Himâlayan; and when Âryans came to India therefore, the old pure autochthonous Indian blood of the Brâhmaṇa must have been strained by Âryan blood. Hence before the Hûṇas, etc., poured into India, the Brâhmaṇa blood had already been once impregnated with the foreign Âryan element. Is this so?

[1] M. Bienkowski, cited by Mr. H. Stuart Jones in 'Art under the Roman Empire,' *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1905, p. 123. 'Gardener' means P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythian kings of Baktria and India in B. M.* The tentative dates in this text are those of Mr. R. D. Banerji.

§ 2. But if the Brâhmanas also came to India from a foreign source, I believe they are Âryans then. The existence of such names as Abraham in Hebrew, Behram or Bahram in Zend, may favour the views that the Âryans had already acquired the title of Brâhmaṇas before their exodus into India from their fatherland Before their exodus, were Âryans all Brâhmaṇas or had they already been divided into Brâhmaṇam, Kshatram and so forth? But whether before or after coming to India, in either case, we have authorities to show there was only one class primarily, *viz.*, Brâhmaṇas, apart from the doubt whether they were Âryans or not. For, the Yajur-Brâhmaṇa II, 8. 8, says :—

'*Brahmanaḥ Kshatram nirmitam*,[1]' *i.e.*, 'the Kshatriya was created from the Brâhmaṇa.' The Mahâbhârata, Sânti-parvan, Moksha-Dharma, 188th and 189th Chapters[2] may be taken as a commentary on the *Brâhmaṇa* passage above cited. It seems unnecessary to quote the verses here *in extenso*, for the reader may easily refer to the Mahâbhârata.

§ 3. And then let us consider the nature of the several successive hordes which immigrated to India. Take the Persians; are they Âryan? The Greeks, and then the Romans; are they Âryan? If they are Âryan, and the Brâhmaṇa is also Âryan, and they intermingled, Âryan blood alone was infused into Âryan blood; and I believe that in this case, blood-purity or race-purity was not tarnished. The Brâhmana may perhaps be taken for pure after the three-fold admixture referred to above, and which admixture must have taken place.

§ 4. And next, have the Hûṇas, Sakas, etc., who poured into India, been conclusively proved by either archæologists or ethnologists to be non-Âryan? I venture the suggestion, that for aught we know, they may have been the Âryans left at home, but who followed, only in time, the Brâhmaṇa-Âryans who only came in advance of them. If this is the case, *ergo*, their blood mixing with the Brâhmaṇas cannot be a *foreign* element again. *En parenthese*, let me observe that eugenically, blood mixing with blood ought not always to be construed by scientists as impoverishing or deteriorating it, for on the other hand, it may strengthen and enrich it.

§ 5. Whether Brâhmaṇas are Âryans or not, or whether Âryans are Brâhmaṇas or not, there is another interesting question which should exercise the minds of researchers. Râvaṇa of Râmâyaṇa fame is said to be a Brâhmaṇa, and yet he was not an Âryan, but a Drâvidian, whatever the latter term, so much disputed about, may mean, save that it means a race different from Âryan. Some say, Râvaṇa belongs to the Lemurian race, some Atlantean. But to whichever of the three categories he may belong, *viz*, Drâvidian, Lemurian or Atlantean, my purpose is served so long as these three denominations connote an origin which is *non*-Âryan. So then, the case of Râvaṇa shows that there were Brâhmaṇas, even in the *non*-Âryan races. *Ergo*, if the Hûṇas Sakas, *etc.*, were *non*-Âryans, there is no reason to deplete them of the Brâhmaṇa element in them also, if they were not in totality the Brâhmaṇas, *viz.*, the one Brâhmaṇdom to which the Âryans proper lay claim according to the quotation from Yajur-Veda and Bhârata shown in para. 2, *supra*. Whether the Hûṇas, etc., are Âryans or not, there is reason to suppose a Brâhmaṇa element in them as in the case of Râvaṇa of the Drâvidian stock. Hence if Brâhmaṇas mixed with Brâhmaṇas, the purity of Brâhmaṇa blood has not suffered on that account.

§ 6. In India itself, after the classification into Brâhmana, Kshatriya, etc., the Kshatriya, etc. have, by virtue of excessive merit, been elevated into the Brâhmaṇa ranks, as in the case of Viśvâmitra for example. And it is no wonder if by similar processes, *samskâric* or otherwise, foreign elements—so called—of Hûṇas, etc., merged themselves into Hinduism, understanding by this term, a compound of Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya, Śûdra, *plus* the Pañchama, the latter being a group wisely provided in the Hindu body-politic to gradually assimilate into its fold all foreign elements as they came and touched its bounds and borders, to be in course of time prepared for mergence again into classes, *viz.*, the Châturvarṇya, above it.

§ 7. These are age-long processes, and there is no question of pure and impure blood. But so long as those classes, who *in the present hour*, go in India by the name of Brâhmaṇa, remain intact, and do not mix their blood with classes non-Brâhmaṇa, the charge of mixed or impure blood can never be levelled against them.

§ 8. Nor is there any race-hatred or class-hatred, jealousies or hollownesses in claims, as Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks, for we are all peacefully and contentedly settled down into our convenient quadruple, or quintuple groups,—a final result, after all the wars have gone past, caused by the wish to transcend these limits and efface those convenient boundaries. Who would disturb them again and cause *bad* blood again?

A. GOVINDÂCHÂRYA SVÂMIN,
MYSORE, C.E., M.R.A.S., M.M.S.
31st January, 1911.

[The expression used by me is "Vedic Aryan blood" and not simply "Aryan blood." The word 'Vedic' has been purposely put in, to express the current belief that the Brâhmaṇas, &c., of the castes considered to be pure at the present day are the direct descendants of the Brâhmaṇas, &c., who were the seers of the *Mantras*. This means that there was no admixture of foreign (Âryan or non-Âryan) and aboriginal blood. Yavanas, Śakas, Hûṇas, &c., from the popular point of view, are foreigners, *i.e.*. *Mlechchhas*. At the end of para. 5, it is said that if the early Brâhmanas mixed with the Brâhmaṇa element of Hûṇas, &c., the purity of Brâhmaṇa blood has not suffered on that account. I am certain, no orthodox Brâhmaṇa will ever countenance this view. As regards para. 8, Mr. Govindâchârya Svâmin will do well to enquire either at Baroda or at Kolhapur what the *Grâmanya-prakaraṇa* means, and he will be convinced of what I have said. This again is but a typical instance.—D. R. B.]

[1] This really ought to be *Brahmaṇaḥ kshatraṁ nirmitam* (II, 8, 9). Here *Brahman* does not mean a Brâhmaṇa but the Divine Cause and Essence of the Universe. This is evident from the words: *Brahma viśvam-idaṁ jagat* and *Brahma Brâhmaṇa âtmanâ*, which precede and follow the passage just quoted. Mr. A Govindâchârya Svâmin is requested to actually cite the verses from the *Sântiparvan* which establish that the Kshatriya was created by the Brâhmaṇa. — D. R. B.

[2] These numbers are of the Telugu edition, Madras.

BITHU INSCRIPTION OF SIHA RATHOD.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

NANNURÂM BRAHMABHAṬ, whose name I have had more than one occasion to mention, has placed in my hands an impression of an inscription which is important for the ancient history of the present ruling family of Jodhpur. This family, as all historians of Râjputânâ are aware, belongs to the Râṭhoḍ race and was founded by Sîyâ-jî. The inscription is engraved on a *devlî* or memorial stone in Bîṭhû, a village about 14 miles north-west of Pâlî, the principal town of the district of the same name. The transcript of it is as follows :—

1. ओं ॥ संवत्‌ १३३०
2. कार्त्तिके वदि १२ सोम-
3. वारे रठडा श्रीसेत-
4. कंवरसुतु सीहो दे-
5. वलोके गतः सो [लं]-
6. [कि] पारबतिः तस्या ईंद्र-
7. स्यापि नाकशुभं भवतः

Translation.

Oṁ.—On Monday the 12th of the dark half of Kârtika of the [Vikrama-] year 1330, the Raṭhaḍâ Sîhâ, son of the prince (*kaṁvara*) Srî-Seta, went to the world of the gods (*i.e.*, died). May the bliss of the heaven of even Indra be for Pârvatî, the Solaṁkinî (*i.e.*, of the Solaṅkî race).

Now, there can be no doubt that Sîhâ of this inscription is the same as Sîyâ-jî, the reputed founder of the royal family of Jodhpur, because, in the first place, Sîhâ and Sîyâ-jî are, as a matter of fact, one name. Secondly, Sîhâ is called a Raṭhaḍâ, which is nothing but 'Râṭhoḍ.' Thirdly, Sîhâ is called a son of Seta, and Seta is only an abbreviated form of Setrâm, who, according to the chronicles of Mârwâṛ, was the father of Sîyâ-jî. No doubt can, therefore, be possibly entertained as to Sîhâ of our inscription being identical with Sîyâ-jî, the founder of the Jodhpur dynasty.

The real importance of this record consists in the fact that it gives us a specific date (*viz.*, V. S. 1330) for a specific event (*viz.*, death) in the life of Sîyâ-jî. The *khyâts* (chronicles) of Jodhpur represent him to be the grandson of the celebrated Jayachandra, king of Kanauj, and at the same time give V. S. 1196 = A. D. 1139 as the date of his exile into Mârwâṛ. Both these things cannot possibly harmonize with each other, because Jayachandra fell in a battle with Shihâb-ud-dîn in A. D. 1193, fifty-four years later than the traditional date assigned to Sîyâ-jî's flight. So that there was only one alternative left, *viz.*, either to accept the date of the chronicles for Sîyâ-jî and consider his connection with Jayachandra's family as a mere fiction or to accept the latter as a fact and reject the date. As to myself, long before this inscription was found, I was inclined in favour of the latter alternative. Because Sîyâ-jî's descent from Jayachandra has been mentioned in no less early an authority than the *Âin-i-Akbari* of Abu'l Fazl, which was composed in the 16th century. Similarly, in an inscription dated V.S. 1686, and found in the temple of Raṇchhoḍjî at Nagar near Jasol in Mallâṇî of the Jodhpur State, Sîhâ is spoken of as *Sûrija-baṁsî* and *Kanojiyâ-Râthoda*. These two early authorities had left no doubt in my mind as to Sîyâ-jî having descended from the family of Jayachandra, and I was for pushing the date of Sîyâ-jî's flight later than A.D. 1193 when, as stated above, Jayachandra died fighting with the Ghori emperor. My view has now been placed beyond all doubt by the new inscription which gives V.S. 1330 = A.D. 1273 as the date of Sîyâ-jî's death. This second is posterior to the first date by 80 years, which indicate the interval between the deaths of Jayachandra and Sîyâ-jî, a conclusion perfectly probable if we hold with the Mârwâṛ chronicles that the latter was the grandson of the former.

In this connection is worth quoting what is called a *Pallîvâla-Chhand*, for which also I am indebted to Nannurâm Brahmabhaṭ. He found it in the manuscripts of the Ḍâḍhî of a Pallivâl family in Kui in Shergaḍh, Jodhpur State. It is as follows :—

॥ नीसांणी छंद ॥

पाली गढ बांध्यौ प्रगट आछी छिब आंणी, सहर कोट दश कोसमैं बाजार वसांणी ॥
सवालाख घर सांवठा जुग सारां जांणी, विप्र निधन जो आ वस्या संपत समपांणी ॥ १ ॥
इक इक ईंट जु अरपनै धर धाम बंधांणी, वडौ सरोवर वीझणौ पीवै नित पांणी ॥
नीर नासकां नीसरै सुखिया करसांणी, राज करै विसहट ऋषी रूपावत रांणी ॥ २ ॥
सीहौं कमध प्रधान सो आयें अगवांणी, बारासौ बाराणवै माया हद मांणी ॥
वीता वरष छवीस यूं सब सुख सरसांणी, पत दिल्ली सर पातसा औसी मन आंणी ॥ ३ ॥
नासुरदीन निषेदनै फौजां फरमांणी, मुगल पठांण मलेंछ मिल उलटी मन आंणी ॥
सेख रु सैयद जवनसो तद मूछां तांणी, लाखां लसकर लँगर ले जुध लडवा जांणी ॥ ४ ॥
आय रु पाली उतरिया दल कोट दिवांणी, दोला फिर डेरा दिया जद ऋसियां जांणी ॥
जबर करायौ जाबतौ विप्र ह्वा इकवांणी, मँडिया सांमा मोरचा दिन रात दिखाँणी ॥ ५ ॥
तोप अरावां त्यार धड़ धड़ ह्वै धांणी, धूंवै अम्बर ढक्किया रणसींग रुड़ांणी ॥
विप्र न हारै बारै वरस जुध जीता जांणी, गेरू हिडमच गालिया पलटण रँग पांणी ॥ ६ ॥
खट दरवाजा खोलिया विखऱ्या ब्रह्मांणी, असुरां भेद जु आणियौ जीतां जब जांणी ॥
विप्रां वात राखी वडी होंतीं भ्रमहांणी, पल्लीवाल इतरा पड्या गिणती न गिणांणी ॥ ७ ॥
तोल जनेऊ ताकड़ी अठ ऊपर आंणी, च्यार हजार चँदेलवा खग ले खूटांणी ॥
गोयल रण मांडणौ गज्जब त्रजड़ां तूटांणी, पांच सहस राठड़ पडे सीहौ सेतरांणी ॥ ८ ॥
कजियौ कीधौ कमधजां तरवारां तांणी, पड़िया रण पड़िहार जो वंका विरदांणी ॥
डाभी भड़ रहिया अडिग इल पर औनांणी, राखी वात चवांण रंग सूरां सैनांणी ॥ ९ ॥
छिनमैं कटिया छ हजार घायल ह्वा घांणी, पाला सात हजारवी बुंदी जशवांणी ॥
आठ हजार पमार अड़ ठावै मन ठांणी, धारधणी मालवधरा बोल्या हद वांणी ॥ १० ॥
बावा कटिया नौ हजार नागा निरबांणी, खागां लड़िया खेतमैं मरदां हद मांणी ।
बटका होवै बकतरां कंध सीस कटांणी, टूक टूक ह्वै झिलम टोप त्रिजड़े तिरछांणी ॥ ११ ॥
वहै झटका अंग विछट हिंदू तुरकांणी, वर वर लेवै अपछरा वैकुंठ वसांणी ॥
जुध सुण आई जोगण्यां रुद्र पीय रिझांणी, एक पहर ठेहर अवस जुध सूरज जांणी ॥ १२ ॥
गढ सीरोही गांमरा मोटा मरदांणी, गहरवार लड़िया गजब गढ गागरूण गिणांणी ॥
ऊजाला जालोरगढ जस मुरधर जांणी, पाली लड़तां राखियौ पलीवालां पांणी ॥ १३ ॥

॥ दोहा ॥

तेरैसौ तीसै सँमत ॥ घणौ हुवौ घमसांण ॥
पाली छोड पधारिया ॥ पलीवाल पिछमांण ॥ १ ॥

The purport of this *Chhand* is as follows :—

Ten *kos* from the town wall of Pâlî was its bazar. The place contained one lakh and a quarter houses of the Pallîvâl Brâhmaṇas. When a new and poor Brâhmaṇa came from outside, he was given by each family one brick to build a house with. The town was supplied with water from a spacious lake called Bîjhaṇo, which also was used for irrigation purposes. The king was one *ṛish*, Visahaṭ and his queen was Rûpâvat. Sîhâ, a Kamadh, *i.e.*, Râṭhoḍ, became his minister in V. S. 1292. For twenty-six years they enjoyed all sort of happiness. Then Nâsuradîn, emperor of Delhi, brought a large force to capture Pâlî. For twelve years the Brâhmaṇas fought with the Muham-

madans. The latter at last put *geru* and *hidmach* powder in the lake, which at once changed the colour of the water. Thinking that the colour had so changed because the Muhammadans put cow's flesh into it, the Pallivâls at once flung open the city-gate, and sallied forth cutting their way through the Muhammadan ranks. So many of them, it is said, were slain that their sacred threads weighed more than eight maunds. With the Pallivâl Brâhmaṇas fell many Rajpûts, among whom was Sîhâ, son of Seta with his five thousand Râthoḍs.

The points of importance to be noted here are as follows: (1) Pâlî was chiefly inhabited by the Pallivâl Brâhmaṇas and was in the second half of the 13th century held by their Brâhmaṇa prince Visahaṭ; (2) Sîhâ Râṭhoḍ was his minister. This agrees with the Mârwâṛ tradition that Sîhâ was called to Pâlî and kept there by the Pallivâls to give them protection against the Mers and Meṇâs who had infested them; (3) Sîhâ attained to this position in V. S. 1292 = A. D 1235; (4) twenty-six years after, *i.e.*, in A. D. 1261, Pâlî was invaded by the emperor of Delhi, who is here called Nâsuradîn and who cannot but be Nâṣiru-d-Dîn Maḥmûd S͟hâh I., as he reigned from A. D. 1246 to 1266; and (5) after a twelve years' siege Pâlî was captured by the Muhammadans in V. S. 1330 = A. D. 1273, when Sîhâ Râṭhoḍ is also represented to have fallen in the battle. This date agrees precisely with that of our inscription. Not only no doubt can thus possibly be entertained regarding the date of Sîhâ's death, but also I feel tempted to accept A. D. 1235 as the date of Sîhâ's arrival in Pâlî. The mention, in the *Chhand*, of Bundi, Sirohi and the Rajpût tribes Chandel, Pamâr and so forth, is undoubtedly an interpolation made in later times by some Bhâṭ, to make it attractive to all the Rajpûts. But the authority for this *Chhand* is the *dohâ* quoted at the end, which thus appears to be much older than the former. It says that in V. S. 1330, a fearful battle took place and the Pallivâl Brâhmaṇas, after quitting Pâlî, went towards the west. And our inscription gives the same date for the death of Sîhâ. The *dohâ* thus leaves not even the shadow of a doubt as to Sîhâ having died on the battlefield fighting for the Pallivâls. Tod's story about this Râṭhoḍ prince having treacherously massacred the Pallivâls and made himself master of Pâlî must, therefore, be considered to be unfounded and unreliable.

Where actually this battle took place is not certain. Most probably it came off in Bîṭhû where the memorial stone is found and which is only 14 miles from Pâlî. In Bîṭhû there is a very ancient temple dedicated to Mahâdeva and in front of it, I am told, there was an old well, now filled up. And the people say that it was into this well that the sacred threads of the Brâhmaṇas were thrown some centuries ago before they died in a fight with the Muhammadans. But no definite information could be had as to who those Brâhmaṇas were and from where the Muhammadans had come. It is, however, all but certain that these Brâhmaṇas were the Pallivâls, and that the Muhammadan force was sent by Nâṣiru-d-Dîn Maḥmûd S͟hâh I.

Two points connected with our inscription yet remain to be considered but can be disposed of in a few lines. In the latter portion of it one Pârvatî, a So(la)ṁk(ni) [Solaṅkinî] is said to have died *satî* with Sîhâ. The reading Solaṁkni, I confess, is by no means certain, though it is probable. But supposing for the moment that it is correct, it agrees with the tradition that he had for his queen a Solaṅkinî. But her name, as given in the chronicles, is Râjala-de, whereas we have it here as Pârvatî. Perhaps she had both the names, of which Râjala-de was a *khitâb* given by her husband as is not unfrequently the case in Râjputânâ. Secondly, it is worthy of note that neither Sîhâ nor his father Seta has any regal titles attached to their names in our inscription, though the people of Mârwâṛ always speak of Sîhâ as Râv Sîyâ-jî. He appears to have been a mere Rajpût in the service of the Pallivâl Brâhmaṇas without having ever risen even to the rank of a Râv. Seta, again, is called a *kaṁvara*, which shows that he was at any rate a son of some chief or king. This agrees with the tradition that he was a son of Jayachandra, king of Kanauj. But as he died without obtaining the kingdom, he also had no royal titles affixed to his name.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

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Nouns.—Gender.

1. IN all the Dravidian languages *gender follows sex.*

2. The gender of Dravidian primitive or uncompounded nouns is known from the verbs and the pronouns which they govern; and they are themselves destitute of any distinguishing gender termination.

3. But in the case of the *derivative* or composite nouns formed from primitive nouns, adjectives, participles, demonstrative and interrogative particles, the gender is denoted by suffixes which are different for the different genders. For example:—

The masculine singular is denoted by the primitive Dravidian suffix *âṇ* which becomes *an, ân* (Ta., Ma., Ca.); *aḍu, âḍu* (Te.); *e* (Tu.); *as* (Kurukh); *ah* (Malto), etc. (*Vide* under *âṇ, infra*).

The feminine singular is denoted by:—(1) the Pr. Drav. *âḷ* which becomes *âḷ* and *aḷ* (Tam., Ma., Ca., and Tu.); and (2) the primitive Dravidian *atta* or *atti* which becomes *adi* (Te.); *ad* (Goṇḍi Kolami, Naikî and Kurukh); *atti* (Malto), etc. (*Vide* under *âḷ* and *attai, infra*).

The neuter singular is denoted by primitive Dravidian *du* which is *di* (Te.), *d* (Goṇḍi, Kolami, Naiki, Kurukh.); *th* (Malto), (see *infra*).

N. B.—In this connection it may be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell, not knowing that the demonstratives are themselves composite nouns, states that the derivative nouns are formed from primitive nouns, adjectives and participles by the addition of demonstratives. In Tamil *Śinnavan*, he thinks we have the demonstrative *avan*. But *Śinnavan* is *Śin + a + an*. Here *Śin* is the base, *a*, the adjectival suffix; and before *a, n* is doubled, and *an* is the masculine singular suffix; and a homo-organic *v* is developed in Sandhi between the two back vowels *a* and *a* (*vide* flexional Sandhi in my Phonology). Similarly for other genders.

4. Dravidian nouns are divided for purposes of gender into two classes:—

(1) *Rational* nouns, or the names of rational beings, such as men, gods, women and goddesses.

(2) *Irrational* nouns, or the names of irrational beings or inanimate objects.

Rational nouns are either *masculine* or *feminine* according as they denote men and gods, or women and goddesses. All irrational nouns are *neuter.*

Thus we have three genders.

5. Rational nouns are called in Tamil grammars, *uyartiṇai, i.e.*, 'high-caste nouns,' while irrational nouns are *ahṛiṇai, i.e.*, 'non-high-caste' nouns. Telugu grammars call them *mahat* and *amahat* nouns, *i.e.*, 'superior' and 'non-superior' nouns. Canarese and Malayalam grammars, being based entirely on Sanskrit grammar, call them *pullingam*, etc., without distinguishing between *rational* and irrational nouns.

6. If it be necessary to denote the sex of any animal, a separate word signifying 'male' or 'female' is prefixed to the noun; but even in such cases the pronoun with which the noun agrees, and also the verb, are neuter. For example: '*a mare came*' is translated into Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, respectively, as follows:— 'Oru peṇ kudirai vandadu' (Tamil); 'oka âḍa gurramu vatʃtʃinadi,' (Telugu); 'ondu heṇṇu kudire bantu (Canarese).

7. The Primitive Dravidian words denoting 'male' and 'female' were the following:—

Male:—*âṇ*, *maga*, *kaṇḍ*.

Female:—*peṇ* and *âḷ*.

The first set of words, *i.e.*, *âṇ* and *peṇ* are used by Tamil, Malayalam, and Tulu, to denote 'male' and 'female.' Canarese uses *kaṇḍ (a)* and *peṇ*; Telugu uses *maga* and *âl*.

For example :—

Horse —	1.	Tamil :	*âṇ*	kudirai
	2.	Malay. :	*âṇ*	kudiræ
	3.	Tulu :	*âṇ*	kudire
	4.	Can. :	*gaṇḍu*	kudire
	5.	Telugu :	*moga*	gurramu
	6.	Korvi :	*ôṇḍ*	kudri
	7.	Kaikâdi :	*ghaṇḍ*	kudri
	8.	Malto :	*bokra*	goroth
	9.	Kui :	*pora*	goṛa
	10.	Burgaṇḍi :	*ăd*	kudri
Mare :—	1.	Tamil :	*peṇ*	kudirai
	2.	Malay. :	*peṇ*	kudiræ
	3.	Tulu :	*poṇṇu*	kudire
	4.	Can. :	*Heṇṇu*	kudire
	5.	Telugu :	*âḍa*	gurramu
	6.	Korvi :	*paṭ*	kudri
	7.	Kaikâḍi :	*phaṭṭaḍ*	kudri
	8.	Malto :	*ḍaḍi*	goroth
	9.	Kui :	*tali*	goroth
	10.	Burgaṇḍi—	*phat*	kudri

8. But of these words that are used as gender suffixes, there are only some that are used as suffixes also. For instance, of the masculine prefixes, *âṇ*, *maga* and *kaṇḍ* only the first *âṇ* with its varieties is used as the common masculine suffix of all the Dravidian languages. Of the feminine suffixes, *âḷ* and *peṇ*, only *aḷ* is used as the feminine singular suffix of Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tulu.

In addition to *âṇ* and *âḷ*, there are other words which are used as suffixes. For instance, primitive Dravidian *atta* (which with its varieties forms the common feminine singular suffix of the North Dravidian languages) and *(a)du* (which is the common neuter singular suffix of all the Dravidian languages).

We shall now enumerate these suffixes and trace their history and development in the different Dravidian languages.—

1. âṇ (Masculine singular suffix).

Pr. Drav. *âṇ* ↘ *âṇ* (Tam., Ma., Ca., Tu.).
↘ *âṇḍu* ↘ *â(ṇ)ḍu* ↘ *âḍu* (Ta. and *Te.).
↘ **ân* ↘ **an* (Tam., Ma., Ca., and Tu.).

N. B.—* Denotes development in unstressed or inflexional syllables.

Primitive Dravidian *âṇ* means 'male.' It is found *as an independent word* with this meaning in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tulu. In Canarese it also denotes *superiority* or *priority*.

Besides *âṇ*, we have in Tamil another form of this word, namely *âḍu* which should have developed from *âṇ* with the addition of an excresent *ḍ* and the subsequent dropping of the nasal. Compare the etymological history of the English words '*sound*' and '*thunder*.' In Tholkâppiam, '*âḍu*' words are masculine words. (*Vide* sûtran, 2 Śolladikâram). In Telugu, too, we have *âḍu*, but it is used only as a masculine suffix. It is not found as a prefix or as an independent word. In old Telugu we find the form with the nasal, *i.e.*, *âṇḍu*, where the nasal is marked as an '*arthânusvâra*.' Even the modern Telugu *âḍu* is pronounced with a half nasalisation.

As a masculine prefix it is not at all found in Telugu. While Canarese has only a few instances, it is very commonly used as a prefix in Tamil, Malayalam and Tulu. In all these languages it is used in its original form *âṇ* when in this relation.

Ân is the common *masculine suffix* of the Dravidian languages, but it undergoes many phonetic changes in the various languages.

Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tulu have all *ân* and *an*. New Canarese and Tulu have *ânu* and *anu*. Here we have the softening or dentalisation of the cerebral *ṇ* and the shortening of the vowel *â* which is common in the case of inflexional syllables. (*Vide* my Phonology, Part II.).

In Telugu we have an excresent *ḍ* developed and *âṇ* appears as *âṇḍu* which further becomes *âḍu*.

In old Gôṇḍi, primitive Dravidian *âṇ* developed into *ân* as in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tulu. But New Gôṇḍî, confounding the plural with the singular, uses *r* in the place of *n*. But Kui, the Gôṇḍi dialect of Godavary District, has *âṇḍu* which, with the demonstrative particle *a*, becomes *ôṇḍu* as in old Gôṇḍi *a* + *ân* > ôn (he). The nasal *n* of old Gôṇḍî, 3rd person singular, is found even now in the oblique cases of the declension of the 3rd personal singular of new Gôṇḍi (*vide* L. S., page 481).

In Kui, primitive Dravidian *âṇ* > *âñju* through *ân*. Dr. Grierson says in his *Linguistic Survey*, p. 459; "The substitution of *ñg* for *n* in connected languages is especially common in Kalahandi, where we find forms such as *éañji*, standard *éâni* 'his'." Here we have an example of the cerebral becoming a dental first and then becoming further palatalised.

In Naiki primitive Dravidian *âṇ* > an; but *a* of *an* has become close and high. Hence we have *aun*, 'he', in Naiki. The *n* is found uniformly as a suffix of the 3rd person singular verb. In Naiki *vattên* is 'he went.' (L. S., pp. 570 and 572.)

In Kolâmi we have *amd* ∠ *âṇ*. The *m* seems to be peculiar, *d* may be the dental intruder. But in verbs, the 3rd person singular suffix is always *n*. *Amd pânâktên* is 'he sent.' (*Vide* L. S., pp. 562-564). But the Kolâmi dialect of Basim Districts, which is called Bhêlê, has *an* and not *amd*. 'He' in this dialect is *avan* as in Tamil.

In Kuru<u>kh</u> we have a peculiar development. It has *as*, 'he,' corresponding to the *avan* of Tamil and Malayalam and *vâḍu* of Telugu. Dr. Grierson says in L. S., p. 414, that *as* and *vâḍu* and *avan* are closely connected. In Malto we have *ah*, 'he'. The *s* of Kuru<u>kh</u> and *h* of Malto seem to me to be difficult to explain. But it might be said that *s* is the *continuant dental form* of *n* in *an*, and *h* the *aspirated form* of *a* in *an* with the loss of the nasal *n*. Compare *âth*, the feminine and neuter suffix. Perhaps the Korvi and the Kaikâḍi forms of 'he' might throw some light on the development of *h* in Malto. In Korvi we have *Ãva* and in Kaikâḍi *ãu* corresponding to *avan* of Tamil. Here we have the nasal completely lost, and the vowel alone in its shortened form left. In Malto it is likely that this *a* has got aspirated.

The various developments of the primitive Dravidian 3rd person, masculine suffix *âṇ* will be clear from the following table:—

To express '*He goes*' we have:—

Tamil:	*avan*	*pôgirân.*
Malayalam:	*avan*	*pôgunnu.*
Canarese:	*avanu*	*hôguttâne.*
Tulu:	*âye*	*pôve*
Telugu:	*vâḍu*	*pôtâḍu.*
Korvi:	*ãva*	*hôgâru.*
Kaikâḍi:	*ãu*	*hôgâkû.*
Kuru<u>kh</u>:	*âs*	*kâdas.*
Malto:	*âh*	*êkih.*
Kui:	*Ẽbâñju*	*sânêñju.*
Goṇḍi:	*ôr*	*handâtôr.*
Brahui:	*ô*	*kâek.*

(*vide* L. S., pp. 674, 675, 676, 677.)

2. Maga (Telugu, masculine sing. prefix).

Maga has an interesting development. In primitive Dravidian its meaning was 'a child'; and it has the same meaning now in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese. *Magavu*, in these languages, means '*a child*,' male or female. Later on, gender suffixes were affixed to it; and *magan* means now 'a son' and *magal*, a daughter, in Tamil, Canarese and Malayalam. But in Tulu, the original *maga* (also *mage*) means *a son*. In Telugu, *maga* lost its meaning of child and retained only the significance of '*male*.' Thus *maga* came to denote anything 'male' instead of 'a male child'. It now means in Telugu 'a male,' 'a man'; and *magavâḍu* means 'a husband'. *Maga* is colloquially *moga*.

So early as in the time of Tholkâppiam we find the reverse process in Tamil. *Magaḍû* in old Tamil meant 'a woman.' *Magaḍu* words in Tholkâppiam are words denoting 'a female,' *i. e.*, of the feminine gender. *Magaḍu* is *magaḷ* with *ḷ* ↘ *ḍ*. This form is after the analogy of *aḍu* already referred to.

3. Kaṇḍ (Can. Masc. sing. prefix). Primitive Dravidian.

Kaṇḍ should have meant 'a male'; for it is in this sense that we find this word in all the languages. Tamil and Malayalam add the masculine suffix *an* to this word; and thus *kaṇḍan* means 'a hero', 'a brave man'. In Canarese, Tulu and Telugu we have the development *gaṇḍu* in which *k* ↘ *g* by accent change, and a final *u* has been added. In these languages it means 'a male.'

But as a *masculine prefix* it is used only by Canarese; and as a suffix it is not used in any language.

In Tamil we also find *kaḍu* from *kaṇḍa* with the loss of the nasal. *Kaḍuvan*, in Tamil, is the male of a cat or a dog.

4. Peṇ (fem. sing. prefix).

Primitive Dravidian *peṇ* ↘ *peṇ* (Tam. and Mal.).
↘ *peṇṇu* (Colloq. Tam. and New Can.).
↘ *peṇḍ(u)* (Tam., Mal., Ca., Te.).
↘ *peṭṭ* ∠ peḍḍ (Korvi and Kaikaḍi and Tam.).

Primitive Dravidian *peṇ* means 'a woman'. It is found in this meaning in all the languages whatever may be its phonetic development. In its original form *peṇ*, it is now found in Tamil, Malayalam and old Canarese, in which it means '*a girl*'.

In colloquial Tamil it is pronounced as *peṇṇu* and also as *poṇṇu*. But these two are considered vulgar. In new Canarese it appears as *heṇṇu* and is considered classical. In Tulu it is *poṇṇu*.

The development *peṇḍ* is found in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, but with different final enunciative vowels. It is *peṇḍu* in Tamil, found in the collective noun *peṇḍugaḷ* 'women'. It is *peṇḍi* in Malayalam, and *peṇḍa* in Canarese. In Telugu it is found in the word *peṇḍli*, 'marriage,' and *peṇḍlâmu*, 'a wife.' In Tamil and Malayalam we have *peṇḍâṭi*, 'a wife'; which is *peṇḍâti* in Canarese. Peṇḍâti and Peṇḍati are double feminines having a feminine suffix *âṭi* or *âti*.

In Korvi *heṇz* means 'a female', *heṇz makka* means daughters.

The development *peṭṭ* is found as *peṭṭai* in Tamil, and *peṭṭa* in Telugu and Malayalam, and *paṭ* in Korvi and *phaṭ* in Kaikâḍi. In all these languages it means 'a female'; *e. g.*:

Tam.: *peṭṭai* (k)*kôḷi* = hen.
Telugu: *peṭṭa kôḍi* = hen.
Kaikâḍi: *phaṭ gôṛa* = she-horse, *i. e.*, mare.

5. Âḷ (fem. sing. suffix of S. C. Drav.)

Primitive Dravidian *âḷ* ↘ *âḷ* (Tam., Ma., Ca. and Tu.).
↘ *âlu* (Te.).
↘ *âli* (Kui. and Kurukh).
↘ *âḍu âḍa* (Te.).

Primitive Dravidian *âḷ* means 'a woman.' *Âli* means a woman in *Kurukh* and Kui; and *âlu* in Telugu means also 'a woman.' Telugu uses *âḍu* or *âḍa* to denote the feminine of nouns, *i. e.*, as a *feminine prefix*.

In Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, and Tulu the word *āḷ* has changed its meaning. It means 'a slave,' 'a servant,' *i. e.*, one who is governed or ruled. This is evidently due to a confusion of this word with the verb *āḷ* ↘ Pr. Drav. *ǽḷ* meaning 'to rule', which is found as *ēlu* in Telugu.

But *āḷ*, 'a woman,' is preserved in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Tulu as a *feminine suffix*; while it is almost lost in Telugu, Kui and other North Dravidian languages.

Primitive Dravidian *āḷ* when used as a *feminine suffix* becomes *āḷ* or *aḷ* which with a preceding *a* may become *ōḷ*. In Telugu *aḷ* as a suffix becomes *alu* and is preserved only in a few words :— *Manamarâlu*, 'grand-daughter', *kôḍalu*, 'daughter-in-law,' *maradalu*, 'a niece'. But the usual suffix in Telugu is *di*, a development of the primitive Dravidian *atti* meaning 'a woman'. (See *infra*).

Thus, while the South and the Central Dravidian languages use *aḷ* as the feminine suffix the North Dravidian languages use *atti* or *adi*.

6. **Atta (fem. sing. suffix of N. Dravidian).**

Primitive Dravidian *atta* ↘ *attai*, *atti* (Tamil).
↘ *atʃtʃi* (Malayalam).
↘ *atte* (Tu.).
↘ *atta* (Te.).
↘ **adi* (Te.).
↘ *atʃtʃi* or *atti* (Tam., Can. and Mal.).

As an *independent word* it means 'an elderly woman', 'a sister' or a 'father's sister,' etc. In Tamil, *attai* means 'an aunt', and *atti*, 'aunt' or 'sister;' *atte* in Tulu means 'aunt' or 'mother-in-law'. *Attige* in Tulu is 'brother's wife.' In Telugu *atta* is 'mother-in-law' or 'aunt' and *atʃtʃi* in Malayalam means a Nair-woman.

As a *feminine suffix* it is used most largely by the North Dravidian languages. In Telugu the suffix *atti* becomes *adi*. Compare Tamil *ammai*, a woman, and Telugu *ammi*, a woman. In Gôṇḍi and Kolâmi it is *ad* with the loss of the final vowel. In Naiki and Kuru<u>kh</u> it is *âd*, with *a* lengthened, after the analogy of *ân*, etc., also through accent change. In Malto it is *âta* where *t* is aspirated. (See note on *ah*, 'he' of Malto, above).

In Malayalam and Tamil the feminine suffix *atti* is found in a large number of words denoting certain professional castes, *e. g.*, Tamil, Malayalam, *raṟâtti*, 'a queen'; *taṭṭâtti*, 'a woman of goldsmith caste'; *kannâtti*, 'a tinker woman'; *vaṇṇâtti*, 'a washerwoman'; *kollatti*, 'a blacksmith woman,' etc. *Atti* also becomes *atʃtʃi*, *e. g.*, *idaitʃtʃi*, 'a shepherdess'; *valatʃtʃi*: 'a fisher-woman;' etc.

In Malayalam *atti* is cerebrated to *aṭṭi* in certain words, *e. g.*, *tamburâṭṭi*, "a noble lady"; *veḷḷâṭṭi*, 'a servant woman,' etc.

In Canarese the same suffix is *iti* or *ti*, *e. g.*, *arasiti*, 'a queen'; *okkalati*, 'farmer's wife.'

In these cases and the rest Telugu uses *adi*.

The development of primitive Dravidian *atti* into *adi* in Telugu, and *ad* in the other North Dravidian languages has created confusion in the minds of great Oriental scholars like Dr. Caldwell. In the North Dravidian languages the neuter suffix *adu* of Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese has also become *adi* in Telugu and *ad* in Kolâmi and Gôṇḍi and *âd* in Naiki and Kuru<u>kh</u> and *aṭi* in Malto. That is to say, *atti*, the feminine suffix, and *adu*, the neuter suffix of the singular, have the same development in the North Dravidian languages. Hence Dr. Caldwell was led to remark that amongst the Telugus the women were treated as chattels or as lifeless things. He says:—"Ordinarily every woman is spoken of in Telugu as a chattel or a thing, as we are accustomed to say of very young children (*e. g.*, it did so and so) apparently on the supposition either that women are destitute of reason, or that their reason, like that of infants, lies dormant." He also

adds:—"whilst each woman taken singly is treated by Telugu Grammar as a chattel or as a child, women taken collectively are regarded with as much respect as by the other Dravidian languages." The fallacy of this argument need not be pointed out, as it is patent to every reader.

7. i (Sanskrit feminine suffix).

This *i* is the shortened form of Sanskrit feminine suffix *î*. As Caldwell says, it is used in the majority of cases in connection with Sanskrit derivatives. But it has also come to be affixed to some pure Dravidian nouns, *e. g.*, Tamil, *talaivan*, a Lord; Tamil, *talaivi*, 'a lady'; Tamil and Malayalam, *kiḻavan*, old man; *kiḻavi*, old woman; Tamil, Malayalam, *kaḷḷan*, 'thief'; *kaḷḷi*, 'a thievish woman.' Thus in Malayalam and Tamil, the *i*, feminine suffix, has been added to Dravidian words. But in Canarese and Telugu only Sanskrit feminine words such as *dêvi*, etc., end in *i*. Dr. Caldwell gives *perdgi*, a girl, in Goṇḍî, the masculine being *perdgaḷ*.

8. du (Neuter singular suffix).

Primitive Dravidian neuter suffix was *du*. In Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese it is found in its original form. In Telugu it is *di*. In Goṇḍî, Kolâmi, Naikî and Kuru<u>kh</u>, Kôrvi and Kaikâḍi, it is *d*. In Malto it is unvoiced and aspirated to *th*. In Kui, it is trilled to *r*, and becomes *eri*. In short in the North Dravidian languages it has had the same development as the feminine suffix *adi*, ∠ Pr. Drav. *attá*.

Before concluding our article on Dravidian Gender, it will be well, we think, to give a table of the demonstrative pronouns in the different Dravidian languages as they very faithfully illustrate the various gender suffixes used in those languages:—

No.	Languages.	He.	She.	It.	They (rational).	They (irrational)
1	Tamil	avan ...	avaḷ ...	adu ...	avar	avai.
2	Malayalam	avan ..	avaḷ ...	adu ...	avar	ava.
3	Canarese	avanu ...	avaḷu ...	adu ...	avaru ...	avu.
4	Tuḷu	âye ...	âḷu ...	a(v)u ...	âru, âkuḷu ...	aikuḷu.
5	Telugu	vâḍu ...	adi ...	adi ...	vâru	avi.
6	Gôṇḍi	ôn, ôr ...	ad ...	ad ...	ôrk	âu
7	Kui	êañju ...	eri ...	eri ...	êbâru ...	êwi, êwa.
8	Kolâmi	amd, avand	ad ..	ad ...	aur	adân, ad.
9	Naikî	aun ...	âd ...	âd ...	aur	add.
10	Malto	âh ...	âth ...	âth ...	âwer	No plural.
11	Kuru<u>kh</u>	âs ...	âd ...	âd ...	âr	abṛâ.
12	Korvi	âva, avû ...	ava(ḷ) ...	â(d) ...	avga	âga.
13	Kaikâḍi	âu ...	âd ...	âd ...	âung ...	âya.
14	Brahui	Ê, ô ...	Ê, ô ...	Ê, ô ...	ôfk, êfk ...	ôfk, êfk.
			No	difference	of gender.	

(*To be continued*)

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE BIRTH AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE KHASIYAS AND THE BHOTIYAS OF ALMORA DISTRICT, U. P.

BY PANNA LALL, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., I.C.S.

Birth Customs.

FROM the commencement of the sixth month of pregnancy, a woman is supposed to become unclean. Her relations would not eat food cooked by her (probably intended to lighten her domestic work during this difficult time).

In the eighth month there is a pre-natal ceremony. The husband and the wife sit together and worship the family gods, a Brâhmaṇ priest officiating.

There are a number of methods employed to lighten the labour: (*a*) the husband has to go stark naked and fetch water from the junction of two streams. He must take care, when filling the bucket or other vessel with the water, to move it in the water downwards, *i.e.*, in the direction of the current. This water, if sprinkled over the lady, would ease the delivery of the child. So will also any of the following: (*b*) a weapon, that has committed some bloody deed (*e.g.*, a sword or a dagger that has tasted human blood), is kept in the patient's bed ; (*c*) or a piece of a rope, which has been used to hang a man ; hence a demand for bits of the hangman's rope from the jail ; (*d*) or the genital organ of a bear kept under the pillow ; (*e*) a man must steal the iron head-piece of a *moosal* (a big wooden pestle) on a *Somavatî Amâvâsyâ*. From this iron, rings should be made, which, if worn by the woman, would ease her pain ; (*f*) a man must first untie the knot of his *choṭî* (pig-tail), then pick some grass which he must tie with three strands of cotton. These, tied to a woman's waist, are of great effect.

The child's name is determined by the priest according to astrological considerations, though the parents, if so inclined, may give another name of their own selection. This ceremony is usually performed on the eleventh day. The people of the *bradrî* and friends are invited. They bring presents and are feasted.

The umbilical cord is not buried, but is placed outside the house on the top of the door (above the lintel). In some parts of the district it is so placed on the top of the door of the Raja's house (Tahsil, Deputy Commissioner's office, and so forth).

A child dying during infancy is buried, the term infancy being interpreted variously. Some would bury a child if it died before his *Yajñopavit* (investiture with the sacred thread). Others only if it had not eaten any grain (see below). Others again would cremate (not bury) a child if it had grown a tooth.

A woman during child-birth is isolated ; but it seems to be due now not to any idea that it is she who is at that time specially susceptible to infection (as it must have been once) but that she herself is in a state of pollution and untouchable. To protect her, however, from the harmful visits of evil spirits, a fire must be kept alive in her room all the time, and in some places a sword or a dagger kept there as well.

A woman who is *enceinte* must not eat *urd-ki-dal* or green vegetables. Cayenne-pepper and meat are prohibited too. And she must eat only sparingly of salt. After child-birth, too, she may drink only medicated water, and eat *panjri*, a sweet preparation, or boiled rice by itself.

A woman who has given birth to a child must bathe on the 1st, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 11th, and 22nd days of the delivery. Only then will her relations take food or water that has been touched by her. Up to the eleventh-day bath, indeed, even her touch causes pollution ; this extreme strictness is however relaxed after the eleventh day, though none may eat things touched by her until the twenty-second day. The sixth day is however an exception—on that day her touch causes no pollution to men or food. The original reason of these may have been to give a woman absolute rest for eleven days and no task for twenty-two days.

The feeding of the child for the first time or the *anna—prashad* ceremony takes place in the sixth month. The priest and the relations are invited. The child is clothed in new garments, and some rice, cooked in milk, is given to the baby to eat, after the priest has helped the family to worship.

As for twins (two girls or two boys), they have no special significance. But if they turn out to be a boy and a girl, it is considered very inauspicious. In the latter case, too, there is a distinction. A girl followed by a boy, though bad, is not so bad. But if the boy precedes the girl, it is a dreadful scandal indeed, for it is imagined they are really like husband and wife, though born of the same mother.

It must be so arranged that a girl first menstruates while at her husband's home. Menstruating for the first time at her parents' house is an evil to be avoided at all costs, for it would certainly bring ill-luck to her brothers. So if it is suspected that a girl is about to menstruate, she is sent at once (if married, as indeed she usually must be at that age) to her husband's home. If, however, that cannot be arranged, she must be sent away to a friend's house at least.

At her husband's home, a wife's attaining puberty is celebrated very much like the birth of a child. Friends and relations are invited. The husband and the wife together worship the god—and there is feasting.

If the former children of a woman have died, there is a simple method for saving a subsequent one from a similar fate. The child is given away to a *jogi* so that he no longer belongs to her parents' household, and, therefore, escapes any evil fortune connected with it.

The *jogi* gives his *mantram* (the sacred formula) to the child by whispering it in its ear—thus completing the discipleship of the child; and finally, to mark this physically, ties a *rudrâksh* bead round the child's neck. The parents then purchase the child from the *jogi* for money. The *jogi* has to be invited at the *Yajñopavîta* and the marriage festivities of the child, who is often in such cases even called "*Jogia.*"

Marriage Customs.

Polyandry.—Polyandry, though prevalent across the border in Tibet, does not exist among residents of Bhot on this side of the border, though the Bhotiyas are undoubtedly of Tibetan origin. The language has affinities with the Tibetan, and they have the same Mongolian cast of countenance. It may be that contact with the more elaborate social and religious polity of the Indian immigrants from the plains made the Bhotiyas give up this custom. Whatever the cause of the disappearance may be, there is now no trace of polyandry in any shape in the Bhot parganas of Johar, Darma, Chaudas or Bians. I made special and careful enquiries; for, it had been suggested to me by Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, I.C.S., that it may possibly be found in Darma. But in Pargana Askot there is a tribe called the Rajis. They live an uncivilized life in the wilds of Askot and Nepal borderland, and are called *Ban-manas* (men of the wilderness) by the residents. They practise polyandry, though now they deny it when asked specifically. One of these men who denied this before me was asked if he could say that his mother (there present) was not equally the wife of his father and his uncle. The mother and son both kept significantly silent.

As for parentage, the first child is said to belong to the eldest husband, the second to the second, and so on in order, whatever the real parentage may be. There have been various speculations about the origin of this tribe, but nothing has been established definitely yet. They probably represent some of the pre-Aryan inhabitants. Some Tibetan families, that have settled at Khimling (Darma), are of course polyandrous.

Niyoga.—Niyoga was an ancient custom among the Hindus, by which a childless widow often raised a son to her dead husband through the agency of her dead husband's brother, or sometimes a *Ṛishi.* Paṇḍu and Dhṛitarâshṭra, the progenitors of the Pâṇḍavas and the Kauravas, who fought

in the *Mahâbhârata* or Great Battle, were born in this way. The idea was to have a son (*putra*) to offer libations to the dead husband to save him from the terrible hell (*put.*) Hence, (1) Niyoga was allowed only to a childless widow; (2) not more than one son was allowed; and (3) the son belonged not to his real father but to the dead husband of his mother. No trace of this custom in its entirety is found anywhere in India now. But among the Zamindars of Almora district (who are chiefly of Khasia origin), a widow generally becomes the wife of her dead husband's younger brother, and this even though amongst these Rajpûts ordinary widow-marriage is not allowed. But a brother's taking to wife his elder brother's wife is looked upon as a matter of course, and the children of the union are treated as legitimate. And this is a younger brother's special right; for, if the widow goes to live with some other man (as concubine, for remarriage is not permitted), the younger brother can demand payment of the bride-price from the new husband. This custom, however, cannot have been derived from Niyoga, for there is no idea of raising children to the dead husband—the children of the union belong to the begetter, and, therefore, even widows having sons can become the wives of their dead husband's brothers. Nor is union with a stranger permitted as in Niyoga. The custom is far more probably a survival of polyandry, at least in the hills, for the widow does not "marry" the brother—there is no ceremony—but she simply begins to live with him as his wife. And even during the lifetime of her husband, a woman's *liaison* with her husband's younger brother is not visited with the same punishment as with a third person.

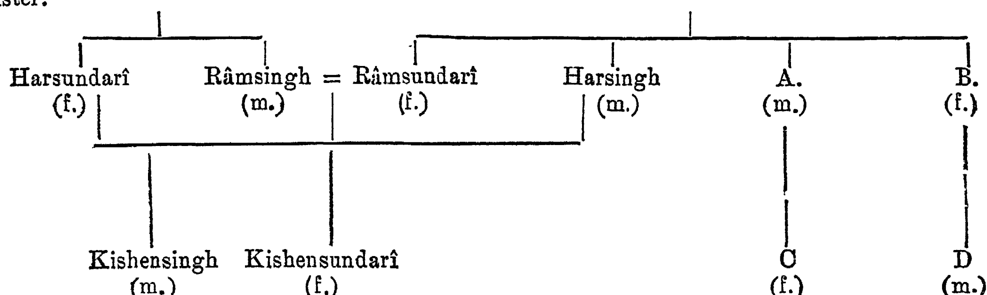
The Doms and the Bhotiyas have somewhat similar customs. In Bians and Darma, where people have free choice in selecting their husbands or wives, a widow cannot marry anybody other than her husband's brother, unless that brother or the members of the family relinquish their right—almost a lien—over her. This they signify by formally giving her a piece of cloth. Then, but not otherwise, the widow is free to marry anybody else she likes.

Marriage by Capture.

In the Eastern Bhot of the Almora District (Parganas Darma, Chaudas and Bians) a modified form of marriage by capture prevails to this day. As said above, these Bhotiyas allow their young men and women to choose their own mates. For this purpose they have in every small village public meeting places (called Rangbang) where young people of either sex meet each other and have opportunities of getting to know each other before choosing their life-partners. Here they sing and dance and feast together almost every night, and a young man who can sing well need not fear rejection. But a disappointed lover does not go and nurse his grief in silence. Having taken some sweets and cooked meat with them, he and his friends lay in wait for the lady, catch her by force, and the lover puts the meat and the sweets in her mouth. No sooner the meat touches her tongue than she becomes his "lawful wedded wife." They then let her go. But no one else can after that marry her, unless the man releases her from the bond by formally giving her a piece of cloth. Often the woman yields after that and goes to live as the captor's wife. Sometimes she declines. Then the captor may or may not release her. I have known several virgin women of this kind who refused to live with their captors, and, who, not having been released, cannot marry any one else now and live a miserable life of forced virginity. In one or two cases I was told the British Law Courts interfered, punished the man and ordered him to let the woman go. "But alas!" say the men, "the magistrate did not order him to give her a piece of cloth as well, for not until then can she be free to marry again." Another variety of marriage by capture exists among the Bhotiyas (according to K. Khadga Singh Pal). A lover tells his sisters who the lady of his choice is. They track her in the fields, on the wild pastures, or on the mountain side, seize her and bring her to their brother's home by force!

Evidence of Matriarchal Times.

There is little evidence of this in the hills beyond the importance of the mother's brother in certain functions. Amongst the Rajpût Zamindars who, as said before, are chiefly Khasias, when people bring an offer of marriage to a girl's father, he asks for a certain price, and a part of it is fixed there and then as *Mama-Jholi*, or the maternal uncle's share in the price of the bride. Later, at the time of the wedding, he too performs the *Kanyâ-dâna* or the giving away of the bride. This would seem to point to times when the mother's brother was the head of the family and the guardian of his sister's children. The Brâhmaṇs (=later Aryan immigrants in the hills) do not have this custom. But allied with this question is the custom of cousin marriages. These are common—nay they are the rule—among the Bhotias of this district. For these I have obtained direct, as well as some valuable indirect, evidence based on linguistic considerations. But before discussing these I shall describe a minor custom, *viz.*, that of marrying one's sister's husband's sister.



(1) If Râmsingh marries Râmsundarî, her brother Harsingh usually marries her husband's sister, Harsundarî. This is the rule among the Bhotias, and is not unknown even amongst the Khas Rajpûts and the Brâhmaṇs of the rest of the district.

Thus Râmsingh's sister, and wife's brother's wife is the same person Harsundarî—accordingly we find (as we would expect) these two relationships denoted by the same word. This word is:—

In Chaudas	*Atâ*	(for elder)	*Bhoolî*	(for younger)
In Bians	*Potâ*	,,	*Ringshâ*	,,
In Johar	*Atâ*	,,	*Bhoolî*	,,
In Almora	*Dîdî*	,,	*Behn*	,,

Thus four different languages confirm the existence of this custom.

(2). It is interesting to look at this double relationship from the offspring's point of view. It would be seen from the diagram that

Kishensingh's { mother's brother, father's sister's husband } is the same person—Râmsingh.

And we find these two entirely different relationships denoted by the same term :—

By Bhotias of Bians *Thangmi*.

By Bhotias of Chaudas *Thangmi*.

This term is not the same for the two relationships in Almora, but in Pargana Katyur of Almora even Rajputs have the same word *Mâmâ* for both mother's brother and father's sister's husband ; or

(3) Again,

Kishensingh's { father's sister, mother's brother's wife, } is the same person—Râmsundarî,

and we find both these relations called by the same term :—

In Chaudas *Chînî*.

In Bians *Chînî*.

(4) Kishensingh is Ramsingh's | sister's son (m. s.)[1] wife's brother's son. |

We find these two relationships denoted by the same term:—

In Chaudas *Bhanj*.

In Bians *Bhanj*.

(5) And finally

Kishensingh is Râmsundarî's | brother's son, (f. s.)[2] husband's sister's son. |

We find these two relationships denoted by the same term:—

In Chaudas *Nunu*.

In Bians *Pij*.

Thus we find valuable linguistic evidence in support of this custom which we know exists all over this district, but which is repugnant to the higher Hindus of the plains of India.

Cousin Marriages.

I take up next the case of cousins. Cousins are of four kinds:—

1. Father's brother's child, *e.g.*, Kishensingh and C.
2. Father's sister's child, *e.g.*, Kishensingh and Kishensundarî or C. and D.
3. Mother's brother's child *e.g.*, Kishensingh and Kishensundarî or C. and D.
4. Mother's sister's child, *e.g.*, Kishensundarî and D.

In the United Provinces, generally speaking, the Hindus make no distinction between these four classes of cousins. They are treated as brothers and sisters. But in the Almora District not only the Bhotias but the Rajpûts and the Brâhmaṇs make a distinction, dividing these four into two groups.

(1) Father's brother's child, *e.g.*, Kishensingh and C.
Mother's sister's child, *e.g.*, Kishensundarî and D.

(2) Father's sister's child, *e.g.*, C. and D.
Mother's brother's child, *e.g.*, C. and D.

(*a*) I shall first deal with the Rajpûts and Brâhmaṇs. They do not have different terms for these groups, it is true. But we find the difference if we look at it from the parents' point of view—we find Harsingh looking upon his brother A's children as his own, Râmsundarî looking upon her sister B's children as her own, denoting both by *chelâ* or *chelî* (the words for son and daughter.) But we do not find Harsingh using these words for his sister's children, or Râmsundarî using these words for her brother's children although the degree of relationship is the same. The Rajpûts and Brâhmaṇs of Almora are unable to give any reason for this difference in the language. Why are a man's brother's children and a woman's sister's children more like their own children than the children of a man's sister or a woman's brother? The explanation, I have no doubt, is to be sought in the (what must have been once prevalent) custom of cousin marriages. The cousins of the first group (father's brother's children, and mother's sister's children) being forbidden, but not the other two cousins—group (2) above. And this would be the reason why two brothers look upon each other's children as their own, and so do two sisters—for these children are forbidden to marry each other. But a brother and a sister do not regard each other's children as their own—for these children can marry each other.

Thus cousins of group (1) Kishensingh and C., or Kishensundarî and D. cannot marry each other.

And cousins of group (2) Kishensingh and Kishensundarî or C and D can marry each other.

(*b*) We find confirmation of this in the Chaudas and Bians dialects. There, too, a man's brother's children, and a woman's sister's children are denoted by the same term as son (*sri*) or daughter (*chamaine*) but a woman's brother's son, and a man's sister's son are not called *sri*, but are denoted by the same term *bhanj*.

1 M. S. = male speaking.

2 F. S.= female speaking.

(c) Then, again, the terms used by the cousins themselves are most instructive. In Chaudas and in Bians,

father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, brother	are called *Yhâ* (brother)

showing that these cannot be married; but

father's sister's son, mother's brother's son,	*i.e.*, marriageable male cousins are called *Chhê* (Chaudas) and *Poâ* (Bians)

showing both these belong to one kind and are different from the cousins *Yhâ* above; and

father's sister's mother's brother's	daughter, (m. s.) *i.e.*, marriageable female cousins, are called *Chhêmain* (in Bians)

showing that these two kinds of cousins belong to the same group. Both are marriageable. I have forgotten what the term is in Chaudas dialect, but I have no doubt it is the same for both. Thus we find that of the four kinds of cousins:

(1) two are forbidden in marriage, and are denoted by the same term as brother (*Yha*), and

(2) two are marriageable and are denoted by the same term:

Poâ (Bians) for males.

Chhêmain (Bians) for females.

That though among the Rajpûts and Brâhmaṇs of Almora cousins of neither class may be married, yet their language from the parents' point of view divides the cousins into the same two groups: those of group (1) are treated as own children, but not so the other two. This possibly points to the existence of such cousin marriages at some remote time. But the Rajpûts and Brâhmaṇs, having adopted the Brahmanical religious code, resent any such insinuation.

An interesting development of the idea that marriageable male cousins are called *Poâ* and marriageable female cousins *Chhêmain*, is seen in the application of the term *Poâ* to all males, who are in marriageable degree of relationship, and whose brothers or sisters have actually been married and, therefore, who are (so to speak) cousins by courtesy. These are

husband's brother (f. s.) sister's husband (f. s.)	= *Poâ*

And the term *Chhêmain* is applied to similar females, *viz.*,

wife's sister, m. s. brother's wife, m. s.	= *Chhêmain.*

There remain only the cousins of the same sex but within marriageable degree, *i. e.*, who, if one of them had been of a different sex, would have been marriageable, and, therefore, whose brothers and sisters have actually married or are marriageable.

These are:—

Father's sister's son (m. s.)
Mother's brother's son (m. s.)
Father's sister's daughter (f. s.)
Mother's brother's daughter (f. s.)
Husband's sister (f. s.)
Brother's wife (f. s.)
Wife's brother (m. s.)
Sister's husband (m. s.)

These all are denoted by the term *Têtê!*

Thus we see that in the Biansi dialect the names for cousins is based upon the idea of marriage. There is one term for the forbidden ones, another for marriageable males (f. s.), a third for marriageable females (m. s.), and a fourth for males and females who would have been marriageable but for the fact that they are of the same sex as the speaker.

In the family given in our diagram Kishensundarî and Kishensingh are, thus, marriageable cousins. Let us suppose them to marry each other. We thus get a triple bond between the couple, s. c.

(1) Kishensingh is Râmsingh's sister's son, wife's brother's son, daughter's husband, m. s.

(2) Râmsingh is Kishensingh's mother's brother, father's sister's husband, wife's father, m. s.

(3) Râmsundarî is Kishensingh's father's sister, mother's brother's wife, wife's mother, m. s.

According to our theory we should expect to find only three terms, one for each of these groups. And as a matter of fact we find all the relations of :—

group 1 called *Phanj.*
group 2 called *Thâṅgmi.*
group 3 called *Chînî.*

Thus affording a beautiful example of the intimate connexion between the language used and the marriage customs of a tribe.

Table showing the terms used for various relationships by the Bhotiyas and the Khasiyas of Almora.

English.	By Khasiyas round about Almora.	By Bhotiyas of Johar.	By Bhotiyas of Chaudas.	By Bhotiyâs of Bians.
1. Father	Bâbâ, Bâjoo, Bâbjoo.	Âpâ	......	Bâ.
2. Mother	Ijâ	Âmâ	......	Nâ.
3. Elder brother (m. s. and f. s.)	Dâdâ, Dâjoo ...	Dâdâ	Yhâ	Yhâ.
4. Younger brother (m. s. and f. s.)	Bhai	Bhûli	By name ...	Nunu.
5. Elder sister (m. s.) ...	Dîdî	Âtâ	Âtâ	Potâ.
6. „ (f. s.) ...	Dîdî	Âtâ	Âtâ	Tâtâ.
7. Younger sister (m. s. and f. s)	Behin	Bhooli... ...	Ringsha ...	Ringshâ.
8. Father's brother, elder	Bara bâp, Thul bâp, Bajoo.	Teva	Tâbâ	Bâbu.
younger.	Kâkâ	Kâkâ	Kâku	Káku.
9. Father's brother's wife, elder brother's.	Jethijâ; Thulijâ; Jethjâ, Thuljâ.	Timain ...	Tamlâ... ...	Pûnâ.
younger brother's.	Kâki	Kâki... ...	Chichi... ...	Chichi.
10. Father's brother's male child (m.s. and f.s.)	Chachera bhai, bhai.	As bhai(3 above)	Yhâ	Yha, if older. Nunu, if younger.
11. Father's brother's female child.	As sisters above ...	As sisters above.	As sisters above.	As sisters above.
12. Father's sister ...	Dîdî, Bûbû, Phûphi.	Anî	Chînî	Chînî.
13. Father's sister's husband.	Bheenâ, (called also Mâmâ in Katyur).	Bheenâ, Peshâ.	Thâṅgmî ...	Thâṅgmî.
14. Father's sister's son...	As 3 and 4 above ...	As 3 & 4 above.	Elder, Chhé., Younger by name.	Tété m. s. Poâ, f. s.
15. Father's sister's daughter.	As 5, 6 & 7 above...	As 5, 6 & 7 above.	......	Chhémain, m. s. Tété, f. s.
16. Mother's brother ...	Mâmâ	Mâmâ... ...	Thâṅgmi ...	Thâṅgmi.
17. Mother's brother's son	As 14	As 14... ...	As 14... ...	As 14.
18. Mother's brother's daughter.	As 15	As 15	As 15	As 15.
19. Mother's sister (elder)	Jethjâ (*cf.*)... ...	Thuli ámá ...	Poo-chichi, Pochi	Pochi.
(younger)	Kainjâ	Nanhi ámá ...	Shen-chichi, Shenchi.	Shenchi.

English.	By Khasiyas round about Almora.	By Bhotiyas of Johar.	By Bhotiyas of Chaudas.	By Bhotiyas of Bians.
20. Mother's sister's husband.	Elder sister's—Jeth bâp. Younger sister's—Kasbâp.	......	Kâkû	Kâkû.
21. Mother's sister's child.	As 10 & 11 ...	As 10 & 11 ...	As 10 & 11 ...	As 10 & 11.
22. Father's father ...	Bûbû (*cf.* 12) ...	Bûbû	Titi	Titi.
23. Father's mother ...	Âmâ	Achê	Lalâ	Lalâ.
24. Mother's father ...	Bûbû, malkota bûbû.	Mapa	Titi	Titi.
25. Mother's mother ...	Âmâ	Munyan ...	Lalâ	Lalâ.
26. Husband	Spoken of as mâlik... but addressed by circumlocution 'father of.......'	Bek, addressed by circumlocution.	Rithi, addressed by circumlocution.	Rithi, Yorashrî, addressed by circumlocution.
27. Wife's father ...	Sasur, shorju ...	Shaura ...	Thângmi ...	Thângmi.
28. Wife's mother ...	Shâshû	Shâshû ..	Chînî, pooni ...	Chînî, poonî.
29. Husband's father ...	Shashur, shorju ..	Shaura ...	Thângmi ..	Thângmi.
30. Husband's mother ...	Shâshu, Jew ...	Shâshû ..	Chînî, pûni ...	Chînî, pûni.
31. Wife's brother ...	Elder, Jethu ... Younger, Sâlâ, but addressed by mame	Jethu ... ... Sala	Chhé, if older than the speaker Addressed by name if younger.	Tete. ......
32. Wife's sister... ...	Elder, shâshû, Jethow. Younger, Sâlî ...	Jeth shâshû ... Sâlî	Chhémain, if older. By name, if younger.	Chhémain. ......
33. Husband's brother	Elder, Jethân ... Younger, Dewar ..	Jethu (*cf.* 31)... Dewar... ..	Chhé, if older...	Poa. ......
34. Husband's sister ...	Elder, Jew ... Younger, Gusiânî.	Pûyû ... .. Younger by name.	Chhémain	Tete. ......
35. Wife's sister's husband	Sarhdharu bhai ...	Sarhubhai ...	Yhâ	Chhârpeo.
36. Husband's elder brother's wife.	Jethâni, addressed as dîdî.	Âtâ	Âtâ	Tâtâ.
37. Husband's younger brother's wife.	Deorânî	Bhûli	By name ...	Ringsha.
38. Son's wife's father ...	Samdhi	Samdhi ...	Chhé	Tété.
39. Son's wife's mother ...	Samdhin	Samdhin ..	......	Tâtâ.
40. Wife's elder brother's wife.	Dîdî	Âtâ	Âtâ	Potâ, Tâtâ.
41. Wife's younger brother's wife.	Nadia behin ..	Bhûlî	Bhûlî	Ringsha.

English.	By Khasiyas round about Almora.	By Bhotiyas of Johar.	By Bhotiyas of Chaudas.	By Bhotiyas of Bians.
42. Husband's sister's husband.	Dada (*cf.* 40) ...	......	......	......
43. Son	Chela, addressed as Bhow, or by name.	Chela	Sri	Sri.
44. Daughter	Cheli	Cheli	......	Chamáin.
45. Brother's son (m. s.) .	Bhatija	Chela	Sri	Sri.
46. Brother's son (f. s.)...	Bhadiya	Bhadiya ...	Nunu	Pij.
47. Husband's mother's elder son.	Jethan, Jethju ...	Jethi	Chhê	Poa.
48. Husband's mother's younger son.	Dewar	Dewar... ...	Pooga... ...	Mase.
49. Husband's mother's elder daughter.	Pooi, addressed as Nanju.	Pooi	Munchi ...	Tete.
50. Husband's mother's younger daughter.	Nanda	Ani	......	......
51. Wife's brother's child.	Sala	Sala	Bhanj	Bhanj.
52. Sister's child (m. s.) ..	Bhanej	Bhanj	Bhanj	Bhanj.
53. Husband's sister's child.	Bhanej	......	Nunu	{ Male child Pij { Female child Pima.
54. Sister's child (f. s.) ...	Chela (m.); cheli (f.)	Chela; Cheli ...	Sri (m.) ..	Sri (m.); Chamain (f.)
55. Wife's sister's child...	Chela	......	......	As 54.
56. Son's son } m. s. or 57. Daughter's son } f. s.	Nati	Nati	Khe	Khwé.
58. Wife	Siâni; Sheshni ...	Sianî	Rithishia ...	Rithishia; Minangshri.
59. Daughter's husband (m. s. and f. s.)	Jamai	Jamai	Bhanj	Mayeh.
60. Son's Wife (m. s. and f. s.)	Buârî	Buârî	Namsia ...	Namsia.
61. Elder sister's husband (m. s.)	Bheena	Bheena ...	By name if addressed younger.	Poa.
62. Elder sister's husband (f. s.)	Bheena	Bheena ..	By name if younger; Pooga if older.	......
63. Younger sister's husband (m. s.)	Jamai	Jamai	Chhe	Tete.
64. Younger sister's husband (f. s.)	Jamai	Jamai	Pooga if older; By name if not	Poa.
65. Elder brother's wife (m. s.)	Bhauji, Bojeo ...	Bo	} Chhémain if older, by name if not.	Chhémain if older, by name if not.
66. Younger brother's wife (m. s.)	Buari	Buari		
67. Brother's wife (w.s.)...	As 65 & 66 ...	As 65 & 66 ...	As 65 & 66 ...	Tete.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 250, Vol. XXXIX.*)

Bangar : *Quercus incana* : Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Ban Kinu : wild mulberry : Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Banta : a metal vessel smaller than the *batolî* for dipping water and drinking from. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Bâo bâja : a camel ailment; the eyes water badly and sometimes the animal cannot raise his head or move his legs. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 306.

Bâpû : father. Cf. *Aga*. Bauria *argot*.

Bâr : the vertical lanthorn wheel on which hangs the *mâl*. Cf. *od*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 160.

Bârâ : a deep square box, usually made of cedar or pine, and holding from 20 to 50 *mans* of grain : built against a wall which forms its fourth side : cf. = Khând or Khândi. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Bâra : low-lying moist land on the edge of a stream, so called because of the *bâr* or hedge put outside it to protect it in floods and from cattle. It is generally sandy but being moist is fairly productive. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Bâra : a cattle-shed. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 120.

Bârâ : a part of a room (separated by a wooden wall) in which rams are kept. Sirmûr.

Bârach, bârch : a hedge-row, beyond a hedge of trees and bushes. Kângra Gloss.

Barajnâ : = *varajnâ*.

Barâra : an agricultural implement : Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Barehi : fallow for a whole year. Kângra S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Bares katû : buckwheat (*Fagopyrum vulgare*). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Barhunî : a thick wood of rhododendron. See under *bûnâr*.

Bari : the wedding presents brought by the bridegroom's father. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 166.

Bâri, Banni : a small grove of trees planted thick. Kângra Gloss.

Barîl, = chîl (*Pinus longifolia*). Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Barolî : a bowl for cooking vegetables and boiling and setting milk. Cf. *hândi*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Barotuwâla : a porter (Kullû). Kângra Gloss.

Baṛṛâ : baṛṛâ.

Baṛṛâ : adj. white-eyed (of a horse).

Barra Badd : a descriptive term applied to a big field in which some crop is standing. Literally a big mow or reap. Kângra Gloss.

Barral : the beam on which the ceiling or floor of an upper room is supported. Kângra Gloss.

Barsaudi : the first anniversary after a death. Kârnal S. R., 1880, p. 138.

Barti : *Panicum brizoide*. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 68.

Barto : a *vand* held rent-free in lieu of military service. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Bâsâ : a house belonging to a State or to a *deota* where grain is generally kept; people also live in a State *bâsâ*. Wherever there is a State land a *bâsâ* is built for the storage of its produce, &c. Simla Hills.

Bâsa : a hamlet, especially if secluded : Nurpur. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), § 22.

Bâsand : fallow rice-land. See under *dhowâr*.

Basantia : a small mango fruit of a yellow colour inside (*basanti*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Basi jâna : to sit. Bauria *argot*.

Bâsi : food cooked the previous evening. Sirsa S. R., 1883, 144.

Bâsi : a house, dwelling-place. Kângra Gloss.

Basîkû : a tenant located on the land. Kângra Gloss. = *Bâsîkû opâhu* (Lyall, p. 45), see *opâhu*.

Basnu: a tenant who lives on the land he cultivates = *basiku opáhu*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), § 40 of Review.

Basoa: a festival held on 1st Bisâkh in Pângî; *i. q.*, Bishû. [This is the common New Year's Day festival—called Bishu in the *villages* in Ravi Valley and Pângî—called Basoa in the capital of Chamba.]

Bâsta: fallow.

Basûti (*adhatoda vasica*): a small rank plant, avoided by cattle, though sheep eat its leaves and goats its skins. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Bât: a footpath or road. Kângra Gloss.

Batâlan: a species of maize. It has a short cob and a small grain, but is said to ripen in two and a half months. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 113.

Batâo: the state of the ground after the *paleo* or rain, when it is neither too wet nor too dry for ploughing. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 170.

Bateo: a traveller; who, if he has no friends in the village, puts up as a matter of course in the common room of the village and receives food and tobacco free. Karnâl S. R., p. 106.

Baterâ: a stone-maker (sic.). Kângra Gloss.

Baṭhaunâ: to cause to sit.

Baṭhṭhnâ: irr. p. part. of *barasnâ*.

Bâti: stony and sandy land. Cf. *pathrâkal*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Bâtkâ: a small metal cup. Cf. *chhana*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 159.

Batokaru: a due paid by shepherds for the passage of flocks through a village, as opposed to *âlokaru*, a toll paid for crossing a swinging bridge: Lâhul: Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 113.

Batoli: a small narrow-mouthed cauldron, made of metal, for ordinary cooking and carrying water to the fields. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Batolna: to collect, gather together. Kângra Gloss.

Battar: (1) the moistening of land by irrigation or rain, necessary to make it fit for plough; (2) the proper time for ploughing land. Kângra Gloss.

Batua: a weed (*chenopodium* album), whose leaves are collected for spinach. Rohtak.

Batwa: a large brass pot. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Batwâl: the village messenger and watchman. Kângra Gloss.

Bâuk: solid anklets. Kârnal S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Bâuka: a small low platform with a saucer-like depression in it, made to a *gyâl* and on an *amâwas*, especially on the Diwâli or *amâwas* of Kâtik; the people pour Ganges water and cow's milk in its saucer, light lamps, feed Brahmans, and dig mud by them. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 149. Cf. *bharokâ*.

Baunch: a thicket or impenetrable place (Dera). Kângra Gloss.

Baurî: *baulî*. See *bain*.

Bâwan: woman. Bauria *argot*.

Bâwani: the lowest stratum which holds the real spring water. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 159.

Bâwar: a second storey. Sirmûr.

Bâwar: a snare with which wild animals are caught. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 110.

Bedî bîâh: a marriage ceremony in the ordinary Hindu form. Kângra S. R., p. 98.

Behi: a spur or small ridge running out from a hill (Gâḍi). Kângra Gloss.

Behî jana: to sit down; *behîjân*, to be seated. Cf. *besnâ*, Kângra Gloss.

Behnddol: see *bahndol*.

Bei, bân or beyn: a small arm or branch of a stream or river. Kângra Gloss.

Bejar: a mixture of barley and *masar*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 75.

Bela : a broad, shallow saucer for drinking hot liquids from. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Belwa : a cup. Sirmur trans-Girî.

Beong : a nick-name. Karnâl S. R., p. 77.

Ber : an embankment. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 406.

Bera : a rope made of crushed cane. Jullundur S. R., p. 102.

Bera : an open courtyard in a house. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 65.

Beran : (1) the culm or seed stem of the *pannî* (*Andropogon muricatum*) grass. Karnâl S. R., p. 13. (2) five culms of the *pannî* grass affixed with cowdung at the birth of a child. *Ib.*, p. 148.

Bairṛa, berṛ : barley and wheat sown in the same field, so any two or more grains—ground together in the *grât* or water mill—are called *berṛ ka ātā.*

Beski : watching the grain from the time it is cut till it is divided between proprietor and tenant. The watchman is called the *beskû.* Kângra Gloss.

Besnâ : to sit. Cf. *behî jânâ.* Kângra Gloss.

Besti : certain days on which periodical services have to be rendered to the Thâkur in Lâhul : Kângra S. R. (Lyall) p. 110.

Betangna : a due or relief payable by a *lâloh* or 'pass-crosser' if he care not to cross a pass during the year : Láhul : Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 110.

Bhâba : the rent or tax of a sheep-run, used in Chumba. Kangra Gloss.

Bhâbar : the *mûnj* of the Punjab Proper. Karnâl S. R., p. 14.

Bhadauria : a mango that ripens in the month of Bhâdon. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Bhaddu : a cooking pot. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Bhadwâî : a cow which has calved in Bhâdon. Jullundur S. R., p. 55.

Bhadwâr : soil in which spring crops are sown, and which has not borne a crop in the preceding autumn. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 193.

Bhagan : a fish (*crossochilus reba*). Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Bhartoli : *chapattis* made of *bhart* flour.

Bhatorû : bread cooked with *amlera* or sour flour to make it rise. All the Pâhârîs eat *bhatôrû* in spring and summer. In winter they generally eat unleavened bread, which they call *poli.* Kângra Gloss.

Bhatrî : a tenant farmer residing in another village. Cf. *hal châk, oprâ* and *dudharchar opâhû.* Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8.

Bhattan, bhakraiṇ : a mallet for clod breaking, also called *kotela.* Kângra Gloss.

Bhed : a ewe sheep ; *lar,* a ram ; *dongwar,* a cut male under four years ; *bikanu* a cut male over four years ; *urnu,* a lamb under six months ; *dotri,* young ewe which has not yet lambed (Gâḍi). Kângra Gloss.

Bhekhal : a kind of bush, not more than 5 or 6 feet high. The fruit ripens in May and people grind its seeds for oil. It is not good eating, but bears like it. Simla Hills.

Bher : an arbitrary division or allotment of a group of fields (= *khûn* and *vand*) in Jaswân and Chinor Kohâsan. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), § 31.

Bhera : a fish (*Barbus chrysopterus*). Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Bhet : a benevolence made in cash by officials and by landholders in kind to the Rânâ at the Ḍîwâlî, Kuthâr. An offering made on appointment to office by a *mahr.* Bilâspur.

Bhet : the barren sloping land on a hill side. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Bhêth, bîthlî : the steep side or bank of a field, plateau or hill. Cf. *bhet.* Kângra Gloss.

Bhikar : clods ; *bhikkar bhândna,* to break clods with a mallet as in rice-fields. Kângra Gloss.

Bhînt : mud walls. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 158 ; *bhint,* a wall. Sirmûr.

Bhisa : a buffalo. Bauria *argot.*

Bhiyâl: a partner. Kângra Gloss.

Bhobriya: a grass (*eleusine flagellifera*). Cf. *ganthîl*, *chîmbar* and *kharimbar*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Bholra: the five small vessels full of water put out at various spots near where a well is to be dug. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 158.

Bhon: a small strong wheel fixed over the well, over which passes the *lâo* (a strong rope). Cf. *châk*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 161.

Bhond: a kind of black beetle destructive to sugarcane. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 81.

Bhondo: a grant of a few *bîgas* of land rent-free for some secular service. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 89.

Bhoṛ: a servant, a dependent or attendant godling, subordinate to a *deotâ*. Simla Hills.

Bhajjî: pl. vegetables.

Bhalâwâ: a drug.

Bhakrain: a mallet=*bhattan*.

Bhâkri: a grass (*tribulus terrestris*) having a little spiked fruit which sticks into dogs' feet very readily. Cf. *gokrû*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 16.

Bhambat: =*bhambaṭ*.

Bhândnâ: to break. See under *bhikar*.

Bhâo: a young boy, whether elder or younger: an elder brother is called Dâd. *Dai* means an elder sister, and *chei*, a younger sister. Simla Hills.

Bhâr, bhârâ, lâhnâ, to marry a daughter.

Bhâr: a sheaf of corn. Karnâl S. R., p. 17.

Bharais: a professional guide. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 33.

Bhárâla: an oven for warming milk. Karnâl S. R., 1880 p. 121.

Bharau: a small hut where water is kept for travellers. Kângra Gloss.

Bharaun: a fee paid to the man who divides the grain between a proprietor and his tenant. Kângra Gloss.

Bharokâ: Cf. *bâuka*.

Bhart: *cenchrus echinatus*. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Bharti: measurement entry or record. Kângra Gloss.

Bhartiya: a metal pot in which liquids are cooked. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 159.

Bharwâ kâ pânî: the rain water let into a *pakka* well to keep its water sweet. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 178.

Bhâsri lagâna: to commit burglary. Ludhiana S. R., 1883, p. 150.

Bhassi: old *chhal* (land which has received a fertile deposit from a stream). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Bhât: wedding presents sent by the bridegroom's maternal relatives. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 165.

Bhatangrû: a man appointed by a *râjâ*, who managed and distributed the *begâr* or forced labour of a *kothî* in Sarâj. Cf. *seok*. Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Bhâti: a giver of *bhât*, *q. v.* ? Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 129.

Bhâti: a rent-free grant to a Brahman. Kângra Gloss.

Bhatona: mad, insane. Kângra Gloss.

Bhator: a name applied to a husband instead of his real name.

Bhûmbhâi: a man who takes a share of another's land. Karnâl S. R., p. 75.

Bhûmia: the god of the homestead. Cf. *khera*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 147.

Bhûmkâ: *s. f.* preface.

Bhûe; adv. loc. of *bhû*, on the ground. Cf. P. Dy., p. 145.

Bhûhâlû: a shed in which chaff, *i.e.*, *bhûsa* or *bhû*, is stored. Kângra Gloss.

Bhuni: a scrub (*anabasis multiflora*), Rohtak.

Bhuja: *sâg* or greens. Kângra Gloss.

Bhukran: a wooden club used for crushing stiff clods of earth. Cf. *kothela* and *bhurota*, also *bhakrain* (M). Kângra S. R., p. 29.

Bhûndo: bad. Bauria *argot*.

Bhûnga: a grazing-fee. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 302.

Bhungeri: a kind of grain the same as *phulan*; Churâh.

Bhunje=bhuneṅ.

Bhûnsla: a harmless snake. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Bhur: a sandy soil. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 6, and Hissâr S. R., p. 16.

Bhurat: a plant which yields a poor grain for man and fodder (*cenchrum echinatum*). Rohtak.

Bhurota: a wooden club used for crushing clods. Cf. *bhukran*.

Bhûrt: a grass (*cenchrus echinatus*). Sirsa S. R., 1883, pp. 14 and 314.

Bhusâri: a long low stack fenced in by cotton stems alone. Cf. *chhân*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 164.

Bhûta: (? **bûta**): cobs, of maize. Cf. *kûkri*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 173.

Biâk: see *bihâk*. Cf. *sândh*.

Bichharṇâ=-ṛṇa.

Bichhla bâsa: a place half-way. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 169.

Biâna: the icy wind met with on the passes at some seasons. Kângra Gloss.

Bida: the third day of a wedding. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 131.

Bigari: rent at so much the *bigha*. Rohtak.

Bîh: a beam. Sirmûr.

Bihâg: dawn; *bârî bihâg*, at early dawn. Kângra Gloss.

Bihâk, bhîyâk, baisâk or baitâk; a place where cattle sit after drinking, or in the heat of the day. Kângra Gloss.

Bihî: a raised place to sit on in front of a house under an overhanging roof; also called *atli*. Kângra Gloss.

Bihotri: a married woman. Kângra Gloss.

Biht: a plank. Kângra Gloss.

Bihul: (*grewia oppositifolia*): a tree. Hoshiârpur S. R, p. 13.

Bîj battâr: recovery of seed with interest, out of the harvest heap; ordinarily it is recovered at the rate of 4 to 3 *tirchoka*, or 5 to 4 *chapancha* on the seed actually sown. Kângra Gloss.

Bîjar: a bull. Cf. *khaggar*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 195.

Bijhîa: an owner of land, as distinguished from a tenant, *opâhû*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 44.

Bîjna: a hand fan. Karnâl S. R., p. 10.

Bijri: a narrow-mouthed basket for keeping small articles in. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Bikanû: a cut ram over 4 years of age. See under *bhed*.

Bikhra: rough, difficult; applied to a road or hill-side. Kângra Gloss.

Bîl: a tree whose leaves afford fodder. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Bil: œgle marmelos: a thorny tree. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 13.

Bilâra: a cat. Bauria *argot*.

Bilrû: the head of a *gharra*, sometimes used as a measure in distribution of canal water. Kângra Gloss.

Bin: coriander (*corianderum sativum*); *i. q.*, *dhania*. Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Bina: the musk deer; *kastûrâ* is also used. Kângra Gloss.

Bind: the thick strong culms of *sarkra* (tiger grass) collectively: used for making chairs, boxes, and screens. Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Bindâik, binnâik: a god. Gurgaon.

Bindhnî: a bride. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 166.

Bindrî: a mat of rice straw. Kângra S. R., p. 44.

Binnâ: a thick mat. See *dhak*.

Bint: a heap of *jharberi* bushes. Karnâl S. R., p. 12.

Biora: detail. Kângra Gloss.

Biotar: married; opposed to *rakhorar*, 'kept.' Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 71.

Bipdâ = biptâ.

Bir: a plot of land; in Kângra the ridge or border of a field. S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Birbahotti: the lady-insect. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 20.

Biṛhdâ = wirdhâ.

Birhî: a fish-hook. Kângra Gloss.

Biṛî: the thread on each side of the leather on the spindle of a spinning-wheel.

Birlâ: scanty, scattered; opposed to *gannâ*.

Birnî torni: weeding the wild rice in a rice-field, or rather plucking its heads when unripe, to prevent the plant from seeding again. Kângra Gloss.

Birthi: a vampire, or sorcerer who takes the shape of a leopard to devour people. Kângra Gloss.

Bishâ: a festival held on 1st Bisâkh in Pângî. *i. q.*, Basva, also Biswâ.

Bishtang: the remuneration of a headman at the rate of 6 pies per rupee of land revenue. Kutbâr.

Bisk: *bishk*, a fee paid to the bride's sister by the bridegroom for allowing him to sit down on reaching her house. Churâh.

Bisudh: adj. unconscious.

Biswâ: see Basôa.

Bita kâma: a farm labourer kept by a proprietor who generally cannot plough owing to age, etc. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 129.

Bitaunâ = bataunâ.

Bithlî: the steep side of a field or hill = *bheth*.

Biyâl: a level grassy plain, generally on a river bank, used in Kulû and Chamba. Kângra Gloss.

Biyan, biyana: a feast given to enable a deceased to join his ancestors used in Jâk Pangi.

Biwâh: a wedding. Bauria *argot*. Example, to-morrow I am going to a marriage = *wahna min biwāhan jāhan*.

Boali: a fish (*wallago attu*). Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Boâra: seed time. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 169.

Boatlû: a species of bamboo, found in upland villages. Kângra S. R., p. 20.

Bobo: sister. Kângra Gloss.

Bodh: see *badha*.

Bohâr, bohr: the garret or room under the roof of a house. Kângra Gloss.

Bolcha, see pharîr.

Bonkrî: a broom. Kângra Gloss.

Boti: a Brahman cook.

Bowâl: (i) a shepherd, (ii) a measure of area, a run in which about 150 sheep can graze. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 43.

Brabbu: the yellow bear: in Kullû called *ratta bâlu or ratta gâi*. Kângra Gloss.

Brâgh: a leopard or panther; *mirg* is also commonly used; but it applies generally to all big game. Kângra Gloss.

Brâs: *rhododendron arboreum*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Briddhi: s. f. increase, growth.

Buâra: a helper, one who helps a fellow-villager and gets food, but no payment, in return. Keonṭhal.

Budhi: unirrigated land with an appearance of sand. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 94.

Bugdi: a variety of tobacco. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 191.

Bugtari: a long coat. Cf. *angarkha*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 155.

Bûji: a name used in addressing girls. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 155.

Bujni: a plain earring. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Bukwâna: stunted straw. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 282.

Bulâhir: a messenger. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 89.

Bulâla: a fish (*bola goha*). Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Bulla marîla: cold winds from north or west which blight crops. Ludhiâna S. R., 883, p. 125.

Bum: a permanent supply of spring water. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 159.

Bûnâr, banâr: (Gadi), a thick oak wood; *barhuni*, a thick wood of the *brâs* or rhododendron; *kelar*, a cedar forest; *khrangrela*, a thicket of snow rhododendron.

Bûndar: broken ears of corn. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 173.

Bûndrâl: matting of rice straw; also *bûndrî*.

Bûndri, bûndrâl: matting of rice straw. Kângra Gloss.

Bunh, bunhê: downwards or below. *Bunh* or *jhik jânâ* is to go down. *Fita chalna* is 'keep along a hillside at the same level.' *Upridâ jânâ* is 'to go up.' In Kullû, *ujeh* is 'above.' Kângra Gloss.

Bûr: a grass (*cymbopogon iwaranchusa*). Cf. *khoî* and *khavî*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Bûr: the flower of *bâjra*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 187.

Burak: a light passing shower (Gâdî). Cf. *megh*.

Burhe: a male spirit which causes sickness. Chamba.

Burri: a man who follows the plough in the furrows. Cf. *mûthi*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 169.

But: stone. Kângra.

Butârâ: a stone-cutter, from *but*, stone. Kângra S. R., p. 41.

Butur: the simplest mode of culture, by sowing the seed broadcast in its natural state. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Châbar: the cover of the stove on which milk simmers. Jullundur S. R., p. 60.

Chachâli: s. f. north-west.

Chachâo; a measure of capacity = $\frac{1}{2}$ *path*: Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Chaddot: a plank to turn off water (Gâdî): see *pântor*.

Chadyâlî: a present made to a widow or divorcée's parents on her re-marriage; ? chhaḍna for chhoṛna to leave or let go. Churâh.

Chagar: much the same as *jabar* (moist low lying land, very good for sugarcane and rice): the principal rice-growing land. Cf. *chhamb* and *pabhan*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Chagreti: a stick by which the *châk* (wheel) of the potter is spun. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 200.

Chahil pahil: = -bahil: jollity. P. Dy., p. 178.

Chahn: ill-drained low-lying land of poor quality, often water-logged. Cf. *dibar*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Chahora : first class rice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Châi chidar : or *chāon-chidrâ*—(fr. *chai*, shade and *chidrâ* boring or entering)—the compound word means that some evil spirit has taken possession of some person and caused fits. Simla Hills.

Chaikan : a diver. Cf. *dabolia* and *dubkia*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 159.

Châk : (1) a small strong wheel fixed over the well, over which passes the *lâo* (a strong rope). Cf. *bhon*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 161 ; (2) a broad shallow earthen pan into which boiled juice of sugarcane is put to cool. *Ibid*, p. 182.

Chakir, chekh : the line of division which divides one man's share of a field from another. Kângra Gloss.

Chakkâ : a brick or slab made of stone, deposited in foundations of a house and worshipped : it is called *wâstû* (? *dâstû*). Kângra.

Chakni : a sort of cover made of pottery. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Chakknâ : = chukkna.

Chakkṅâ : =chakkhnâ.

Chakota : a cash rent taken in a lump sum. Karnâl S. R., p. 105.

Chakpadi : a *devi* who was sneezed out by Brahma in the form of a fly. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 155.

Chakrat : astonished (adj. ?)

Chakru : the *chikor* partridge. Kângra Gloss.

Chalaka : a finer variety of rice, classed as *ziri* not *dhan*, syn. *ramjawain*. Rohtak.

Chaletu, chaleta : the stubble or straw of Indian corn. Kângra Gloss.

Challa : bringing or sending home a wife after marriage. Cf. *muklâwa*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 133.

Challa : the duct from a *kûl* (canal), also=*aula*, *q. v.* Kângra S. R., p. 92.

Challan, *Populus cillata*, the Himalayan poplar. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 42.

Châlri, a small basket without a cover in which bread is usually placed. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Chaman : the golden pheasant; called in books the *chîr*. Kângra Gloss.

Chamb : a variety of land. Gujranwalla S. R., p. 25.

Chambal : a lever-bag. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 406.

Chambh : the high bank or cliff of a river. Kângra Gloss.

Chamkar : leather trousers : see *suṭar*.

Chan : a house, originally applied to a roof of grass ; but in general speech applied to any dwelling house. Kângra Gloss.

Chanât, chinât : a paved road or flight of paved steps down a hill-side ; syn. *okhwâl*. Kângra Gloss.

Châṇdî : (adj.) silver, moonlight.

Chandna rerna : to take out and sift, as is done when grain is taken from the family store-chest preparatory to use. Kângra Gloss.

Chandrî : a boil. Cf. chaṇdarâ, at *P. Dy.*, p. 189 : Siâlkoṭ.

Châng : a ceremony, in which a man stands to the south of a heap of corn and goes round it towards the west, the third and first time and the reverse way the second time. Karnâl S. R., 1880 p. 173.

Changli : a two-pronged wooden hay-fork, syn. *shirni*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Chaṇna : the side or side wall of a house as opposed to *pichwâra*, its back. Kângra Gloss.

Chantegu : a tenant who farms land with plough and oxen provided by the landholder. Cf. *trihâwa* and *atholû*. Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8.

Chanun : a hole made in the border of a field to let out water above a certain depth. (Pâlam) Kângra Gloss.

Châp : the leafless thorny bushes of the *jharberi* tree. Karnâl S. R., p. 12.

Chapancha : see under *bij battâr*.

Châpla : foot and mouth disease. Cf. *monkhar, rora* and *morkhar*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 134.

Chappa mer: a game like 'pitch-and-toss,' played with rounded pieces of potsherd; each player having two, which they throw alternately, the object being to get near a mark, and the winner appropriating little bits of potsherd which are used as counters. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Chaprî: a small pond. Cf. *toba*. Jullundur S. R., p. 58.

Chapta : a fish very like the *mohoo*, and closely allied to it in habit: common and found all the year round, it has a habit of turning over on the surface. A small fish rarely weighing ½lb. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 17.

Chârâ: a silver wristlet—taken off by a bride, and which no married woman can wear. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 128.

Chara : stepping-stones in a stream; also called *peindi*. Kângra Gloss.

Charak chundi: a game which is a combination of the 'whirl-go-round and see-saw'; a bent stick is balanced on an upright post stuck firmly in the ground, a boy gets on each end and they are whirled round by a third. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Charâl: a kind of pulse, only cultivated in poor alluvial lands. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 78.

Charanghâl: lit: 'washing feet': an initiatory ceremony consisting in washing one or both of the initiator's big toes and drinking the water. Jullundur S. R., p. 51.

Charândh: grazing ground. Kângra Gloss.

Charetar: a fuel yard or place where the stock of fire-wood is piled up. Kângra Gloss.

Chaṛî: a staff. Simla Hills.

Châro : antelope. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 124.

Charoli: a round bamboo wicker tray deepening towards the middle. Kângra Gloss.

Charoliya: a stile in the hedge of a field, called *langâna* elsewhere. (Nûrpur). Kângra Gloss.

Charrara: a gelded goat—see under *bakrî*.

Charwi: a large pot. Sirmûr Trans-Girî.

Chatra: a cook-room on either side of the *tamsâl* (open yard in a house). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 120.

Chatrâ: a small basket, holding about 8 *sers*, no cover: Simla S. R., 1883, p. 66.

Chatri: an open basket, syn. *pirktu*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Chatru: a colt: Lâhul. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 111.

Chatt: a stone or wooden trough for cattle to drink out of. Kângra Gloss.

Chatur:= -ar.

Chaubacha: a mode of distributing the produce of land. Hissâr S. R., p. 10.

Chaubârâ: central room. Sirmûr.

Chaudân vidyâ: the 14 kinds of knowledge (all that is to be known).

Chaugandî: four times the sum of the seed corn, in Bangâhal. Cf. *panchgandi*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Chatera : a muzzle made of *nîgâl* or *nargâl*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Chatti: a basket holding about 2 *sers*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Chauk: a yard in a private house, separated from the streets by a wall, and in which the cattle are tied up in cattlesheds, and the women sit and spin. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 120.

Chaukhat: door frame. Sirmûr.

Chaukî bharnâ: the form of worshipping Sultân (Sakhî Sarwar) by sleeping on the ground. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 33.

Chaulâi: seeds of the cockscomb; the cockscomb (*Amaranthus polygonus*). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 157.

Chauntra: a square platform, either large or small.

Chaupâl: a guest-house. Cf. *hathâi*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 176.

Chauri: a yak's tail. It is waved over a chief, a *deota*, or at a bridegroom's ceremony. Chauri-kâ-deo, a chief *deota*, *e.g.*, Koṭ Ishwar in Kumhârsain, as being the Râṇâ's family god.

Chauri: a fresh plastered ground on which the Brahman at a wedding makes a square enclosure of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire of *dhâk* wood, *ghî*, sugar, and sesame: Cf. *bedi*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 130.

Chautâl: a way of selling sugar. It is equal to 3 times 44 country seers. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 99.

Cheb: a turf used to stop a gap in the bank of field, canal, &c. Kângra Gloss.

Chechar: fallow and arable waste land. Cf. *perowty*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 167.

Chei: a younger sister: see under *bhâo*.

Chekh: see *chakir*.

Chela: *banahâta, gur-chele, dharmi, dangarîa*, or = Râ. Cf. Râ-deo in Malâna ? = banahâta, *q v.*

Chelî: 2nd morning meal. Keonṭhal.

Chelî: cheilî, a kid—see under *bakrî*.

Cheorî: wife (Sarâj), see *lârî*.

Chershi: (from *chîn*—'three') any dues collected every third year. Simla Hills.

Chetra: rupees. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 150.

Chetri: cotton sown in March. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 87.

Cheunta: a goad, usually made of *restûsh* and *labair*: Simla S. R., 1883, p 45.

Chhâbu: part of a pent roof. Sirmûr.

Chhahkâ: a disease of cattle in which the body is inflamed and insensibility ensues; *chhahkâ* also appears to be an insect which is said to cause this disease. Gurgaon.

Chikri: a small hoe. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE JOINT AUTHORSHIP OF THE KÂVYAPRAKÂSA.

WE find, at the end of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* of Mammaṭa, a verse which has been interpreted in two ways.[1] Upon this verse Râjânaka Ânanda says that Mammaṭa wrote as far as the figure *Parikara* in the tenth *Ullâsa* and that the rest was finished by Alaṭa,[2] Mâṇikyachandra, Sarasvatîtîrtha and many others say the same. Dr. Stein says: "In order to complete the case for Alaṭa as the name of the continuator of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* it suffices for me to point out that this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of the Kaśmirian Pandits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kâvyaprakâśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar." (Quoted by Col Jacob in J. R. A. S, for 1897, p. 282). Many MSS. read Alaka for Alaṭa. That Alaṭa (or Alaka) had something to do with the *Kâvyaprakâśa* receives striking confirmation from a comparatively early writer. Arjunavarmadeva, who is 13th in the order of succession from Bhôja Paramâra and whose inscriptions have been found with dates ranging from A. D. 1211 to 1216, while commenting upon the *Amaruśataka* twice refers to the double authorship of the *Kâvyaprakâṣa*. On page 29 (of the *Kâvyamâlâ* edition of the *Amaruśataka*), he says: "*Yath-odâhṛitaṁ Dôshanirṇaye Mammaṭ-Alakâbhyâm—'Prasâde vartasva &c.'*" On p. 55, while commenting upon verse 72, in which the expression '*vâyuṁ dadatî*' occurs, he points out that some regard that the employment of the word *vâyu* gives rise to the fault called *Aślîla*; and then he remarks that both the authors of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, who were favoured by the Goddess of speech, generally exhibit a spirit of fault-finding.[3] The *Doshas* (faults or blemishes) of *Kâvya* are dwelt upon in the 7th *Ullâsa* of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*. Arjunavarmadeva's words lead us to infer that **Alaka had a hand not only in the tenth Ullâsa, as said by Ânanda, but also in the 7th.** This, I believe, is a valuable piece of information, coming as it does from a writer who flourished about a hundred years after the composition of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*. Another point that deserves notice is that in the short period of about a hundred years after Mammaṭa, tradition credited him with being the special favourite of the Goddess of speech.

P. V. KANE.

BOMBAY.

[1] *Ity-esha mârgô vidushâṁ vibhinnô'pyabhinnarûpaḥ pratibhâsate yat | na tad-vichitraṁ yad-amutra samyag-vinirmitâ saṁghaṭanaiva hetuḥ.||*

[2] *Kritaḥ Śrî-Mammaṭâchâryavaryaiḥ Parikarâvadhiḥ | prabandhaḥ pûritaḥ śeshô vidhây=Âlaṭasûriṇâ.||*

[3] *Kiṁ tu Hlâdaikamayî-vara-labdha-prasâdau Kâvyaprakâśa-kârau prâyeṇa doshadṛishṭî.*

ORIGIN AND DECLINE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

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IF the Singhalese Chronicle, *Mahâvaṁśa*, could be relied upon, as I think it should be, for the reason that it is not a production of a later age but was a compilation from the accounts preserved by contemporary writers, the first invasion of Ceylon was undertaken by a prince of the Śâkya race, and that he is reported to have entered the island on the very day of the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha[1]. Northern India was just then undergoing a mighty change from the existing system of religious belief, and this, we might safely presume, was not brought about all on a sudden, but was the work of years, if not of centuries. It is on record, and we can well give credence to it, that Buddha, after formulating his new faith, went on preaching and converting the people for a number of years before he attained *nirvâṇa*. The Śâkya race, to which Buddha belonged, could not have been slow to adopt his tenets, and as such, we can reasonably expect Vijaya, who was also a Śâkya by birth, to have carried to Ceylon the new belief and the stirring teachings of the reformer. Vijaya's followers, who could not have been few, as they are reported to have conquered the island by overcoming the Yakshas by whom Ceylon was peopled, may thus be regarded to have shared in the canons of Gautama's new faith along with their leader. It is, therefore, plain that the tenets of Buddhism were known in the island of Ceylon long before the creed spread completely in Northern India and propagated elsewhere. It is believed that till the time of Aśôka, Buddhism did not gain much ground. The missionary efforts of the Maurya emperor contributed not a little to the spread of Buddhism in countries in and out of India. We may say that the several kingdoms of Southern India did not share in the belief of Gautama's faith for a long time, as it does not appear to have extended even throughout the Hindustan during the life-time of its founder. For aught we know, no direct influence was brought to bear upon the several provinces in the Dekkan till the time of Aśôka.

But Buddhism could not have been unknown in the Dekkan, especially in the Pâṇḍya country, long before Aśôka. That there was free communication between this country and Ceylon can fairly be conjectured from the proximity of the two, separated only by a small gulf. In this connection the story of Vijaya's advent into the island, as told in the *Mahâvaṁśa*, is worth consideration. Vijaya, the son of Sîhabâhu, the ruler of Lâḷa (Lâṭa in Gujarât), and born of the princess of Kaliṅga, became lawless and was sent over the sea. He landed in Tâmbapaṇṇi, *i. e.*, the island of Laṅkâ amidst Yakshas and Yakshiṇîs, its original inhabitants. With the help of Kuvêṇi, a Yakshiṇî, Vijaya defeated the reigning king Kâlasêna and his followers. The goddess of the island was Kâḷî. Colonised by the family of Sîhaḷa, the island was named Siṁhaḷa. Vijaya married a daughter of the Pâṇḍava (Pâṇḍya) king of Southern Madhurâ having driven away the Yakshiṇî wife who was subseqently put to death by one of the Yakshas who regarded her as a spy. Vijaya was sending every year a rich tribute to the Pâṇḍya sovereign. This story of Vijaya, shorn of the mythical veil that environs it, means that Vijaya was a powerful invader from Northern India; that he, with the aid of one of the most powerful natives of the island, learnt the weakness of the king of Ceylon, made friends with the neighbouring Pâṇḍya sovereign on payment of an annual tribute, and by taking to wife one of his daughters colonised Laṅkâ with a large number of followers. As the *Mahâvaṁśa* states that along with the Pâṇḍya princess a large number of ladies of that country were sent to serve as wives of the followers of Vijaya, we may regard the colony as a joint colony of Śâkya men and Pâṇḍya women. This early account shows that Ceylon was known to the Pâṇḍyas, and that

[1] The probability of Vijaya being a contemporary of Buddha is also indicated by the fact that Pâṇḍuvâsudêva, the nephew of the former, married a daughter of the cousin of Buddha. It cannot be contended on this account that the contemporaneity of Buddha and Vijaya is established beyond question, especially as there are discrepancies in the chronology of the *Mahâvaṁśa*. But there are sufficient grounds to raise the presumption that Vijaya is not far removed in point of time from Buddha.

their people frequented it in the 5th century B. C. Is it too much then to expect that Buddhism was at least known, if not adopted, by the people of the Pâṇḍya country as the new faith appears to have been carried into Ceylon by Vijaya and his followers?

The person, who is expressly credited in the *Mahâvaṁśa* with having introduced Buddhism in Ceylon, is Tissa, the second son of Mûṭiśiva. On account of his piety he appears to have been known by the name of Dêvânâmpiya Tissa, just as his contemporary Aśôka was known in the north. At the request of Tissa, his maternal uncle Mahâ-Ariṭṭa, one of the greatest statesmen of the day, as the book puts it, went on a mission to the court of the Maurya emperor for fetching a branch of the Bôdhi tree and the sister (*thêrî*) Saṅghamittâ, both of which objects he successfully performed in the 18th year of the reign of Aśôka. As Tissa had previously promised to allow Ariṭṭa to become a Buddhist monk, the latter assumed the yellow robes soon after his return from Pâṭalîputra. For a clear account of the interesting events connected with the arrival of Saṅghamittâ in Ceylon by way of the sea, reference may be made to the *Mahâvaṁśa*. The mysterious way in which Mâhinda[2] is said to have arrived in the island is incredible, and it is not unlikely that he accompanied his sister. If Aśôka and Tissa stand forth prominently as the royal propagators of Gautama's creed, Mâhinda and Ariṭṭa were the chief priests with whose aid they seem to have effected much to spread the faith in the south. The hills dedicated to Mâhinda and Ariṭṭa in Ceylon bear ample testimony to the exalted position held by the two saints. Sûra Tissa (247—237 B.C.), one of the brothers of Dêvânâmpiya Tissa, is said to have built superb *vihâras* at many places, of which one called Laṅkavihâra was at the foot of the Ariṭṭa mountains. Not satisfied with the preaching in Ceylon, the two saints are expressly stated to have gone abroad to make fresh converts. We may, with advantage, quote the passage under reference. It runs thus :—" The five principal *theras* who had accompanied Mâhinda from Jambudîpa, as well as those of whom Ariṭṭa was the principal, and in like manner the thousands of sanctified priests, all natives of Laṅka and inclusive of Saṅghamittâ, the twelve *thêrîs*. who came from Jambudîpa, and the many thousands of pious priestesses, all natives of Laṅka, all these profoundly learned and infinitely wise personages having spread abroad the light of the Vinaya and other branches of faith, in due course of nature, at subsequent periods, submitted to the lot of mortality."

There is nothing to doubt the statement here quoted. The first country that the missionaries from Ceylon could have visited is the Pâṇḍya territory with which, as we have already pointed out, the Singhalese were well acquainted and even connected by marriage ties. We shall now see if there is anything in the Pâṇḍya country to bear testimony to our view.

Since the discovery of a cavern with Brâhmî inscriptions at Marugâltalai in the Tinnevelly district by Mr. Chadwick, I have discovered several similar ones with lithic records of the 3rd century B.C., all in the Madurâ district.[3] Four of these are at a place called Ariṭṭâpaṭṭi in the Mêlûr tâluka, one on the Ânaimalai hills near the insignificant village of Nâraśingam which may be characterised as an ancient Jaina settlement ; one on the hill at Tirupparaṅguṉṟam, behind the village *châvaḍi*, opposite the railway station ; another at Aḻagarmalai and still another at Ammaṇâmalai, which last I was misled to believe to be Koṅgar-Puḷiyaṅguḷam where I learnt there was a Buddhist cavern and which was accordingly termed by me as such. Koṅgar-Puḷiyaṅguḷam was subsequently found to contain another similar monument, and this proves that my information was not incorrect.

More of these caverns were found, one at Mêṭṭuppaṭṭi by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, another at Varichchiyûr by Mr. Vibert and a third at Kîḻavaḷavu by Mr. Venkoba Rao. These monuments are the oldest that the Pâṇḍya country contains, or, for the matter of that, the oldest in Southern India. For a complete description of these caverns reference

[2] Mâhinda is said to have flown through the air from the dominions of the Maurya emperor to Ceylon.

[3] They are noticed in the *Annual Reports* of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for 1906-7, 1907-8 and 1908-9, under "Earliest Lithic Monuments of the Tamil Country."

may be made to Mr. Venkayya's remarks on them in the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1908. As regards the position of one and all of them, Mr. Griffith's excellent note that seclusion from the world and the active business of life was obviously the first essential of the saintly life of Buddhism, as of all ascetic forms of religion, and that the originators of the caves seem to have been influenced not only in the choice of the site, but also by a keen appreciation of natural beauty, and that all the caves are superbly placed with an obvious selection of a noble outlook and perfect seclusion from the world,[4] are well applicable. That during the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, caves were resorted to in India by Buddhist monks is evident from his statement that "three *li* before you reach the top of Mount Gṛidhrakûṭa there is a cavern in the rocks facing the south in which Buddha sat in meditation; thirty paces to the north-west there is another where Ânanda was sitting in meditation when the Dêva, Mâra-Pisuna, having assumed the form of a vulture took his place in front of the cavern and frightened the disciple; going on still to the west they found the cavern called Sṛitapara, the place where after the *nirvâṇa* of Buddha 500 *arhats* collected the *sûtras*."[5] The Buddhist priests of later years than the time of the great founder appear to have followed the same practice, and the hands of the devotees developed the rude natural caves into habitable dwellings befitting their residents. Whether they were primarily designed as the provision for the annual "retreat" initiated by Buddha when it was ordained that the monks were to keep *vassa* and refrain from peregrination during the rains, or were intended to give a cool resort during the hot season, cannot now be easily determined. Besides being watertight, convenient for human habitation and far above any possible accident from the rains and floods of the monsoon, to this day they are agreeably cool even in the hottest weather. The doubt raised in the first part of the passage quoted here, whether the caverns were designed for the annual "retreat" or were intended to give a cool resort, can be cleared from the reply which Mâhinda gave to Tissa when the latter requested the saint to halt in the beautiful garden adjoining his capital on a certain night. The statement[6] of the *thêra* shows that the Buddhist monks were prohibited by the rules of their order to stay even in the immediate proximity of cities or villages, and it also accounts in a way for the necessity for the caverns.

In the general forms of these, *viz*., one boulder overhanging another, a flat one on which it rests at one extremity, in the cutting of the projecting rock to a certain depth in order to prevent the rain water from gliding into the cavern, in the existence on the bottom boulder (1) of smoothly chiselled beds with a slightly raised portion for the head, just sufficient for a man to lie down, (2) of the groove immediately in the outer fringe of the cave quite below the cutting on the upper rock for carrying away the drippling of the rain water to a distance, (3) of big holes cut on the open yard intended perhaps for fixing poles or railings, and (4) of a number of smaller holes for other works of protection—in all these details the caverns of the Pâṇḍya country resemble those in Ceylon, which are assuredly Buddhistic in their character. As Ariṭṭa and his followers, together with Mâhinda and several others, are reported in the *Mahâvaṁśa* to have gone abroad to propagate the Bauddha religion, and as several caverns are found in the vicinity of a place called Ariṭṭâpaṭṭi (the village of Ariṭṭa), it might be presumed that this place was the first settlement of the Singhalese apostle Ariṭṭa of the 3rd century B.C. Whatever might have been the origin of Buddhism in other parts of the Dekkan, it was in all probability introduced into the Pâṇḍya territory from Ceylon, mostly after the 18th year of the reign of Aśôka. It is also likely that even in earlier times Buddhist influence was felt in the Pâṇḍya country, as its people appear to have had frequent communication and even marriage connection with the early colonisers of Ceylon in the 5th century B.C.

[4] Ajanta Paintings by Mr. Griffith, Introduction. [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Mahâvaṁsa*, Wijesiṅha's translation, p. 54.

We shall now note the evidences relating to the influence of Gautama's faith in other parts of southern India. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the middle of the 7th century A.D., and who in about A.D. 640 was at Conjeeveram, which he describes as the capital of the Drâviḍa kingdom, Kâñchî is as old as Buddha, Buddha converted its people, Dharmapâla was born there, and Aśôka built several *stûpas* in its neighbourhood. He declares that the Jainas were very numerous in his day, and that Buddhism and Brâhmaṇism were about on a par.[7] It might be that the pilgrim has simply recorded what the people had to say regarding the origin of Buddhism in the place; but as representing the belief or tradition of the 7th century A.D., the account is very valuable. We are not in a position to test the correctness of that part of his statement which connects Buddha with Kâñchî. It is not improbable that Aśôka built *stûpas* near that city. Among the countries to which this Maurya emperor sent missionaries, are mentioned Mahishamaṇḍala, Vanavâsi, Aparânta and Mahâraṭṭa.[8] These are either partially or wholly in the Dekkan. Mahishamaṇḍala is indentical with the modern Mysore State. It is called in ancient Tamiḷ literature *Erumaiyûr*, a term which appears to be an exact rendering of the Sanskṛit Mahishamaṇḍala. Vanavâsi was the capital of the Kadambas, and we know that their kingdom was on the borders of that of the Pallavas. Mahâraṭṭa or Mahârâshṭra perhaps included some districts round Poona, and Aparânta contained the dominion of Koṅkaṇ whose southern position must have embraced several districts of the Dekkan on the west coast. In his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, Varâhamihira locates the Aparântakas in the western division and Vanavâsi in the southern. It may be noted that Buddhism counted followers in Koṅkaṇ till a very late period. The rock edict of Aśôka discovered at Siddâpura in the Mysore State proves that there is no exaggeration in the reported mission to that place. We cannot determine whether *stûpas* were erected at Kâñchî as stated by Hiuen Tsiang, but it may be presumed that the influence of the Maurya emperor's missionaries to Mahishamaṇḍala and Vanavâsi was felt at Kâñchî. This being the case, we are naturally inclined to look for monuments of the description we find in the Pâṇḍya country in other parts of the Dekkan. Strange to say they are totally absent both in the Chôḷa and the Pallava dominions.[9] Perhaps future researches may bring to light some of them. The Tamiḷ poem *Maṇimêgalai* refers to a large Buddhist monastery at Kâvirippûmpaṭṭiṇam, the ancient capital of the Chôḷas. When that city was destroyed by the sea, the people are said to have removed themselves in a body to Kâñchî, where also there were several monks of high order and some Buddhist temples. Two Chôḷa sovereigns named Toḍukaḻar-kiḷḷi and Tuṇaiyiḷaṅkiḷḷi are mentioned in the book just referred to, as the builders of a Buddhist *chaitya* (*śêdi*) at Conjeeveram.

Two celebrated Buddhist monasteries, the Pûrvaśilâ and the Aparaśilâ *Saṅghârâmas* at Dhanyakaṭaka (*To no ku tsia kia*) *i. e.*, Amarâvatî, are mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[10] All through his route the pilgrim was shown an abundance of Buddhist monasteries. Some of them were in a flourishing condition while others showed signs of decay. It may be noted that this Chinese traveller has referred to another monastery named *Polomolokili* built by *So to po ho*.[11] The correct rendering of these two names seems to be Paramarakkhita and Śâtavâhana. The names Rakkhita, Mahârakkhita and Dhammarakkhita occur very often among the early missionaries of the Bauddhas,[12] and it is not unlikely that the monastery referred to by the pilgrim was called after one of Aśôka's apostles sent to propagate the faith in Mahishamaṇḍala, Vanavâsi and Aparântaka. If this be the

[7] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 176.

[8] *Mahâvaṁsa*, p. 46.

[9] In the South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts, similar caverns with stone beds and steps cut on the rock are reported to exist. The steps provide for an approach to the cavern. As there are no lithic records, it is not possible to say when they came into existence. Neither is it easy to determine if originally they were the abodes of Buddhist or Jaina monks. That Jainism counted numerous followers in the South Arcot district is clear from the references in the Tamil *Dêvâram*. It is said that Palghaut was once a flourishing Buddhist centre, but the truth of this statement remains yet to be verified.

[10] Above, Vol. VII., p. 6, footnote 5.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 4, footnote 4.

[12] *Mahâvaṁsa*, p. 46.

case, it also suggests where we should look for the monument. We know that the powerful kings of the Sâtavâhana dynasty flourished at the commencement of the 2nd century B. C. and advocated the Bauddha faith. To their exertions we owe one of the most exquisite and elaborate works of art, *viz.*, the Amarâvatî *Stûpa*. The Ândhra kings of the Sâtavâhana line held sway over several parts of the Dekkan such as Dhânyakaṭaka in Krishnâ, Chitaldrug and Shimogâ in Mysore and Kolhapur, Paiṭhaṇ, *etc.*, on the western side, where their coins and inscriptions have been traced.[12a] It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that under the Sâtavâhanas, who were ardent Buddhists, Buddhism gained ground in those parts of southern India which had acknowledged their rule. Something about the state of Buddhism in the south is also found in the writings of Fa Hian the predecessor of Hiuen Tsiang by three centuries. Though he himself did not visit the Dekkan, he has recorded what he probably gathered from his enquiries. His interesting note on the splendid rock-cut monastery of five storeys with 1,500 cells,[13] situated 200 *yôjanas* to the south of Benares, shows what stronghold the religion of Gautama had on the people of the Dekkan. Rev. Mr. Foulkes writing on this says:—"There seem to be some considerations in Fa Hian's description which lead to the conclusion that the king of the country or some previous ruler or rulers of this kingdom was a patron of Buddhism, if not himself a Buddhist. It is scarcely probable that a colossal work of art, like Fa Hian's rock-cut monastery, could have been undertaken by any one but a powerful, rich and prosperous king; or rather considering the time which such a work would require for its completion, by a succession of such kings. And it is similarly improbable that a costly and everlasting monument of this description would have been so undertaken, unless the king or kings had religious convictions in harmony with the object for which such a magnificent building was constructed.[14]"

It is thus evident that at a certain epoch there were Buddhists throughout the Dekkan. What contributed to the spread of that religion in the south, besides the missionary efforts of the Maurya emperor, Aśôka, and the Singhalese king, Tissa, of the 3rd century B. C., was probably the migration of the Pallavas and the Guptas from their northern homes, which took place in the early centuries of the Christian era. That the early members of the Pallava dynasty could have been Buddhists might be inferred to a certain extent from the fact that they had Aśôkavarman among their mythical ancestors. One of the Chôḷa kings named Kiḷḷi, who married the Nâga princess, Pîlivaḷai, the daughter of Vaḷaivaṇaṉ, appears to have been a Buddhist, as he is reported to have been hearing the discourses of a Buddhist priest at Kâñchî. The account given in the *Maṇimêgalai*, regarding the fortunes of the child born to this Nâga princess, coincides with what is regarded of Toṇḍaimân Iḷandiraiyan, the earliest ancestor of the Pallava kings. It is not unlikely that there were several kings in the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya country, who professed the religion of Gautama, but all their names have not come down to us.

We must not omit to mention the probability of there having been Jaina influence side by side with that of Buddhism. As Sir Alexander Cunningham puts it, both these sects were branches of one stock. Dr. Hamilton and Major Delamain have proved that Gautama of the Jainas and of the Bauddhas is the same personage. As Gautama of the Jainas has left no disciples, it has been correctly presumed by these writers that 'Gautama's followers constitute the sect of Buddha with tenets in many respects analogous to those of the Jainas or followers of Sudharma, but with a mythology or fabulous history of deified saints quite different. Both have adopted the Hindu pantheon or assembly of subordinate deities; both disdain the authority of the Vêdas, and both elevate their pre-eminent saints to divine supremacy. To show that the canons of belief of the Jainas and Bauddhas are in several respects identical, and that the gods of the former are represented

[12a] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X., p. 291 and Vol. XV., p. 357.

[13] Above, Vol. VII., p. 2, footnote 2, quoted from Beal's translation.

[14] *Ibid*, pp. 3 and 4.

in almost the same way as Gautama Buddha, we have no less an authority than the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang of the seventh century A. D. He says:—"The Jainas have built a temple of the Gods. The sectaries, that frequent it, submit themselves to strict austerity, day and night they manifest the most ardent zeal without taking an instant's rest. The law that has been set forth by the founder of this sect has been largely appropriated from the Buddhist books on which it is guided in establishing its precepts and rules. The more aged of the sectaries bear the name of Bhikshus; the younger they call *Chamis* (Śramaṇa). In their observances and religious exercises, they follow almost entirely the rule of the Śramaṇas. The statue of their divine master resembles by a sort of usurpation that of *ju lai* (the Tathâgatha); it only differs in costume; its marks of beauty (*Mahâpurusha-lakshaṇâni*) are exactly the same."[15] This passage, from the writings of the Chinese traveller, clearly shows that the two sects of the Jainas and the Bauddhas should be regarded as branches of one and the same. Curiously enough the Singhalese Buddhists recognise twenty-four Buddhas prior to Gautama, and this number is exactly the same as that of the Tîrthaṁkaras of the Jainas. Here, then, is an additional ground for the belief that the Gautama of the Jainas and of the Bauddhas is the same person. As there is very little difference between the two sects, and as Buddha himself appears to have been the disciple of the Jaina Mahâvîra, it can be easily gathered that the two faiths flourished side by side for centuries, some people professing to be the followers of Gautama Buddha, while others adhered to the original Jaina creed.[16]

The Maurya emperor Chandragupta is believed to have spent the latter part of his life in southern India, having settled himself at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State. He is said to have accompanied the great Jaina teacher Bhadrabâhu, whose disciple he was, in his migration to the Dekkan. Bhadrabâhu with a number of followers went to the Pun-nâḍu country, where he died. Though the account of Chandragupta's settlement in the Mysore territory cannot be asserted authoritatively yet it may be noted that the story receives some strength from the discovery of the rock-cut edict of Aśôka at Siddhâpura alluded to above. The edict establishes beyond question that the dominion of the Mauryas extended so far south. At the end of the 2nd century A. D., the Jaina priest Siṁhanandi settled himself in another part of Mysore. The princes Daḍiga and Mâdhava, belonging to the solar race, are said to have followed this priest, and ruled the kingdom whose capital was Kôḷâla (see page 9, Mysore and Coorg in the *Imperial Gazetteer* Volumes.)

Though the names of those kings who adopted Buddhism in southern India has not come down to us, we have on record that many of those were Jainas. Some of the kings of the Pallavas of Kâñchî, and a few of those of the Pâṇḍya country, not to say of the western Châlukyas, the Gaṅgas and Râshṭrakûṭas, were staunch Jainas, and one or two even went the length of persecuting other religionists—a very rare thing in Indian history. It is this attitude in the rulers that appears to have been one of the causes for the application of the destructive axe at the root of these religions. We know from the inscriptions of the western Châlukya kings, Pulakêśin II., Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya II., that they favoured the Jaina faith by executing repairs to temples and granting villages to them.[17] The Pallava king, Mahêndravarman, was an avowed Jaina in the earlier part of his reign. The early kings of the Râshṭrakûṭas were Jainas, and the records of Amoghavarsha I., dated in Śaka years 765, 775 and 799, register provisions made for Buddhist communities by his feudatories[18]; but the king himself was a Jaina king, a disciple of the famous teacher Jinasêna.

The spread of the Jaina faith in southern India belongs in no small measure to Samantabhadra, who is said to have visited Kâñchî, to Akaḷaṅka who is credited with having defeated several Buddhists in disputation, to Vidyânanda and Mâṇikyananda, whose contributions to Jaina literature, like those of their two predecessors, are not few; to Prabhâchandra, the pupil of Akaḷaṅka, who appears to have lived prior to A.D. 750; to Jinasêna, the preceptor of the Râshṭrakûṭa king

15 *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 16.

16 The views expressed in this paragraph will hardly be countenanced by the scholars of the present day.—D. R. B.

17 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 191.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 404—405.

Amôghavarsha I, and to his pupil Gaṇabhadra, contemporary of Krishṇa II.[19] Maṇḍalapurusha, the disciple of Gaṇabhadra is the author of the Tamiḻ metrical dictionary (*nigaṇḍu*) compiled about the 9th century A.D. Several purely Jaina works in Tamiḻ are preserved to this day and they show that at a certain period Jaina influence was very strong in southern India. Among these may be mentioned *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, *Chûḷâmaṇi*, *Mahâpurâṇam* and *Mêrumandirapurâṇam* and the like. Contributions to general Tamiḻ literature by Jaina authors are also not rare.

One of the most powerful Jaina teachers celebrated in Jîvakachintâmaṇi is Ajjaṇandi. Inscriptions of his have been found in the Mêlûr, Periyakuḷam, Palni and Madurâ tâlukas of the Madurâ district, and indicate the extent of territory over which his influence was felt. According to one of these records Guṇamatiyâr was his mother's name[20]. At the time of the Śaiva saint, Ñânasambanda, there were several Jaina teachers, and their names are preserved in one of his hymns on Tiruvâlavây,[21] where it is also said that Âṇaimalai (6 miles from Madurâ) was one of the several places of Jaina settlements. The names mentioned in the hymn are Śandusêna, Indusêna, Dharmasêna, Kandusêna, Kanakanandi, Puṭpanandi, Pavaṇanandi, Sunaganandi and Guṇaganandi.

Inscriptions[22] found in the Pâṇḍya country show that Kuraṇḍi-Ashṭôpavâsi was a famous Jaina priest who had for his disciples Kanakanandi, Guṇasêna, Mâgaṇandi and Ariṭṭanêmi. Two records make Kanakanandi the disciple of Kuraṇḍi Ashṭôpavâsi. Three generations of pupils of Kanaka are noticed in a Kîḻakkuḍi inscription,[23] and they are Abhinandana-Bhaṭâra I, Arimaṇḍala-Bhaṭâra, and Abhinandana-Bhaṭâra II. The second disciple Guṇasêna's pupils[24] were Ariṭṭanmâsêna, Kaṇḍaṉ-Porpaṭṭaṉ, Araiyaṅgâvidi, Kanakavîra-Periyaḍigaḷ and Vardhamâna-Paṇḍita. The disciple of the last mentioned individual was Guṇasêna-Periyaḍigaḷ. We have not yet known if Mâgaṇandi and Ariṭṭanêmi, the other disciples of Kuraṇḍi-Ashṭôpavâsi, had left any followers. The names of the other Jaina priests mentioned in inscriptions are:—Śântavîra, pupil of Guṇavîra, who renewed the images of Pârśva-Paḍârar (Pârśvanâtha) and the Yakshis in the Aivarmalai Cave in Śaka 792 (= A.D. 870)[25]; Puvvaṇandikuratti, the female pupil of Paṭṭinakuratti[26]; Indrasêna, Mallisêna, Tiṉaikkḷattâr, Dharmadêvâchârya, pupil of Kanakachandra-Paṇḍita, Iḷaiyapaḍârar and Chandranandi-âchâya.[27] Jainas seem to have prospered well in the North Arcot, South Arcot, Madurâ and Tinnevelly districts and in the Mysore State, where we find a number of temples of Jaina Tîrthaṁkaras and the names of Jaina monks in charge of them. *Periyapurâṇam* alludes to the destruction of several structural monuments of the Jainas at Cuddalore by the Pallava king Mahêndravarman, who, it is said, built a shrine to Śiva at Tinuvadi.

Favoured and nurtured by the south Indian kings, Buddhism and Jainism appear to have had a career of prosperity for a few centuries, along with the Śaiva and Vaishṇava forms of Hindu religion. Buddhism appears to have received the first check in its growth from the hands of the Jaina teachers, who seem to have been numerous in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. Both Tamiḻ and Sanskrit literature clearly point to the triumph of the Jainas over the Bauddhas. If Samantabhadra and Akaḷaṅka stand forth as the vanquishers of the Buddhists in one part of the country,

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19 Pp. 407—408 of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II.

20 No. 64 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1910. Two distinguished Buddhist teachers name Guṇamati and Sthiramati are reported to have flourished in the 6th Century A. D., at Vallabhi in the Surâshṭr country (Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 272).

21 Tiruvâlavây is Madurâ.

22 Nos. 61, 62 and 68 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1910.

23 No. 63 of the same collection.

24 Nos. 65, 66 and 69 of the same and 330 of the Collection for 1908.

25 This took place in the reign of the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Varman (*see* No. 705 of the Epigraphical Collection for 1905.)

26 Nos. 67 to 74, 691 and 699 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905 and Nos. 238 and 239 of 1904.

27 Nos. 239 and 367 of the Collection for 1904 and 67 to 74 of 1905.

we have clear references in ancient Tamil̤ works of the same period, or a little later, to the disputations between the Jainas and Buddhists in other parts of the Dekkan, with varying results. But without proper leaders and with the withdrawal of the royal support, Buddhism seems to have declined gradually after the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. The few that still adhered to it met with further discomfiture at the hands of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava reformers. The disappearance of Buddhism in southern India is unparalleled in the history of any country or time.

It now remains to trace out the causes that led to the decline of Jainism. At this remote age it is not possible to put down chronologically all the forces that worked for the removal of this sect from the country. So far as southern India is concerned, our aim shall be to collect the evidence bearing on the subject, and in this direction we shall have to refer to the literature of the country, that being the main source of getting any reliable information on the point.

There are evidences here to show that corruptions had gradually crept into the two creeds by their contact with people of various customs and methods. Its original purity seems to have been tainted in the course of years by the introduction of undesirable changes which necessarily called forth vehement denunciation. At first, missionary agencies were resorted to for expounding the tenets of the religions and for showing the superiority of the principles inculcated in them. When men embraced the faiths, they did so not out of any compulsion, but from an open conviction. The later followers, not content with the number coming into their fold, seem to have thirsted after conversion; and they appear to have done it by the application of unwarranted influences, such as persecution through officers of State. Number, not faith, seems to have been their aim. Accordingly, people groaned under oppression and looked forward for the appearance of able supporters of their cause, who would not only defend them but expose to the world the inconsistency between the life led by the oppressors and the belief to which they adhered. Time calling forth, produced men of the stamp of Ñânasambanda, Tirunâvukkarasu (Appar) and Sundara among the Śaivites, Nammâl̤vâr, Madhurakavi and Tirumangai among the Vaishṇavites, the great *advaita* philosopher Śaṁkarâchârya and Mâṇikkavâchagar. These men were of no mean merit. Their works show that they were all scholars with wide sympathy for their followers, and of undaunted spirit and high learning, pre-eminently fitted to be the leaders of their community.

The brightest period in Tamil̤ literature is what belongs to the 8th century A. D. and the latter half of the 7th, enriched as it is with thousands of stirring hymns uttered without the slightest effort by a number of men of saintly character, who by their piety and good works are deified as *avatâras* of celestial beings at the present day, in this land of hero-worship. Their utterances soon acquired sacredness, and provisons were accordingly made by the Dravidian kings for singing their hymns in temples.[28] The practice continues to this day, and does not fail to move the heart of the hearers. The appearance of even one of them would have been sufficient to revolutionise the land. What a world of effect the joint efforts of no less than eight of them produced, all in the course of a century and a half, can better be imagined than described. The age of Appar and Ñânasambanda is indicated by the fact that their contemporary, Siṟuttoṇḍa, was the general of the Pallava king who conquered Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi in the Bombay Presidency). Inscriptions attribute this feat to Narasiṁhavarman I. (A. D. 648). Tamil̤ works say that Appar lived to a considerably old age, and that the Pallava king of his time, giving ear to the evil counsel of his Jaina adherents, is said to have persecuted at first the saint when he reverted to the Śaiva creed[29]; but the credit of having converted that Pallava sovereign belongs to no other. This was Mahêndravarman, son of Narasiṁ-

[28] One of the inscriptions of the Chôl̤a king Râjarâja, I (A. D. 985-1013), found at Tiruvîl̤imil̤alai and several others traced in other places, provide for the singing of the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns in temples. An epigraph discovered at Elavânâśûr in the South Arcot district registers grants made for the recital of Mâṇikkavâchagar's celebrated song *Tiruchchâlal*.

[29] Some of the hymns of Appar relate his sufferings at the hands of the Jainas and the Pallava king.

havarman I. He is known to have been a Jaina in the earlier part of his reign, and to have adopted Saivism at the end.[29] Thus, one of the most powerful kings of southern India felt the overpowering influence of the times.

The marvellous fame of the comparatively young saint Ñânasambanda was established in the land by his converting the Pâṇḍya king of the day, Kûṉ-Pâṇḍya or Sundara-Pâṇḍya, an uncompromising Jaina, and by his completely vanquishing the foremost leaders of the Jaina faith in religious discussions. Thus, both in the Pallava and the Pâṇḍya countries, where Jainism was rife, the kings were turned Saivites and the leaders of the latter creed did their utmost to show their religion to the best advantage.

Later in point of time was Sundaramûrti-Nâyaṉâr. Invited by the Chêra king Sêramân-Perumâḷ-Nâyaṉâr, he visited Tiruvañjaikkaḷam (Cranganore on the west coast) which was the capital of the Chêras and several other places in the Koṅgu country. He is said to have enjoyed the friendship of the three kings of the south, *viz.*, the Chêra, Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya. In company with them, Sundaramûrti visited a few places of southern India.

Soon after the three saints, appeared Mâṇikkavâchagar[31] and Saṁkarâchârya. The former was a minister of the Pâṇḍya king. He is said to have defeated the Buddhists in controversy at Chidambaram, but it may be noted that the advocates of the Bauddha faith came from Ceylon for the purpose of holding the disputation. Saṁkarâchârya was born in Malabar, but his energies were directed chiefly to northern India. Kumârilabhaṭṭa, a learned Brâhmaṇ of Bêrâr, is said to have confuted the Buddhists of the west coast.[32]

The time of the three Âḻvârs has been definitely made out.[33] They belonged to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. and seem to have held high position in life. What Ñânasambanda and Appar are to the Saivites, Nammâḻvâr and Tirumaṅgai are to the Vaishṇavites of the south. The hymns composed by them are equally stirring. Madhurakavi was the minister of the Pâṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyan and Nammâḻvâr was the magistrate of the town of Âḻvâr-Tirunagari in the Tinnevelly district. It is easy to conceive the amount of influence they might have brought to bear on the people.

The conversion of the Pallava and the Pâṇḍya kings by Appar and Ñânasambanda, respectively, seems to have dealt a fatal blow to the Jaina faith in the Tamiḻ country. It will be admitted on all hands that State patronage in any scale whatsoever favours the growth of art or religion, and the withdrawal of it must necessarily tell on their advancement. As the Chôḷa king of that period was a Hindu, the whole of the Tamiḻ country professed Hinduism at the time.

Under the circumstances narrated above, it is quite unreasonable to expect that other sects would thrive in such a soil. Besides the royal conversions, the saints attended by thousands of followers performed tours to places of pilgrimage which were distributed throughout the Dekkan, sung hymns and expounded the greatness of the Hindu religion. If it is also remembered that Appar, Ñânasambanda and Saṁkara and a few of the Âḻvârs had established *maṭhas* in various

29 Mahêndravarman excavated the beautiful rock-cut cave of Siva on the Trichinopoly hill.

31 Opinions differ as regards the date of Mâṇikkavâchagar. While some place him in the 9th century A. D., others think that he must have flourished long prior to the three Dêvâram hymnists.

32 Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. I., p. 76. [I wonder whether there is better evidence for this than that of a mere tradition.—D. R. B.]

33 Tirumaṅgai-Âḻvâr was the latest of the three Vaishṇava saints. In his hymns, he mentions two Pallava kings, *viz.*, Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Vayiramêgan and describes the military achievements of the former. If the saint was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and of Vayiramêgan, he must belong to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. *Kôyiloḻugu* states that Madhurakavi set up an image of Nammâḻvâr at Tirunagari, and that the three Âḻvârs were contemporaries. The proper names of Nammâḻvâr and Madhurakavi suggest that the former must have been the father of the latter. As Madhurakavi appears to have died some time prior to A. D. 769-70, if Tirumaṅgai was his contemporary, there is every likelihood of the latter having lived in the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

parts of the country to continue the work begun by them, it will be readily conceded that there was not much scope for Jainism or Buddhism to gain ground in southern India. The fact that Saṁkarâchârya, though born in the south, mostly worked in the north, might perhaps be taken to show that already during his time the two heretical faiths were on the high road to decline in the Dekkan by the loss of the hold they had on the Dravidian kings.

The *maṭhas* already alluded to are a living institution in southern India, even at the present day. Those of the *advaita* philosophy are found in many a place; and three or four of them have succession lists of their pontiffs, dating back to the originator—and living representatives of great ability and vast learning. At present there is a *maṭha* of Śaṁkarâchârya in the Mysore territory with Śringêri as his headquarters and another at Śivagaṅga in the same province. A third extends its spiritual sway over the ancient Pallava and Chôḷa dominions with its seat at Kumbhakôṇam. Ñânasambanda's *maṭhas* are also found in several towns. Those found at Dharmapuri, Tiruppattûr and Tiruvâḍuturai are perhaps reminiscences of the *maṭhas* originated by one or the other of the three Śaiva saints. While Hinduism made such rapid strides with powerful exponents, the two other creeds, having lost royal support and without proper votaries to advance their cause, seem to have died a natural death in the course of a few years after the 9th century A. D., except in Mysore.

The longevity of these sects in the Kanarese country was rather great as the kings of that place, *viz.*, the Western Châlukyas and the Hoysaḷas, seem to have fostered them till a late period. The extirpation of the Jainas in this tract of land is in a measure due to the rise of the Liṅgâyat or Vîraśaiva creed in the 12th century A. D. Two of the foremost leaders of this sect were Baśava and Chenna-Baśava. An account of their triumphant disputations with the Jainas is found in the Baśava-purâṇa. The king, who supported their cause, was the Western Châlukya Jayasiṁha II, who is said to have been converted to the Śaiva faith by his wife's spiritual *guru*, Dêvaradâsa. This person is also credited with having defeated the Jainas in disputation. The most powerful advocate of the Liṅgâyat sect was a certain Ekânta Râmayya. About this time Râmânuja, one of the ablest Vaishṇava reformers, who lived at the end of the 11th and the earlier part of the 12th centuries A. D., converted the Hoysaḷa king, Biṭṭi of Dvârasamudra, to Vaishṇavism, stayed for a number of years in Mysore and performed a tour of pilgrimage. These were briefly some of the causes that led to the decline of Jainism in the Kanarese country.

In this paper, I have attempted to show that Buddhism was in all probability known in the Pâṇḍya country a few centuries prior to the time of Aśôka, but that during the reign of the Siṅghalese king, Tissa, it counted several followers there, through the efforts of Ariṭṭa and those who accompanied him; that Buddhism was introduced in several other parts of the Dekkan from northern India by the missionary influence of Aśoka; furthered by the Gupta or Śâtavâhana and Pallava migration in the 1st century A. D., it gradually spread throughout southern India; that Jainism also dated back to the same period; that the votaries of the latter creed put a permanent barrier to the growth of the former in the 7th and 8th centuries; that the rise of the Śaiva saints, the Vaishṇava Âḻvârs, the *advaita* philosopher, Saṁkarâchârya, and Mâṇikkavâchagar and their peregrinations throughout the Dekkan, the establishment of the *maṭhas* by almost all of them which continue their work even to the present day, effectively removed the two religions from southern India in the course of a few years after the 9th century A. D.; and that Jainism continued for three more centuries in Mysore and was stamped out by the Liṅgâyat rising and the advent of Râmânuja in the 12th century A. D.

TRIVIKRAMA AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

BY BHATTANATHA SVAMIN, VIZAGAPATAM.

The Prâkṛit grammars most familiar to the pandits of South India are the *Prâkṛitaprakâśa* of Vararuchi and the grammars of Trivikrama school. Of these the pandits give preference to the latter as they treat of six dialects, whereas the former treats of only four. Before proceeding to consider the appropriateness of their giving preference to the latter, I mean to give a short account of the chief works of the latter school.

The well-known works of Trivikrama's school are :—

I. Trivikrama's *Vṛitti*, the first *Adhyâya* of which was published in the *Granthapradarśin* of Vizagapatam.

II. *Prâkṛita-Maṇidîpa* of Appayya Dîkshita. A portion of the work was published in the said *Granthapradarśinî*.

III. *Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ* of Cherukûri Lakshmîdhara. It is printed in Telugu characters in Mysore, and is now being published in the Bombay Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit series.

IV. *Prâkṛitarûpâvatâra* of Siṃharâja, son of Samudrabandhayajvan. It is published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (Prize Publication, Vol. I).

These four works comment on the same *Sûtras*, the last three changin their original sequence and the first without that change. Some attribute these *Sûtras* to Vâlmîki, while others to Trivikrama. But let us now consider the opinions of some of the notable men, past and present.

Lakshmîdhara, the author of *Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ*, attributes them to Vâlmîki in the following verse :—

vâg-devî jananî yeshâṃ vâlmîkir=mûla-sûtrakṛit ।
bhâshâ-prayogâ jñeyâs=te shaḍ-bhâshâ-chandrik-âdhvanâ ॥

Prof. Hultzsch, after indulging himself in a discussion covering two pages, thinks at the end that his own interpretation of the following verse is far-fetched, but adds : "At any rate, I hope to have proved that the *Sûtra* to which Trivikrama alludes was the Vâlmîki *Sûtra*, and that he was the author of *Vṛitti* alone, but not of the *Sûtra* itself."

prâkṛita-padârtha-sârtha-prâptyai nija-sûtramârgam-anujigamishatâm ।
vṛittir-yathârthasiddhyai trivikrameṇâgama-kramat-kriyate ॥

Here *nija* means *sva*. If not, we shall have to attribute, on a similar ground, *Kârikâvalî* to another writer and not to Viśvanâthapañchânana, for he also says : *nija-nirmita-kârikâvalîm*. But Prof. Hultzsch says that Trivikrama, being a southerner, might have used the word in the sense "proper, real or true." But I could find no Indian poet using the word in that sense; and I think that no number of references to Dravidian dictionaries will support his position for no Sanskṛit poet as a rule uses a Dravidian word in his composition either separately or in compounds.

Moreover, Prof. Hultzsch refers to the words *adhika-mâsa* and *nija-mâsa* of a year to his support. Evidently, the Professor is under the wrong impression that *nija* in the latter word means "real." Far from this being the case, it means, again as I say, "its own." *Nija-mâsa* means the "year's own month," while *adhika-mâsa* means an extra or inserted month. Thus the evidence of a poor *pañchâṅgam* (Panjika) also goes against him. Therefore, wherever it may occur, the word *nija* is always synonymous with *sva*, in Sanskṛit. Thus the word *nija* alone, which cannot but mean "his own," stands as a great authority to prove that Trivikrama was the author of *Sûtras* as well as *Vṛitti*.

Again, Prof. Pischel is said to have interpreted the verse in two different ways, taking the word *nija* to mean "their own" or "his own," and referring it to the genitive *anujigamishatâm* and to the instrumental *Trivikramena*. I suspect if Prof. Pischel himself understood his own first interpretation.

I do not risk to stand on the strength of the authority of this *nija* only, however strong it may be, as the learned Editor has done, but give some other reasons equally strong to prove my statement that Trivikrama alone and not Vâlmîki is the author of the *Sûtras*. In the following *śloka*, which is found at the end of *Trivikrama-vritti* :—

sapratyaya-prakriti-siddham=adîrgha-sûtram
satkârakam bahuvidha-kriyam=âptadeśyam ।
śabdânuśâsanam=idam praguna-prayogam
traivikramam japata mantram=iv=ârtha-siddyai ॥

how can *adirghasûtram* be a compliment to his work if the *sûtras* were not his own? Moreover, Trivikrama says that he is composing the *Sûtras* himself in the following *ślokas* :

deśyam=ârsham cha rûdhatvât svatantratvâch-cha bhûyasâ ।
lakshma nâpekshate tasya sampradâyo hi bodhakah ॥
prakriteh samskritât sâdhyamânât siddhâch=cha yad-bhavet ।
prâkritasy=âsya lakshy-ânurodhi lakshma prachakshmahe ॥

Here the verb in the first person (*prachakshmahe*) clearly states that the author of the *Sûtras* is the author of the *Vritti*. Again, it has been pointed out by the late S. P. S. Battanâthâchârya Âryavaraguru that the *Sûtras* in Trivikrama's order (their original sequence) form *ślokas* in *Âryâ*, and, in a few cases, in *Anushtubh* metre. It is only for the metrical construction the author had to change the old *paribhâshâ*, and create a new one in some cases. The following will convince us regarding the metrical construction of these *Sûtras*:

siddhir-lokâch châ, nuktamanyaśabdânuśâsanavat,
samjñâ pratyâhâramayî vâ, sup-svâdir-antyahalâ,
ho hrasvo, dir-dîrghah, śashasâhuh, sah samâsa, âdih khuh,
go ganaparo, dvitîyah phuh, samyuktm stu, tu vikulpe"
"*latas-tiptâvichech, sipthâs sesi mir-mibitau, ihijhau*
ntinte ire, dhadhvam-itthâhachau momuma masmahiñ."

Thus it is clearly seen that the attribution of the authorship of the *Sûtras* to Vâlmîki is unfounded; as the ancient poets, like Vâlmîki and Vyâsa, were not familiar with the metre, *Âryâ*, and no instance of such a metre occurs in their well-known epics. Evidently Prof. Hultzsch seems to have been led away by the tradition given in Prof. Rangâchârya's *Madras Catalogue* (page 1083, No. 1548) attributing the *Sûtras* to Vâlmîki. The author of *Shadbhâshâchandrikâ* seems to have originated the tradition—for before him no poet attributed these *Sûtras* to Vâlmîki—having observed somewhere the reading—evidently a wrong one—*prâchetasa-hemachandrâdyât* for the original *prâchyair-â-hemachandram-âchâryaih.*

So I am of opinion that Trivikrama was the author of the *Sûtras*, and agree with Prof. Pischel, in so far that Trivikrama drafted the text in accordance with Hemachandra's grammar. But Trivikrama made some improvements on Hemachandra. He uses the well-known *samjñâs* of Pânini, all through, except in a few cases where the metrical construction did not allow. And these new *samjñâs* here and there were explained by the author himself and also by Prof. Hultzsch in his preface to *Prâkrita-rûpâvatâra*.

The adoption of Pânini's *samjñâs* made his *Sûtras* more concise, and the metrical construction of these *Sûtras*, which has been referred to before, enables the students to memorise them more easily than the isolated ones of Hemachandra.

Another difference between Trivikrama and Hemachandra is that the former, unlike the latter, classified and divided his work into three *adhyâyas* or twelve *pâdas*. In the *Vṛitti*, which is also closely allied to that of Hemachandra, Trivikrama gives also the Sanskṛit equivalents of the Prâkṛit quotations, and he criticises Hemachandra in some places (See I, ii., 5; I, iv., 79). Moreover, Trivikrama includes *deśî* words in his grammar, deriving a great many of them from Sanskṛit. The aphorisms *vâpuâyyâdyâḥ*, *gahiâdyâḥ*, *&c.*, are composed specially for this purpose. This derivation of *deśî* words from Sanskṛit is at least interesting to modern philologists, although they do not completely accept the view.

Trivikrama was a follower of the Jaina religion, as is evident from the opening verses of his *Vṛitti* which invokes *Śrî-Vîra*, and it is also stated therein that he was the pupil of Arhanandi Traividya-deva, and belonged to Vâṇasakula. He was the son of Mallinâtha and Lakshmî and grandson of Âdityaśarman or Âdityavarman. Trivikrama had a brother Soma, who was said to be a great scholar in prosody. He may be identified with the author of the same name, who wrote a commentary on *Vṛitta-ratnâkara* (*cf. Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I., p. 597). As to his time, Prof. Hultzsch says: "The time of Trivikrama can be settled only within rather wide limits. He quotes Hemachandra, who lived in the 12th century, and he is quoted in the *Ratnâpaṇa* of Kumârasvâmin, who belonged to the 15th or 16th century. Consequently Trivikrama has to be assigned to about the 13th, 14th or the 15th century." But I am of opinion that Trivikrama must be assigned to a date before A. D. 1400, for Trivikrama's aphorisms were quoted by Kâṭayavema in his commentary on *Śâkuntala*. Kâṭayavema was the brother-in-law of Kumâragirirâja, who composed his *Vasantarâjîya* about A. D. 1400 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 327). Again, it will be shown below that Siṁharâja, the author of the *Prâkṛita-rûpâvatâra*, another gloss on the *Sûtras* of Trivikrama, must have lived about the year A. D. 1300. So we may say that Trivikrama flourished about, or before, the middle of the 13th century.

In some manuscripts of Trivikrama, *va* and *ba* are interchanged, and Lakshmîdhara justifies him by saying *vabayor=abhedaḥ*. This fact, I think, is incompatible with the view that Trivikrama was a southerner, and creates a suspicion in me whether he might not be a northerner. But Mr. R. Narasimhachariar, of the Archæological Department, Mysore, says (in a letter to my brother): "Trivikrama appears to have been a native of Southern India, judging from the names of his father (Mallinâtha) and brother (Râma). He was most probably a Digambara, as he mentions Arhanandi as his *guru*. Arhanandi occurs in several inscriptions at Śravaṇ Beḷgoḷa, which is a celebrated Digambara place of pilgrimage." But I fear that the names Mallinâtha and Râma (or Soma) may not prove the author to be a southerner, for we hear of such names as Mallisheṇa in the north as well; and if Trivikrama were a Digambara would he refer to Hemachandra as an *Âchârya*, who was of the Śvetâmbara sect? And it seems that there were more Arhanandins than one, for we hear of an Arhanandin in the 10th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 177-192).

II.

Now let us consider the second work *Prâkṛita-maṇidîpa*. In the following verse, which is the eleventh of the opening ones, the author Appayya Dîkshita pretends to attribute the work to Chiṇabommabhûpa.

anugrahâd=brâhmaṇa-puṅgavânâm-avâptavidyaś=chinabommabhûpaḥ ।
karoty=amuṃ prâkṛita-ratnadîpaṃ mand-ânila-spanda-nibhair=vachobhiḥ ॥

But the colophon clearly states that the author was not Chinabommabhûpa, but Appayya Dîkshita, and it runs as follows:—

" . . . . *chokkanâtha-bhûpâla-priyasachiva* . . . . . *china-bommabhûpa-hṛidaya-kamala-kuhara-viharamâṇa-śrî-sâmbaśiva-preritena appayya-dîkshitena kṛite* . . . . "

So it appears that Appayya Dîkshita promised Chinabommabhûpa to publish the work under his name, perhaps accepting some remuneration, and not finding his nature reconcilable to the idea, he inserted his own name at the end. In his *Dîkshitacharita*, Śivânandayogin says that Appayya Dikshita was born in 1554. It is evident from page 149 of the second volume of "Oriental Historical Manuscripts," translated by W. Taylor, that Appayya Dîkshita was the contemporary of Muttutirumalai Nâyakar, king of Madurâ, and was invited by the latter to his court in 1626. We do not hear of him any more after that date.

Chinabommabhûpâla, therefore, must have belonged to the same period, being, as he was, the contemporary of Appayya Dîkshita; and Appayya Dîkshita says in the colophon that Chinabommabhûpa was the minister of Chokkanâtha (the lord of southern ocean) and Prof. Hultzsch identifies him with either of the two Nâyakas of Madura, who bore that name.

At the request of the same Chinabommabhûpa, Appayya Dîkshita wrote a commentary on the *Nîlakaṇṭhabhâshya* and named it *Śivârka-maṇidîpikâ*. Prof. Hultzsch thinks that this Chinabommabhûpa should be distinguished from the Chinabommabhûpâla, who was said to be the author of *Prâkṛita-maṇidîpa* at the beginning of the work. But I see no reason why the two should not be identical.

We also learn from *Prâkṛita-maṇidîpa* that Appayya Dîkshita wrote three more works on Trivikrama's aphorisms: *Vârtika*, *arṇava* and the *bhâshya*. The *vârtikas*, quoted in the present work, might have belonged to his first work. References to *bhâshya* are found throughout the work. The whole matter of the work, including that of the *vârtikas, etc.*, is contained in Trivikrama's work. But it is doubtful whether the reverse is true. The present author refers to *Pushpavananâtha* as a Prâkṛit grammarian. But we know nothing as to his time or his works. This, as well as the two following authors, shape the Prâkṛit words cited by them according to the *Sûtras*, but do not apply the *Sûtras* to forms already existing in the language. This shows that they are not good masters of the language and they depended entirely on the *Sûtras*.

III.

Coming to the third work, *Shaḍbhâshâ-chandrikâ*, which is the most popular of the set, the author, Lakshmîdhara, was a Telugu Brâhmaṇ of Kâśyapagotra and Ṛigvedin. He belonged to the Cherukûri family. He is quoted in Appayya Dîkshita's *Prâkṛita-maṇidîpa*, and he quotes Singabhûpâla's *Rûpaka-paribhâshâ*, a chapter of *Rasârṇava-sudhâkara*. This Râvu Sarvajña Singamabhûpa was an ancestor of the present prince of Venkatagiri and flourished in A. D. 1330.

Lakshmîdhara also wrote a few other works. His commentary on the *Gîta-Govinda* is entitled *Śrutirañjanî*. It is evident from this work that he commented on *Prasanna-Râghava*. The late Prof. Seshagiri Śâstriar, taking into consideration only the latter fact, says: "The drama *Prasannarâghava* was composed in the early part of the 16th century, and the commentator, Lakshmîdhara, must belong to a later period." But since Appayya Dîkshita quotes the commentator, both authors must be assigned a date prior to that of Appayya Dîkshita. Lakshmîdhara after a time became a *sanyâsin*, and wrote a commentary on *Anarghya-Râghava* called *Ishṭârtha-kalpavallî*.

The following few lines of Prof. Hultzsch from his third report are very important, and it will not be out of place to quote them here: "The *Srutirañjanî*, a commentary on *Gîtagovinda* is ascribed to Tirumalarâja I of the third Vizianagara dynasty. The Tanjore Palace Library contains two copies of the same commentary, one of which (No. 6672) has the same beginning as our manuscript (No. 2112), while the second (No. 6671) professes to have been composed by Lakshmaṇasûri, a worshipper of Dakshiṇâmûrti, and younger brother of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa of Cherukûru. He was evidently the actual author, and Tirumalarâja his patron. Lakshmaṇasûri is identical with Lakṣmîdhara, the author of *Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ*." We know from certain inscriptions that Tirumalarâya was reigning until 1574 or 1577. His reign begins from 1565 or 1568. But *Srutirañjanî* seems to have been written in the reign of his brother Râmarâja (1541-1565). Lakshmîdhara, who was his contemporary, must have belonged to the same period and composed *Shaḍbhâshâchandrikâ* in Appayya Dîkshita's youth or a little before him.

IV.

One more work remains, and that is *Prâkṛita-rûpâvatâra*. The name suggests that the work might have been composed as an appendix to Dharmakîrti's Sanskṛit *Rûpâvatâra*.

As Trivikrama's authorship of the *Shaḍbhâshâsûtras* has been proved above by me beyond all doubt, it seems evident that Siṃharâja, the author of the *Rûpâvatâra*, must have belonged to a later date, and as such, might have made use of Trivikrama's work. Prof. Hultzsch after expressing his despair at the impossibility of fixing Siṃharâja's date from external evidence, proceeds to fix it from internal evidence, and says, "Siṃharâja mentions the Eastern (*pûrva-vyâkaraṇa-prakriyayâ ṭak sak kvib-iti vyavahâraḥ* XII, 42) Kaumara and Pâṇinîya grammars." This interpretation of *pûrva* as "eastern" does not reflect favourably upon Oriental scholars.

But, I think, Siṃharâja's date can be fixed more easily in another way. Siṃharâja's father was Samudrabandhayajvan and he refers to Ravivarmadeva, author of *Pradyumnâbhyudaya* as his contemporary. Mr. T. Gaṇapati Sâstrin, in his preface to *Pradyumnâbhyudaya*, asserts on the authority of three inscriptions that Ravivarmadeva was born in A. D. 1265. Siṃharâja, therefore, must have belonged to the last few years of the 13th and the early years of the 14th century.

The last three authors, unlike Trivikrama, were Hindus, though they preferred to comment upon the work of a Jaina. These authors seem to have no clear conception of the difference between the two schools of Prâkṛit grammar, Brahmanic and Jaina. This misconception, which arose very early, was the cause of the groundless attribution of the *Sûtras* to Vâlmîki. In the same way, two other Hindu pandits have written in accordance with Hemachandra's grammar, *viz.*, Seshakṛishṇa, author of the *Prâkṛita-chandrikâ*, and Hṛishîkesa-sâstrin. This is the cause of the preference which the present pandits of our land give to this school. But none of these books apply to Prâkṛit forms found in the Sanskṛit dramas, *Gâthâsaptaśatî*, *Setubandha*, and other works. The other set of grammars, including *Prâkṛita-prakâsa*, with its many commentaries, *Prâkṛita-kalpataru* of Râma Tarkavâgîśa, *Saṃkshiptaasâra* of Kramâdîśvara, *Prâkṛita-sarvasva* of Mârkaṇḍeya, &c., only is concerned with them. So this latter set of grammars is more important for practical purposes, and claims greater attention than the others.

So in order to understand the structure of the Prâkṛit found in Âryan or Sanskṛit works, we must have recourse to the latter set, leaving the other one, which is concerned only with the Jaina works written in their peculiar Prâkṛit. So I wish the old order soon changes, giving place to the new.

THE DATE OF MADURAIKKANCHI AND ITS HERO.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

Maduraikkâñchi is one of the collection of ten stanzas or idylls which goes by the name of Pattuppâṭṭu[1]. The authors of these idylls are popularly regarded as belonging to the learned academy (*śaṅgam*) of Tamiḻ poets of Madura, and the work is, therefore, classed among the productions of that body of eminent scholars. This is gathered from the verse which mentions Pattupâṭṭu along with others of its kind.

The peculiar feature of this collection is that the stanzas contained in it are completely void of poetical embellishments, and display but little of the imaginativeness of the authors. Like the writings of the foreign travellers and ambassadors such as Fa Hian, Hiuen Tsiang, Megasthenes, Al Beruni and Nuniz, the poem under reference contains minute observations on the state of the country; the tribes and races by whom it was peopled; their ways, manners and customs; the various professions and occupations of the people; their religious rights, festivities, sports and pastimes; the products and manufactures of the territory; the chief imports and exports; the works of fortification raised by the ancient Dravidian kings round their capital cities against the attacks of enemies; the procedure adopted by them in war; the strength of their forces and such other interesting facts. It is thus an invaluable guide to the history of the times to which it relates.

The poem, like the rest of the collection, is written in chaste and high class Tamiḻ. The author of it was Mâṅguḍi Marudaṉâr.[2] Evidently Marudaṉâr was his name and Mâṅguḍi was the place whence he hailed. This place is perhaps identical with the village of the same name in the Tanjore district[3]. It may be noted that Marudaṉâr figures in the list of 49 posts of the last *śaṅgam* whose names are preserved in the *Tiruva-Unvamâlai.*

The poem is ably annotated by the veteran Tamiḻ scholar, Nachchiṉârkkiniyâr.[4] The time of both the author and the commentator is not indicated anywhere in their writings; but there is not the slightest doubt that the latter lived at a considerably later period, while the former could have almost been the contemporary of the king, in whose praise he composed the poem.

Maduraikkâñchi was sung in honour of the Pâṇḍya king Neḍuñjeḻiyan, whose military exploits it records. He gained a victory at Talaiyâlaṅgâṉam against two great kings and five chiefs.[5] He is also said to have captured Nellûr. Among the king's ancestors are mentioned Vaḍimbalamba-niṉṟa Pâṇḍiyan[6] and Palyâgaśâlai-Muḍukumi Peruvaḻudi.[7] The latter of these is considered to have won lasting fame by his adherence to men learned in ancient lore, whose wise counsel he always sought and followed, and by the performance of Vêdic sacrifices.

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[1] The names of the ten idylls are contained in the stanza:
Murugu Porunâṟu Pâṇ-iraṇḍu Mullai
Perugu-vaḷa-Maduraikkâñchi—Maruv-iṉiya
Kôla-Neḍunalvâḍai Kôl-Kuṟiñji Paṭṭiṉa
Ppâlai Kaḍâttoḍum pattu.

[2] That Marudaṉâr of Mâṅguḍi composed the poem is learnt from the note added at the end of the commentary of Nachchiṉârkkiniyâr. It is worthy of note that Mâṅguḍi has supplied one of the flourishing sects of Tamiḻ Brâhmaṇas of Southern India.

[3] This village is near Ayyampet Railway Station of the S. I. R.

[4] He appears to have been a resident of Madura and to have belonged to the Bhâradvâja-*gôtra.*

[5] Southern India appears to have been divided into three great dominions, *viz.,* those of the Chêra, the Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya. Five smaller principalities also existed. They were ruled by the *Tidiya,* the *Iruṅgôvêṇmân,* the *Porunan,* the *Erumaiyûran* and the *Eḻini.*

[6] This king is not mentioned by name in the poem, but it is the commentator that gives it.

[7] This sovereign is also mentioned by other authors. The title *Palyâgaśâlai,* assumed by him, shows that already during his time, which must be placed about the 6th century A. D., Vêdic sacrifices were largely performed in Southern India.

The ancient Tamiḻ literature of southern India, contained in such valuable works as Puṟanâṉûṟu, Pattuppâṭṭu, Iṟaiyaṉâr Agapporuḷ, the commentary on the last, *etc.*, which mention a number of kings and their military achievements, clearly points out that the three great kingdoms of the Dekkan, *viz.*, the Chêra, the Chôḷa and the Paṇḍya appear to have been at feud with one another and the extent of their dominions varied from time to time. When one of these powers was in the ascendant, the other two seem to have held insignificant positions. At the time when the Pâṇḍya king Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ was holding the reins of government, his territory extended over a considerable portion of southern India. Tiruppati on the north, the two seas on the east and the west and Cape Comorin (*Kumari*) in the south formed the boundaries of his kingdom.[8] If this boundary is correctly given, the territories of the Chêra and the Chôḷa ought to have been very limited. There are reasons to suppose that the Chôḷas confined themselves to the Cuddapah and a few of the Telugu districts. It is not unlikely that the Chôḷas of this period are represented by those kings whose names are traced in the Telugu country.[9] They might even have been the allies of the Pallavas.[10]

The poet Marudaṉâr does not mention the names of the Chêra and the Chôḷa kings with whom the Pâṇḍya Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ fought at Talaiyâlaṅgâṇam. But it is not difficult to trace them. Some of the verses[11] of *Puṟanâṉûṟu*, an equally trustworthy work, are sung in praise of the Chêra king Yâṉaikkaṭchêy-Mâṇḍarañchêral-Irumboṟai, who was the lord of the Kolli Mountains, who rescued the village of Viḷaṅgil, and ruled the Toṇḍi port. He is said to have been captured by the Pâṇḍya king Talaiyâlaṅgâṇattu-Śeṟuveṉṟa-Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ, and was subsequently set at liberty. His (yânaikkaṇ) Chôḷa contemporary was Râjasûyamvêṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi with whom he is said to have fought a battle. The Chêra king of the time was Śêramâṉ Mâveṉkô.[12] Thus the two kings defeated by Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ at Talaiyâlaṅgâṇam appear to be the Chêra Mâveṉkô and Yâṉaikkaṭchêy and the Chôḷa Rajasûyamvêṭṭâ Perunatkiḷḷi. Another Pâṇḍya king of the same period was Kâṇappêr-Eyil-kaḍanda Ugra-Peruvaḻudi, who is considered as one of the Pâṇḍya kings of the last *saṅgam*.[13] If this Ugra-Pâṇḍya is different from Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ of Talaiyâlaṅgâṇam fame, he must have been his immediate successor.

There is not much doubt as to Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ being a historical personage. The Śiṉṉamaṉûr copper-plate charter,[14] before it begins to give the genealogy of the Pâṇḍyas and the events connected with some of them, mentions the achievements of their ancestors. Some of them are fictitious, but there is no doubt that a few others are credible facts. These are the defeat of the two kings at Talaiyâlaṅgâṇam, the establishment of the academy of Tamiḻ poets, and the translation of the *Bhârata*. The Vêḷvikuḍi grant,[15] which is much earlier than the Śiṉṉamaṉûr plates, preserves the name of Palyâgaśâlai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi. From the way in which he is here spoken of, it appears that he was the last of a line of the Pâṇḍyas. The Kaḷabhras are said to have occupied Madura for a time, and the honour of getting back the kingdom rested with Kaḍuṅgôṉ. This name again is not unfamiliar to students of Tamiḻ literature. We know that the first *saṅgam* ended in his reign. The Vêḷvikuḍi grant furnishes the names of seven kings from Kaḍuṅgôṉ, the last of them being Jaṭilavarmaṉ. The identity of this king with Parântaka Śaḍaiyaṉ, in whose reign the rock-cut temple of Narasiṁha-Perumâḷ in the Ânaimalai hill was excavated, is apparent from the fact that both the records mention Madhurakavi as the minister of the Pâṇḍya sovereign. The date

8 The northern boundary is given as the big mountain which the commentator takes for Mount Mêru, certainly a wrong identification. In all likelihood, Tiruppati is intended by the poet. Other writers have fixed Vêṅgaḍam as the northern limit of the Tamiḻ speaking districts.

9 For the names of a few of them see *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-8. The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the middle of the 7th century A. D., seems to locate his *Chu-li-ye* somewhere about the Cuddapah district. The Pallavas, were at this time, strong in the Chingleput, the North Arcot and the South Arcot districts. As further south was under the sway of the Pâṇḍyas, the Chôḷas must have confined themselves to the Cuddapah district, where their inscriptions are actually found. That they had completely lost possession of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts can, to some extent, be inferred from the fact that Vijayâlaya, who founded the revived Chôḷa dynasty in the 9th century A. D., had to capture Tanjore (from some enemy).

10 This is suggested by the fact that the father of Toṇḍaimân Iḷandiraiyaṉ was a Chôḷa king, and that the Chôḷas did not play any significant part in history during the time of Pallava supremacy.

11 Puṟam 17, 20, 21, 59, 125, and 229. 12 *Ibid.* 367. 13 *Ibid.* 21 and 367.

14 *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907, Part II, p. 64 para. 14. 15 The same for 1908, Part II, pp. 64 and 35.

thus obtained for Jaṭila is A. D. 769-70. The period of his reign and the date of his accession to the throne are facts yet to be determined. It is much to be regretted that the plates do not inform us for how long the Kaḷabhra *inter-regnum*, or the reigns of the kings mentioned, lasted. But as Maduraikkâñchi states that Talaiyâlaṅgânattu-seṟuveṉṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ was a lineal descendant of Palyâgaśâlai Madukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi, and as Kaḍuṅgôṉ was the first sovereign that succeeded to the Pâṇḍya throne after the *inter-regnum* caused by the Kaḷabhras, which took place immediately at the end of the reign of Palyâgaśâlai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi, we are naturally inclined to seek for his name in the genealogy, which is happily furnished in the Vêḷvikuḍi grant. Here the name Śeḻiyaṉ occurs but once, and as the grandson of Kaḍuṅgôṉ. It looks as if he is identical with the victor at Talaiyâlaṅgâṉam. Against the possibility of Nêḍuñjeḻiyaṉ's identity with any other king of the line, it may be pointed out (1) that none of them bears the name Śeliyaṉ; and, (2) that the Śinnamanûr plates, which also give the genealogy of the Pâṇḍyas, but only from the immediate successor of Śeḻiyaṉ, mention the battle of Talaiyâlaṅgâṉam, as they should, among the feats of the Pâṇḍya kings, who preceded the first member noticed therein. It will thus be seen that it is impossible to bring down Neḍuñjeḻiyan, and the correctness of the identity of this king with the grandson of Kaḍuṅgôṉ is more or less assured.

As had already been pointed out, the minister of Jaṭilavarman, mentioned in the two inscriptions referred to above, was Madhurakavi. He was living in the third year of the king, when the Vêḷvikuḍi grant was issued, but was dead at the time of the consecration of the Ânaimalai cave temple of Narasiṁha which took place in A. D. 769-70. We may tentatively presume that this date does not represent the time of the king's accession but rather the closing years. In the interval between the reigns of Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ now identified with Śeḻiyaṉ and Jaṭila *alias* Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ Parântaka, there were according to the Vêḷvikuḍi grant three sovereigns. Supposing A. D. 770 as the last year of Jatila and giving the usual 30 years for each reign and working backwards, we get roughly A. D. 620 for Śêḻiyan's accession to the throne. Until more reliable dates are forthcoming, we can keep the beginning of the 7th century A. D. for Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ and the poem before us. The correctness of the identity of Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ with Śeḻiyaṉ and of the date thus arrived at for him, is vouchsafed by the fact that the Vêḷvikuḍi grant attributes to his son Arikêsari Mâravarman, the conquest in the battle of Nevêli.[16] This event should, therefore, have occurred in the period A. D. 650-680. The Pâṇḍya contemporary of the Śaiva saint Jñânasambanda was a certain Neḍu-Mâṟaṉ, also called Kûṉ or Sundara-Pâṇḍya. He is said to have won lasting fame in the battle of Nelvêli where he defeated a northern king who invaded his dominions. As we know that Jñaṉasambanda lived in the middle of the 7th century, A. D., the conquest of Nelvêli attributed to Neḍumâṟaṉ should necessarily fall in the same period as that found for Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ's son who was known by the same name and who is also reported to have fought the same battle. The inevitable conclusion is that these two kings are not different. It will thus be seen that this fact lends support to placing Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ in the period A. D. 620-650.

With these introductory remarks as regards the date of the poem and the king celebrated in it, I now append a translation of such of the passages occurring in the poem which throw light on the state of the country, the social life of the people and the political institutions of Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ's time as it would prove a useful guide for a correct understanding of the degree of civilization attained by the Pâṇḍyas in that early period.

The king submitted himself to the counsel of truthful men, and ruled the country so efficiently as to be praised by future generations. At the dawn of day, which was indicated in his capital by the sounds raised by the cocks, the beautifully feathered peacocks, the elephants, the caged tigers and bears, the Brâhmaṇs chanted the hymns of the Vêdas; the musicians sung

[16] Neḍumâṟaṉ defeated the Army of Vilvêli at Nelvêli. Vilvêli is probably another name for Vilvala (nagara) which Dr. Hultzsch has identified with Villivalam near Conjiveram. If this identification should prove correct, it may be said that the Pâṇḍya king's opponent in the battle of Nelvêli was probably the Pallava sovereign Narasiṁhavarman I in whose dominions Villivalam was situated.

the *mandiram* songs on the yâḻ ;[17] the elephants were fed, the horses were given grass, and the house fronts were swept, cleaned with cow-dung and strewn with white sand ;[18] and the house-wives wiping out their eyes attended to their daily routine, all the time the *śilambu*, which they wore on their legs, making pleasant notes. The big-mouthed war drum (*muraśu*)[19] kept on the top of a high building (?) (*pâśaṟai*) was sounded ; the *śûdar*, a class of bards, the *Mâgadar*, a tribe sprung from a Kshatriya mother and a Vaiśya father and the *Vaidâḷigar* sang the praises and chivalrous exploits of the sovereign and awoke him from sleep.[20] The brave and warlike *Maṟavar*[21] talked loud of his deeds of valour. The king called for skilled troopers, the wounded *Kuriśilar*, the *Pâṇar*, the *Pâṭṭiyar*, the *Yâṇar* and the *Vayiriyar* and presented to them garlands of *tumbai* flowers in gold, cars and elephants. The *Porunar*[22] were much favoured by the king. To them he gave tuskers with calves and female elephants. He adorned the heads of victors with lotus flowers made of gold and jewels. The king wore *toḍi*[23] on his shoulders.

His army consisted of elephants trained to serve in wars. These, when taken to the battlefield, were adorned with an ornamental covering for the face and a shining frontlet. They killed men with their tusks. Swift-footed horses, rapidly moving cars drawn by powerful steeds and brave foot soldiers armed with swords were employed by the king in his wars. The commanders of his army drank toddy and smeared their body with sandal paste.

The members of his council consisted of men free from fear, despair or attachment ; they did not give themselves up to anger or pleasure and in rendering justice resembled the unerring point of a scale. His straightforward ministers of State easily discerned good and bad, like the great men who performed the sacrificial rites, and led the king in righteous ways and never for once allowed him to swerve from the laws of piety and virtue. They carefully prevented him from doing blameful acts and always looked to the increase of his fame.

As has already been pointed out, the king defeated two great sovereigns and the *Vêḷir*. The commentator remarks that the Chêra, Chôḷa, Tidiya, Erumaiyûran, Eḻini, etc., were his enemies. The five chiefs appear to have occupied hilly tracts. The king took Nellûr, and fought the celebrated battle of Talaiyâlaṅgâṉam with a large army, and in doing this he cut off the forest in front of the enemy's fortress, set fire to it, destroyed villages and cities with all the houses, temples, etc., let loose his fierce elephants to roam at will with uproaring sounds and devastate the country and attacked and destroyed the high walls, accompanied by the sound of conches and trumpets.

The king is called the Porunan, *i.e.* the lord of the Tâmraparṇî. In the hamlets of his beautiful city, Koṟkai, there dwelt those who drank toddy and those who dived into the sea to procure rich pearls and shells. The king was also styled as the lord of the *Paradavar*, who resided in the southern districts. The *Paradavar* ate rice mixed with meat and the root of the *kûvai*, wore bows and arrows which ever smelled flesh, uttered harsh words and raised uprorious sounds. Their strength was often felt by the enemies of the king.

The capital of the king had high winged beautiful streets with several storeyed buildings in them. The works of protection raised round it were : (1) a thick guard forest hard to be reached by enemies, (2) a deep moat, (3) high gates attached to far reaching towers, and (4) huge walls, one of which was painted with ornamental figures. On the tops of high palaces ventilated by spacious windows, several kinds of flags fluttered in the air. The two large bazaars of the city were busy

17 From the description given of the *yâḻ* in *Parumbâṇâṟṟuppaḍai* and elsewhere it seems that the instrument was something similar to the *Vîṇai*. The bards who handled it were called the *Pâṇar*.

18 A reminiscence of this custom is still seen in Travancore. When the king goes out to the temple or to any other place, he walks on fine sand spread on the path for the purpose.

19 This is still in use in some of the temples of Southern India.

20 This custom appears to have been borrowed from the Aryans.

21 At present there is a class of persons who call themselves *Maṟavar*, and they are mostly to be found in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts and in the Pudukkôṭṭai State.

22 The river Tâmraparṇî is called the Porunai and as such the Porunar must indicate the people inhabiting some tract of country on its banks.

23 *Toḍi* is a general name for ornaments worn by kings, warriors, and women, either on legs or on hands.

with crowds of buyers of all castes; drummers announced festivities; elephants, horses, cars, and soldiers often moved to and fro; young and old women carried flowers, garlands, flower-dusts, betel leaves, lime and the like from house to house; *hawkers* sold various articles; soldiers wearing clothes with flower works, swords in their belts, *todi* on their feet, garlands of *vêmbu* and *Śeṅgaḻunîr* flowers round their chests, rode on the backs of swift-footed horses. Women of high rank and great beauty adorned themselves with gold jewels and flowered bangles, gathered together on the open front yard of the upper storeys of their houses and witnessed the festivities, processions and other amusements in the streets.

The Bauddha ladies accompanied by their husbands and children carried flower and incense to their temples for worship. Some of the Brâhmaṇs chanted the *Vêdas*, others performed *yañña*, while a few of great religious merit enjoyed a life of bliss dwelling as they did in caves. The *Śrâvakas* (Jainas) of austere devotion, knowing all the times and what passed in the three worlds, flocked in large numbers in their temples with painted walls, carrying in hanging strings, the *kaṇḍigai* and flowers.

There were the merchants, who led the life of householders, and dealt in gold, jewels, pearls and articles of foreign import; those who cut conches and made bangles from them; who bored holes on precious stones, made beautiful gold ornaments, tested the carats of gold, sold cloths, flower and sandal paste and drew charming pictures. The weavers of cloths, young and old, crowded thickly in all the four quarters of the city. The volume of sound raised by these was something similar to that which usually accompanied the landing at midnight of the ships from foreign countries with rich cargo which they emptied and took back other articles manufactured in the country.

Feeding houses there were, where jack, mango, and other kinds of unripe and ripe fruits, flesh mixed with rice, roots and sugar were nicely cooked and served.

When the busy day closed and the evening approached, women anxious to meet their beloved, gathered *Śeṅgaḻunîr* flowers to make garlands, adorned themselves with jewels, scented their long hair with fragrant oils, prepared pastes of musks and sandal, perfumed their clothes with fragrant smokes of sandal, lighted the lamps, played on the *yâḻ*[24] and enjoyed the night with their lovers in the first quarter of it and went to rest. The married women of the household, following the ways of elderly ladies who were mothers of children, went out in the evening gently and bashfully, bathed in the tanks, offered flowers and rice (nicely cooked in milk) to the gods and prayed for good children. They were celebrated for their high morality. Their ears were adorned with *kuḻai*, their hands with *todi* and several other jewels, their fingers with gold rings set with precious stones and round their necks they had garlands of flowers and pearls. They were dressed in bright and

[24] One of the oldest stringed musical instruments of Southern India was the *yâḻ*. Choicest materials appear to have been used in its making. The rule for the selection of a sounding board to it, was that no wood that had grown in water, that was rotting or that was not deep-rooted should be chosen. It should preferably be of such strong materials as the ebony, *cassia, gmealina tomontos, etc.* Several kinds of *yâḻ* are mentioned in Tamiḻ works. Chief among them are (1) *Pêriyâḻ*, (2) *Magara-yâḻ*, (3) *Śagôḍa-yâḻ* and (4) *Śeṅgôṭṭi-yaḻ*. The first of these had 21 strings, the second 17, the third 16, and the fourth 7. Frequent twinkling of the eye, knitting the brow, allowing the neck to tremble or to swell, shaking the cheeks, displaying the teeth, opening the mouth wide, nodding the head and similar other movements of the body are considered as faults in a person who sings with the aid of the *yâḻ*. There were expert players on this instrument in the courts of the ancient Dravidian kings. Some of the big temples of Southern India employed them and their services were utilized in singing the hymns composed on god, to the accompaniment of vocal music. References to the *yâḻ* are frequently met with in the *Dêvâram*. One of the greatest musicians who flourished in the middle of the 7th century A. D., was the Śaiva devotee. Tirunî Lakaṇḍa-Perumbâṇar. He belonged to the Tanjore district. Another is mentioned in the *Hâlâsya-mahâtmya*. He was a native of Madura and distinguished himself in the reign of an ancient Pâṇḍya king. There are references in Tamiḻ literature of the same period as *Maduraikkâñchi* which go to show that the *yâḻ* is either a slight modification of or identically the same as the *vîṇâ*. Both men and women appear to have amused themselves by playing on the instrument.

valuable clothes which were stiff with gruel. Over the cloth they put on an ornament which enhanced its beauty. The wanton women wore white flowers in their locks, walked out in the streets with hands adorned with *toḍi* freely playing, filling the air with fragrance emanating from them, put in order their disturbed body, cunningly brought into their snares the wealthy, and deprived them of their riches.

In the grounds set apart for it, a few joined together and danced the *kuravai* to the accompaniment of the music of the *âri* and *kûḍu* in honour of god Muruga, while a few others, belonging to the suburbs, recited *punaindagam* and *pâṭṭu*.

The merchants, the sweetmeat sellers and the stage players shut their shops by removing the front poles and went to rest.

At midnight devils and evil spirits roamed through the streets. Thieves who could disappear in the twinkling of an eye, wearing black coats, close undergarments in which they concealed a thread ladder, sandals to their feet and armed with chisel and sword, walked out slyly bent on plundering the rich. The city guards whose eyes knew nought of rest, whose hearts were filled with courage, who had learnt the art of protecting the city and who were armed with unerring bows and arrows, moved from place to place even when it rained cats and dogs.

The dominion of this illustrious king was rich in wet fields, dry lands, forest and sea, bordering tracts which yielded several kinds of millet, sesamum, *paspulum fromentatiam*, *maṇi*, hill rice, white mustard, ginger, turmeric, pepper, beans, sugarcane, salt and fish. There was busy life in all the four classes of lands throughout the year. Here the *Kuṛavar* dug out pits on the land and covered them lightly so that the pigs that came to destroy the produce might fall in and become their prey; there the *Valaiñar* and *Timilar* with their wide-spreading nets ventured on the sea with their small boats to catch fish. In one part they cut fields to let in sea water to prepare salt. In due seasons, ploughing, weeding and harvesting were conducted and lively music and dance relieved the monotony of work even in the fields. The rivers in high freshes filled tanks in their eastward course to the sea.[25] Water was baled for irrigation by means of the *kavalai* and lift systems to the accompaniment of songs of the working hands. In the forests, the *Kâṇavar* had their houses thatched with leaves where they slept on deerskins. They were skilled archers. Big ships with flying masts attached to long posts, propelled by the wind blowing on the sheets which became bent on that account, brought to the Pâṇḍyan's territory wealth-producing articles of merchandise for the consumption of the people of the inland districts.[26] These were anchored on the sea. The articles were carried to the shore with the beating of the drum. The ships took back the products raised in the country,—pearls, gold and jewels.[27]

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[25] Almost all the rivers of the Tamil country are dry during the greater part of the year. To prevent the scarcity of water which would otherwise have been felt, the ancient Dravidian kings appear to have had recourse to the digging up of tanks and wells. These, as evidenced by the reference here given, seem to have been fed by the water of the rivers when they were in high floods during the monsoon.

[26] The reference is important as it shows that the ships frequenting the ports of India were propelled by the wind. The following extract from Gibbon confirms the statement of this poem. Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of an hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Mios Hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons they traversed the ocean in about 40 days (to reach the ports of India or those of Ceylon). The ships returned with rich cargo which as soon as they were transported on the backs of camels from the Red Sea to the Nile and descended the river as far as Alexandria, it was poured without delay into the capital of the Roman Empire.

[27] Roman historians inform us that in ancient times there was considerable demand in the Western world for the products and manufactures of the East and that the Roman fleet regularly carried on trade with Arabia, India and Ceylon. Soon after the discovery of Ceylon in the reign of Claudius, it became the important mart of the East. Silk and precious stones including pearls and diamonds were chiefly exported from Malabar and Cape Comerin (*Kumari*). Among the Eastern commodities that found way to the European markets may be mentioned pepper, ginger, cinnamon and the whole tribe of Aromatics.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 208.*)

Châra: ravine deer, Indian gazelle, *chikâra.* Bauria *argot.*

Chhâbu; part of a pent roof. Sirmûr.

Chhak pîngikhânî: *lit.* to eat food: to eat once only; to confirm a betrothal, by eating *luchis* or cakes.

Chhakû: a day-labourer paid with 2 *seers* of grain and a meal per day. Bilâspur.

Chhal: land which has received a fertile deposit from a stream. As long as the effect of the deposit continues it will bear crops of the highest class without artificial manure. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Chhal retar: very sandy *chhal.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Chhali: a long mango fruit like a maize cob (*chhali*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Chhalla: a place for burning the dead. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 136.

Chhamb: ploughing after cotton seed has been sown broadcast. Jullundur S. R., p. 123.

Chhamb: much the same as *jabar* (moist low-lying land, very good for sugarcane and rice). The principal rice growing land. Cf. *chagar* and *pabhan.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Chhan: a variety of sugar-cane. It is thin and of reddish colour, and grows to a height of from 7 to 8 ft. It yields less juice than *dhaulû,* but the juice is said to be richer in saccharine matter, though this is very doubtful. Jullundur S. R., p. 117.

Chhan: a bracelet. Cf. *pachheli, kângni* and *chura.* Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Chhân: a long low stack. Cf. *bhusâri.*

Chhand baddh: poetical.

Chhânnâ: a sieve of *sarr,* used for separating the grain of mixed crops. Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Chhari: churn: Sirmûr sis-Girî.

Chharola: cutting off a child's hair. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 164.

Chhât or khûr: roof. Sirmûr.

Chhatâlnâ: to seize. Bauria *argot.* *Ex—lohri thaiya, chhatāli le.* 'The thief is hiding, catch him.'

Chhatrî: a mausoleum, erected in memory of any respectable person or in honour of a deity, octagonal or circular in form with doors on all sides. Fr. *chhatr,* a canopy. Gurgaon. cf. *Panjabi Dicty.,* P. 219.

Chhatti; a stick, (?) a flail. Shâhpur.

Chhechâr: Fr. Sanskrit *shat,* 6, and *upachâr,* 'gift': a ceremony observed at weddings in Chamba and the Simla Hill States when the bridegroom reaches the bride's house with the wedding procession; at the gate the bride's father gives him (1) water to wash his feet, (2) a *tilak* of sandal, (3) a garland, (4) a robe, (5) a betel-nut and (6) an ornament, *e. g.,* a gold ring, *Koti.*

Chheti: a curious form of woman's separate property found in Kullu. It is usually land (and the stock necessary to work it) assigned to a second wife at marriage pending life and good conduct. Occasionally a first wife will stipulate that, in the event of her husband's taking a second wife (*saukan*), she is to obtain a specified *chheti.* Such arrangements are often reduced to regular deeds. The term *chheti* is also applied to property inherited through a female, *i, e.,* a man who marries an only daughter, and gets with her ponies or sheep, retains them as his even if he be joint with one or more brothers; and on partition two or three generations later, such property will not

be brought into hotchpot, but will devolve only on the heirs of the original holder. Still the term is most usually applied to land given to a woman for maintenance only, though it is occasionally contended that the *chheti* of the wife of one of two brothers should not be divided between them. This was, of course, disputed and over-ruled. A Kullu *zamîndâr* is extremely fond of giving each of his wives a separate house, and dividing his land amongst them as *chheti*.[3]

Chhohir: a girl:—chhiuni, a young inexperienced girl.

Chhopâ: s. m. a spinning party, *i. q. tiranjan*.

Chhor: the grain left on the threshing floor. Karnâl S. R., p. 116.

Chhor: a stack in which stalks of the great millets and maize are stacked. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 164.

Chhori chhora: a game in which one captain says to the other, " Guess whose house I am thinking of in such and such a street in which there are two boys and a girl," and according as the guess is right or wrong, the boys of one party mount the backs of the others and are carried to the house named where they ask the good wife, "above above or below above," and according to her answer they remain as they are or change places and so ride back to their playground. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Chhot: evil influence. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 150.

Chhuri: buri — mârnâ, to receive with hostility.

Chhutthâ: irr. p.-part. of *chhuhnâ*.

Chi: a funeral pyre, used in Pângi.

Chib: the inferior fodder crop of jowâr, cut green. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 187.

Chichar: débris. Kângra Gloss.

Chichkârna; a mode of worship which consists in touching first the object to be worshipped and then the forehead, with the right hand. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 144.

Chifala: slippery, as a hill-side, or anything hard to hold. Kângra Gloss.

Chigsa: a tiny lamp of pottery used at the Diwâli festival. Cf. *chugra*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 122.

Chiha: a boy: see *damkera*. Bauria *argot*.

Chik: soil, ground, especially land owned, like fields, as opposed to waste. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 25.

Chiklia, Chirkalio: sparrow. Bauria *argot*.

Chiknot: a clayey soil found only in depressed basins. Gurgaon S. R., 1883 p. 6.

Chilwa: a fish (*chela gora*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 18.

Chinât: = *chanât*.

Chingâr: beard of wheat. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 284.

Chiṇgghârnâ: to trumpet, of an elephant.

Chinkha: an inferior kind of red sugar-cane, the cane is very sweet, but gives very little juice; this sort is sometimes grown only for fodder. Gujranwala S. R., p. 27.

Chiṇtâ: s. e. Cf. *Panjabi* Dicty., p, 236.

Chip: a fish trap of bamboo, or osier under a weir in a stream. Kângra Gloss.

Chipat: a tree (*solanum xanthocarpum*). Cf. *kandai*. Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Chirkalio: sparrow; see *chiklia*.

Chirkhu-musân; a male spirit which swings, whence its name. It haunts cross-roads and frightens wayfarers. Chamba.

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[3] In Pattan (British Lâhul) there are some Dâgi families who hold *chhetis* or small allotments of land rent-free from the State, on condition of stacking wood at certain halting-places and carrying palanquins. They are not liable to carry baggage or cross the passes.

Chirnâ : to possess, enter (of a spirit). The possession by a spirit of a *gur*, *ghanîṭá* or a *devâ*. It is also called *gronî* when a *gur* speaks; in the lower hills this state of a man is called *garni*. *Hingarnâ* is the time when a *gur* speaks or moves in *gronî*. *Mitnâ* is a synonym for *chirnâ*. Simla Hills.

Chitan : black stripes (on earthen vessels). Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 122.

Chitrera : a painter from chittar, a picture. Kângra Gloss.

Chitta : a stripe. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 200.

Chitwânâ=chitamnâ. *Panjabi Dicty.*, p. 338.

Chîwan : a string with which a finished vessel on the *châk* (wheel) of the potter is cut off. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 200.

Cho : a water-fall. In the low hills, the bed of a torrent. Kângra Gloss.

Choa : soakage. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 159.

Chobhi : the race of a water-mill by which water escapes. Kângra Gloss.

Chobku : a trap door in the ceiling leading to an upper storey by a ladder (Nurpur). Kângra Gloss.

Choh : (1) a drainage channel ; (2) a mountain torrent. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 8.

Cholâsop : an unsewn and unhemmed reddish yellow cloth provided by the bride's maternal grandfather which she wears on her head, used only at weddings, but worn after the ceremony till it wears out. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 130.

Cholna : to dress the sugar-cane by stripping off the leaves and cutting off the crown. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 181.

Cholyàlu : the Hindu kitchen or room of the *chúlx* ; also called *rissiálu*. Kângra Gloss.

Chopâl : the common room in a village in which a traveller, who has no friends, puts up (used in the north. Cf. *paras*). Karnâl S. R., p. 106.

Chot : a deduction allowed at the making up of accounts. Jullundur S. R., p. 72.

Chotîkat : a Muhammadan Râjput, so called by Hindus. Karnâl S. R., p. 80.

Chuâ : 'touch,' commonly used when someone is believed to be impure from touching or eating with a low caste person *chuâ lagânâ*=to outcaste for eating; while *bhot* means outcasting for cohabiting with a low-caste woman or man. Simla Hills.

Chuâna : waving grain or tobacco over a patient's body. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 146.

Chu chik : white clay—see *golenâ*.

Chugra : a tiny lamp of pottery used at the Diwâli. Cf. *chigsa*.

Chuhî : the reservoir of a well. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 97.

Chûi : a small pool. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 171.

Chuk : pain in the loins, (? lumbago). D. G. Khân.

Chûnchî : breasts. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 163.

Chûnchî khulâî : a ceremony performed at the birth of a child by the mother's sister-in-law who washes her breasts and is presented with a suit of clothes in return for the service. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 163.

Chunga : a male spirit under a sorcerer's control and employed to bring things to him. It also drinks milk of cows and brings milk, *ghi*, etc., to its sorcerer. Chamba.

Chûnî : a red stone (dust, etc., of precious stones ?).

Chuṇnâ : to pick up, p. 249.

Chûran : a conical shaped enlargement which crushes the cane against the sides of the *kohlû* as it moves round in the cavity. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 161.

Dâb : a piece of wood, with which the side of the hole in which the vertical wheel revolves, and the side of the well, where the *lath* rests, are lined. Jullundur S. R., p. 102.

Dab (*eragrostis cynosuroides*) : a weed with deep roots. Rohtak.

Dâb: a grass (*Poa cynosuroides*). Karnâl S. R., p. 12.

Dâban: the villages on the border of the larger streams. Hissâr S. R., p. 18.

Dâbar: a hollow fringed with trees. Karnâl S. R., p. 3.

Dabri: a heavier clay, found only in the neighbourhood of the Bein stream; it varies with cultivation from a fine deep soil to an almost unworkable waste and requires constant watering. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Dâch: a bill-hook for cutting small wood. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Dâchi: a sickle for cutting grass: = *dâtri*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Dadâli: a wooden harrow. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Dadhrî: a disease: ? = *dadhar* (m.), ring-worm.

Dâgdena: to light the wood for burning a corpse. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 136.

Daggâ: a huge narrow-mouthed vessel made of pottery, for storing water. Cf. *mât*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 121.

Dagh: a kind of maize with light yellow cobs intermixed with white grains. Cf. *dhusra* and *dhusrî*. Jullundur S. R., p. 122.

Dahi: a fish (*Rasbora elonga*). Cf. *dahwai*. Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Dahri: naturally irrigated land. Gurgaon S. R. 1883, p. 5.

Dahwai: a fish. Cf. *dahi*. Karnal S. R., p. 8.

Dai: an elder sister; see under *bhâo*.

Daim: a row of bullocks, for threshing. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 172.

Daint: a devil, believed to be a monstrous human form. Simla Hills.

Dâjî: a game exactly the same as hockey. Cf. *khuddu khundî*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Dak: a block, of a canal. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 407.

Dak: grapes. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 47.

Dal: a basket by which water from a tank is raised into the irrigation channel. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 97.

Dal: a lake; *tâl* is also used. Kângra Gloss.

Dâl: irrigation of land by delivering the water below the fields. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 170.

Dâlia: the man who stands on a *penta* to swing the *dâl* (scoop). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 171.

Dall gundolî: fenugreek (Luffa). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Dalputi: a big lighted torch, a torch of fine or other resinous wood.

Dalri: a small shallow basket for bread and grain. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 121.

Dâmau: a petticoat wholly red. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 124.

Damkera: a boy, cf. *chiha*. Bauria *argot*.

Damkeri: a girl. Bauria *argot*.

Dâmras: a string. Cf. *râs*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 163.

Dânda: bullock. Bauria *argot*.

Danda: very stony land, generally on a slope. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Dandâl: a kind of wooden plough used after the ground has been ploughed once and smoothed by a mace; the clods are again broken and smoothed by a mace. Kângra Gloss.

Dândalwâsa: a place fixed for the residence of the guests of the bridegroom party. Cf. *jandalwasa*. Karnâl S. R. 1872-80, p. 130.

Dândar: a stalk of *bâjra*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 187.

Dandiyân: ear-rings worn by Sikh women. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 157.

Dandrâl: (1) a large rake. Hoshiârpur, S. R., p. 72; (2) a harrow with 8 or 10 bamboo teeth, drawn by oxen, used for opening the soil round young corn. Kângra S. R., p. 29.

Dand wilknâ: to show teeth, entreat.

Dang: a band or embankment in a stream, to turn water into a canal. Kângra Gloss.

Danga: a wall of loose stones.

Dânsra: stems of the *til* (sesame) plant. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 188.

Dânt: a fine curved blade set in a flat board which is held under the foot, while vegetables, etc., are sliced or split up against the blade. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 163.

Danti: hare. Cf. *sûsi*. Bauria *argot*.

Ḍāṇwâṇḍol: *adj.* restless, uneasy.

Danwâra: a system by which two or more owners club their cattle together, either for the year or for a special job. Karnâl S. R., p. 114.

Dap: see *dip*.

Daphi: a window. Sirmûr.

Darâdh: a hole where water has forced a passage ; see *tarota*.

Darâti: a sickle, called *dâti* in the plains. Kângra Gloss.

Darbâra: a fee given by Akbari clans of *Jats* at marriages to the Mirâsis of Akbari families. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 51.

Daretar: the second day's service (*jowârî*, *q. v.*) taken at reaping time.

Darka: a small tree, which grows low down in the valleys, used for firewood. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Darli: *Cedzela toona serrata*: a small tree, red wood, used for making yokes and posts. Simla S. R., 1883, 43.

Darmal: s. m. medicine.

Daroi, drohi: a *dôhâî* or an appeal to any one. Kângra Gloss.

Darûn, drûn: a weight equal to 8 *thimís*. Kângra Gloss.

Dasâ bîse: a game in which the two parties stand one at 10, the other at 20 paces, from a heap of earth as goal, and at the word "one, two, three—off !" one of each party starts off, the object of the one being to run his 10 paces, slap the goal 10 times and get back his 10 paces before the other who has 20 paces to run, can reach the goal and then catch him. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Dasâhi: the rite performed on the tenth day after a death, when the household go to a tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer ten *pinds*, and give the Achârj grain—enough for ten meals. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 137.

Dasha: s. m. state, condition.

Dasûtan: the tenth day after the birth of a child, when the net is taken down and the fire let out. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 126.

Datha, Sitan ki: a bundle of pressed sugar-cane used for torches or for fuel. Kângra Gloss.

Dathoi: the soil in which spring crops are sown, and which has borne a crop in the autumn immediately preceding. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 193.

Datiâlu: light early breakfast; also called *nowári* towards Núrpúr. *Dopahri* is the next meal then comes *kalâr*, which answers to our lunch, and, lastly, *sunji-ki-roti* or supper. Kângra Gloss.

Datti: a sickle. Cf. *dâtri*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 252.

Dâu lâunâ: to take the opportunity. p. 282.

Daul: a variety of *jowâr*, very hardy. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 186.

Daulî: a ridge of sand, covered with thorns, round a house. Gurgaon.

Daukh: ten. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Daunja: a platform built for men to sit in a field of the great millet and protect it from birds. Cf. *jaunda*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 172.

Dâva : left hand. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Deh : a shrine, where the Jâglân Jâts worship their ancestors. Karnâl S. R., p. 78.

Dehl : see *dwatan*.

Dehrî : a boundary-pillar. = *kotâli*.

Deila : a grass which gives good grazing. Rohtak.

Den, Dain : a witch; *dugar* is a sorcerer, or male witch. Kangra Gloss.

Deorâ : a big temple ; *deorî*, a small temple. Simla Hills.

Deredâr : a fire-carrier whose business it is to see that the *huqqas* are always full and alight; he sometimes gets five *sers* per plough for this service. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 182.

Dhâ : the ridge or high bank which marks the division between uplands and lowlands. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 3.

Dhabli : a blanket of white wool. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Dhag, dag : a precipice. Kangra Gloss.

Dhâin : a husband. Bauria *argot*.

Dhak ; a thick mat for sitting on, made of plaited pressed sugar-cane, ordinarily called *binnâ*. Kangra Gloss.

Dhakâo : the first day of a wedding. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 130.

Dhakh : a morsel. Kângra Gloss.

Dhâk-pachû : a man who collects *kino* (resin which exudes from the *dhâk* tree). Karnâl S. R., p. 10.

Dhâl : a tax on land, levied to pay tribute. Mahlog.

Dhâm : upland. Hence Dhâmi, the name of one of the Simla Hill States.

Dhamakka : a kind of maize with orange-yellow cobs. Jullundur S. R., p. 122.

Dhamakkî : a kind of maize with white cobs. Jullundur S. R., p. 122.

Dhaman : *Grewia oppositifolia*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 82.

Dhâmû : a messenger,—two are sent from the bride's house to fetch the bridegroom. Churâh.

Dhamûri : a red wheat, having a firm stalk and root, and not easily stirred. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 74.

Dhan : the coarser varieties of rice. opp. to *ziri*. Rohtak.

Dhanak : a rainbow; the Gaddîs call it *pappan*. Kangra Gloss.

Dhanâna : to give the bull to a cow. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 195.

Ḍhanḍhora = Ḍhanḍora, *Panjabi Dicty*., p. 297.

Dhâng : a flail or rather stick used to thresh corn. Kângra Gloss.

Dhântâ : a beard-cloth. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 157.

Dhânu : rice land. Kângra Gloss.

Dhâr : a high range, or the upper part of such range : also used for a sheep-run.

Dhâr chakrû : the ptarmigan, see *tilla*.

Dhari : a plaister shelf, on the inside wall of a house ; also called *lakhola* or *tak*. Kângra Gloss.

Dharn : ? a disease : Kapurthalâ.

Dharothi : a large wooden box. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Dhâru : a breastplate of silver chain. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Dharûn : a measure of capacity, = one-sixth of a *topâ*. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Dhatura : the strongest kind of tobacco and most liked. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 77.

Ḍhaṭṭhâ : p.-part. of *ḍhahinâ* fallen,.

Dhauli : a late red maize. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 184.

Dhaulu : a long soft thick white sugar cane. Rohtak.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

KÂLIDÂSA AND KÂMANDAKI.

THE date of Kâlidâsa is yet far from being settled. From the mention of Kâlidâsa by Bâṇa and in the Aihole inscription of the time of the Châlukya king Pulakeśin II. all scholars are now unanimous in asserting that he cannot be later than the 7th century A.D. And most Sanskritists are disposed to place him in the 5th century. In this state of things it behoves everybody interested in the chronology of Sanskrit Literature to bring to the notice of scholars every scrap of information bearing upon the date of prominent authors like Kâlidâsa.

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IX) Kâlidâsa speaks of the advantages of hunting, *viz.*, skill in bringing down a moving mark, knowledge of the change of expression due to fear and anger, a fine body due to being inured to fatigue (*Parichayaṁ chala-lakshya-nipâtane bhaya-rushôś=cha tad--iṅgita-vedanam | Śrama-jayât praguṇâṁ cha karôty=asau tanum=atô S snumataḥ sachivair-yayau*). A similar verse occurs in the *Śâkuntalâ* (2nd Act), where, in addition to the above, the reduction of fat is specially referred to. (*Medaś-chheda-kṛiś-ôdaraṁ laghu bhavaty=utthâna-yôgyaṁ vapuḥ sattvânâm=apilakshyate vikritimach=chittaṁ bhaya-krôdhayôḥ | Utkarshaḥ sa cha dhanvinâṁ yad=ishavaḥ sidhyanti lakshye chale mithyâ hi vyasanaṁ vadanti mṛigayâm=îdṛig=vinôdaḥ kutaḥ||*). Hunting is one of those vices which kings are specially advised to avoid by Manu and other lawgivers. Kâlidâsa seems to have taken the opposite view.

The *Kâmandakîya-nîtisâra,* while speaking of hunting, remarks:—"Some point out the following as the advantages of hunting, *viz.*, rising superor to fatigue, exercise, the decrease of indigestion, fat and phlegm and unsurpassed success in archery directed towards fixed and moving marks; but this is not proper; there are generally some very grave (*lit.* fatal) disadvantages, and, therefore, hunting is a great vice." (*Jita-śramatvaṁ vyâyâma âma-meda-kapha-kshayaḥ | chara-sthireshu lakshyeshu bâṇa-siddhir=anuttamâ || Mṛigayâyâṁ guṇân=etân=âhur=anye na tvt kshamam | doshâḥ prâṇa-harâḥ prâyas=tasmât=tad vyasanaṁ mahat ||* XIV., 25-26). The advantages of hunting selected by the *Kâmandakîyanîtisâra* are almost the same as those pointed out by Kâlidâsa. It seems, therefore, that Kâmandaki criticises the views of Kâlidâsa, whose poems must have been in his days on the lips of all, whether young or old. If this idea be acceptable, it will furnish another piece of evidence for arriving at the approximate date of Kâlidâsa.

I shall now mention some data for arriving at the date of the *Kâmandakîya-nîtisâra*:

I. Utpala, who wrote his comment upon the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira in Śaka 888 (A. D. 966-67), quotes from *Kâmandaki*; *e.g.*, on 77, 1.

II. Vâmana, in his *Kâvyâlaṁkâra-sûtravṛitti,* quotes a verse, in which the '*Kâmandakî nîti*' is referred to (under IV, 1, 2. *Kâmaṁ Kâmandakî nîtir=asyâ rasyâ divâniśam*). Vâmana flourished about 800 A. D. (See an article by me in the *Journals* of the Bombay Asiatic Society for 1909).

Bhavabhûti in his *Mâlatîmâdhava* exhibits the character of a diplomatic lady named Kâmandakî. It appears almost certain that the name was taken from the writer on statecraft whose fame must have been very great in Bhavabhûti's day. Bhavabhûti, we know, flourished about 700 A. D.

In the 7th chapter of the *Kâmandakîya-nîtisâra,* there is a list of kings who fell victims to poison and intrigue (verses 51-54). Varâhamihira in chapter 77 of his *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ* mentions some kings, who are the same as those in the work of Kâmandaki (*e g.*, Varâhamhira says '*Śastreṇa veṇî—vinigûhitena Vidûrathaṁ svâ mahishî jaghâna*;' compare Kâmandaki: *Venyâṁ śastraṁ samâdhâya tathâ châpi Vidûrathamn*). I do not dogmatically say that Varâhamihira borrowed from Kâmandaka. Such traditions might have been current in his day. Still I hold that it is not quite impossible that Varâhamihira derives his information from the *Kâmandakîya-nîtisâra.*

Apart from Varâhamihira's reference to this intrigue, the *Kâmandakîya-nîtisâra* must be older than the 7th century A. D. as just shown, and strongly confirms the position that Kâlidâsa is not later than the 6th century of the Christian era.

P. V. KANE.

Bombay.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A SECOND NOTE ON VÂSUDEVA.

To

The Editor, *Indian Antiquary.*

Dear Sir,

I have since read the article "The Divine Vâsudeva" by Prof. K. B. Pathak, B.A., pp. 96 ff. of the Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. Society, No. LXIV. (1909-10). With reference to the concluding sentence of the above article, stating that the Divine Vâsudeva is different from Kshatriya Vâsudeva, my article in the *Indian Antiquary,* for November 1910, may be read. The Divine Vâsudeva is the Eternal Vâsudeva of the Holy twelve-syllabled (*Dvâdaśâkshara*) *mantra,* called the *Para-Vâsudeva*; and this *Para-Vâsudeva* incarnates as Kṛishṇa, who is the Kshatriya Vâsudeva.

The passages in the *Bhagavadgita*:

(1) *Vâsudevas=Sarvam,=iti.* [VII. 19].

(2) *Vṛishṇînâm Vâsudevo=smi* [X. 37].

read together show that the *Essential* Vâsudevá incarnates as Kshatriya Vâsudeva. The two are identical *essentially*; but when viewed in the *Para, Vyûha* and *Vibhava* forms, they may be considered as different.

Thus there is no difficulty presented warranting the speculation about "later interpolations." [p. 103 *op. cit.*, J. R. A. S., Bombay Branch].

A. GOVINDÂCHÂRYA SVÂMIN, M.R.A.S.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUESTIONS.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

(Continued from Jour. Bomb. As. Soc., Vol. XXIII., p. 106.)

VIII.—The Kailâsa Temple at Elûrâ.

DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR was the first to show from two verses in the Baroḍâ grant of the Gujarât king Kakkarâja that the temple of Kailâsa at Elûrâ was built by Kṛishṇarâja I of the Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty.[1] The verses are :—

एलापुराचलगताद्भुतसन्निवेशं
यद्वीक्ष्य विस्मितविमानचरामरेन्द्राः ।
एतस्व(त्स्व)यम्भु शिवधाम न कृत्रिमे श्री-
र्दृष्टे दृशीति सततं बहु चर्चयन्ति ॥
भूयस्तथाविधकृतौ व्यवसायहा[ने-
रे]तन्मया कथमहो कृतमित्यकस्मात् ।
कर्त्तापि यस्य खलु विस्मयमाप शिल्पी (।)
तन्नाम कीर्त्तनमकार्य्यत येन राज्ञा । [।]

His translation is :—

"(That king), by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Elâpura, of a wonderful structure,—on seeing which the best of immortals who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; in a thing made by art such beauty is not seen', a temple the architect-builder of which, in consequence of the failure of his energy as regards (the construction of) another such work, was himself suddenly struck with astonishment, saying, 'Oh, how was it that I built it!'"

Here the points involved are two: (1) that Elâpura is identical with Elûrâ; and (2) that Kailâsa can by its stupendous nature be the only temple referred to as striking one with astonishment. Both these conclusions are correct. For, in the first place, Elâpura can easily run into Elûrâ or Verûḷ. But if any further proof is needed, it is supplied by a local *mâhâtmya*, professing to be part of the *Padmapurâṇa*. Verse 38 of the first chapter is: —

शिवालयं कृते नाम शिवस्थानं परे युगे ।
तस्मादेलापुरं नाम नागस्थानं कलौ युगे ॥

From this it appears that Elûrâ was known as Śivâlaya, Śivasthâna, Elâpura and Nâgasthâna in the Kṛita, Tretâ, Dvâpara and Kali yugas, respectively. We thus find that Elûrâ has been actually called Elâpura in the local *mâhâtmya*. As regards the second point, Kailâsa is a Śiva temple and is the most extensive and elaborate of all the cave structures at Elûrâ, and can alone be taken to answer to the description given in the verses quoted above. This conclusion receives confirmation from another source. On the ceiling and architraves of the front porch of the Kailâsa temple are some remains of old paintings. In one of them, "a râjâ is represented seated with a *chhatra* held over him; to the left some people are paying respects to him, and to the right are two bearded men seated with *chhatras*. Over the râjâ is written—*Svasti Kannuradevarâya*.[2]" Kannuradeva here, according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, is "Kṛishṇadeva or Kannaradeva II., of the Nikumbhavaṁśa who ruled at Pâtna, probably as feudatories of the Devagiri râjas." But, I think, there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to this Kannuradevarâya being the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereign Kṛishṇarâjadeva I., especially if we remember that he is the only prince of the name Kannaradeva who is represented to have built a colossal temple at Elâpura. The Kailâsa temple must, therefore, be supposed to have been built by this Râshṭrakûṭa king, and this explains why his painting

[1] Above, Vol. XII., pp. 228-30. [2] *Archæological Survey of India* by Dr. Burgess, No. 10, p. 97.

should have been found here. Again, the same temple seems to be referred to in the Kaḍaba plates of Prabhûtavarsha. In line 34 of this inscription, Akâlavarsha [—Kṛishṇarâja I.,] is said to have erected a temple which was styled after his own name Kaṇṇeśvara (Kaṇṇeśvara). Prof. Lüders, who has edited the grant, says: "In lines 29-30 it is said that the sun, reflected in its jewel-paved floor, seemed to have descended from heaven to show reverence to Parameśvara. This and the form of the name indicate that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. And it must have been an uncommonly magnificent building; for nearly the sixth part of the whole inscription is devoted to its description, and its erection is the only deed of the king which the author has thought worth mentioning. The temple spoken of here must, therefore, necessarily be that splendid Śiva temple which, according to the Baroḍâ grant, was built by Kṛishṇa on the hill of Elâpura, the modern Elûrâ.[3]" It, therefore, appears that the Kailâsa temple was originally known as that of Kaṇṇeśvara, or rather Kannareśvara. Now the question arises: how this temple is now known as Kailâsa, if it was originally called Kannareśvara. An explanation of it was given me by a Gurav, when I was there in February last; and there is an air of plausibility about it. On the south side of the temple below a bridge, which is now fallen, but which was across from a balcony of the temple to a cave in the scarp, is a large sculpture of Râvaṇa under Kailâsa. Here Pârvatî is stretched out clinging to Śiva; while her maid, in fright at the shaking of the ground under her feet, is represented in the background fleeing for safety. This scene is sculptured touching the ground. In fact, the feet of Râvaṇa have gone into the ground. This gives the idea that the temple is Kailâsa which Râvaṇa from below is trying to shake off. This sculpture, it therefore appears, first suggested the name Kailâsa for the temple.

Epigraphic conclusions are also corroborated by archæology in this respect. With regard to the date of this temple on purely architectural grounds, Dr. Burgess makes the following remarks: "No one will probably hesitate to accept this as a fact who is familiar with the plan and details of the great Śaiva temple at Paṭṭadkal near Badâmî. The arrangements of the plan and even the dimensions of the two temples are almost identical. The style is the same, and even the minutest architectural ornaments are so alike as almost to be interchangeable. In fact it would be difficult to find in India two temples so like one another, making allowance, of course, for the one being structural and the other cut in the rock, and the one being consequently one storey in height, the other two. Barring these inevitable peculiarities they both might have been erected by the same architect and certainly belong to the same age. What that was has been ascertained from an inscription on the Paṭṭadkal temple, which states that it was erected by the Queen of the second Vikramâditya in the year 733 A. D., and consequently during the reign of Dantidurga, thus confirming the probability, in so far as architectural evidence can do so, that the Kailâsa was excavated during the reign of that monarch.[4]" The building of the temple might have been commenced by Kṛishṇarâja during the reign of Dantidurga but finished when he became king.

IX. The Paramâra King Dharaṇîvarâha.

In their accounts of the Paramâras, the chronicles of Mârwâṛ are full of the name of Dharaṇîvarâha, who is looked upon as the most famous of the Paramâra princes of Râjputânâ. It is reported of him that he made himself master of *nava-koṭ* Mârwâṛ, which he afterwards divided amongst his nine brothers. The *chhappaya-chhanda*, which describes this, and which is known all over Râjputânâ, runs thus:—

मंडोवर १ सामंत हुवो अजमेर २ सिद्धसुव ।
गढ पूगल ३ गजमल्ल हुवो लोद्रवै ४ भाण भुव ॥
अल्हपल्ह अरबद्द ५ भोजराजा जालंधर ६ ।
जोगराज धरधाट ७ हुवो हांसू पारक्कर ८ ॥
नवकोट किराडू ९ संजुगत थिर पंवारहर थप्पिया ।
धरणीवराह धर भाइयां कोट वांट जूजू किया ॥

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 337.

[4] *Cave-Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess, p. 453.

I, therefore, began to find out whether the name of Dharaṇîvarâha could be traced in any of the Râjputânâ inscriptions so far discovered. This name was met with by me in the Bijâpûr inscription of Dhavala, the Râshṭrakûṭa prince of Hastikuṇḍî. Verse 12 represents Dhavala to have given support to Dharaṇîvarâha, who had been completely ousted by the Solaṅkî king Mûlarâja.[5] Though no surname was here attached to his name, it was surmised that Dharaṇîvarâha here referred to was the celebrated Paramâra king of that name. But it was, after all, a surmise, especially so long as his name was not found in the Paramâra records. Accordingly last year I began to hunt after the name in the inscriptions of the Paramâra kings of western Râjputânâ. While going over the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pûrṇapâla[6] edited by the late Prof. Kielhorn I came to the mutilated verse No. 5. It is as follows :—

— —⏑— —⏑ ⏑—⏑— —: श्रीमान्यथोर्व्वीं धृतवान्वराहः ॥
पुत्रोपि तस्मान्महिपालनामा तस्मादभूद्धुंधुक एव भूपः ॥ [५]

In the first half of this verse the name of a king is mentioned whose name is lost but who is likened to the Boar. As *Varâha* is the *upamâna* here, what could be the *upameya*, I thought? It suddenly flashed on me that it must be Dharaṇîvarâha, and my mind also at once restored the lost line to बभूव तस्माद्धरणीवराहः. I have, therefore, no doubt that this verse contained the name of the celebrated Dharaṇîvarâha, though it was not recognised by Professor Kielhorn owing to the first line being completely destroyed.

Mûtâ Neṇsî speaks of Dharaṇîvarâha as reigning at Kirâḍû, the ancient Kirâṭakûpa. So I asked myself whether this statement of the Mârwâṛ chronicle could be verified by any inscription from Kirâḍû. Kirâḍû is now desolate, and its ruins are spread near the modern village of Hâtmâ, 16 miles NNW. of Bâḍmer, the principal town of the Mallâṇî district, Jodhpur State. Here in a temple of Śiva there are three inscriptions, one of which is a Paramâra record[7]. So I commenced reading it carefully. This record, too, contains several lines highly mutilated. While going over it, I came to verse 8, the first line of which is gone but the second is :—

सिन्धुराजधराधारधरणीधरधामवान् ।

Here also a king is mentioned and compared to Dharaṇîdhara, *i. e.*, Varâha, and just as the latter supported the *dharâ* (earth) immersed in *Sindhurâja* (the ocean), so the king also supported the *dharâ* (kingdom) of Sindhurâja, *i. e.*, of his forefather of that name. There can hardly be a doubt that the first half of this verse, too, contained the name of Dharaṇîvarâha, which by a strange fate has disappeared with the lost portion in this inscription also. There can be no question that the Dharaṇîvarâha of the Kirâḍû is identical with the Dharaṇîvarâha of the Vasantgaḍh inscription, because the names of the predecessors and successors of both agree.

X.—The Paṭhârî Pillar Inscription of Parabala.

This inscription has been edited by Professor Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX., p. 248 ff. It is of the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Parabala, and is dated V. E. 917=A. D. 861. The name of his grandfather was Jejja, whose unnamed elder brother is spoken of as having obtained the kingdom of Lâṭa after defeating the Karṇâṭa soldiers. Jejja's son and Parabala's father was Karkarâja, who put to flight the king Nâgâvaloka and invaded his home. Now who was this Nâgâvaloka? He was undoubtedly 'a ruler of some importance', as Professor Kielhorn says. He is also quite correct in saying that this king is identical with that Nâgâvaloka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vigraharâja,[8] in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary of the Châhamâna Gûvaka I. Vigraharâja was six generations removed from Gûvaka I, and for the former we have the date 970 A.D. We have thus to assign the period A. D. 816-838 to Gûvaka I, whose contemporary Nâgâvaloka was. This brings Nâgâvaloka so close to Nâgabhaṭa II. (*circa* 800-25 A.D.) of the imperial Pratîhâra dynasty that there can hardly be a doubt as to the latter being referred to by the former name in the Paṭhârî inscription. It is this Nâgâvaloka, therefore, whom Parabala's father, Karkarâja, is represented to have

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X., p. 21. v. 12. [6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX., p. 13. [7] This inscription has not yet been published.
[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 121; but the translation given is wrong.

put to flight. We know that Nâgâvaloka or Nâgabhaṭa was a contemporary of and vanquished by Govinda III of the imperial Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty [9]. Karkarâja was in all likelihood a feudatory of Govinda III, and must have accompanied the latter in his expedition against Nâgabhaṭa. And it is no doubt to this defeat of Nâgabhaṭa that reference has been made in the Paṭhârî inscription. That Karkarâja was a feudatory of Govinda III, is rendered all but certain by the fact that an unnamed uncle of the former is represented to have obtained the kingdom of Lâṭa. The only prince of this time who obtained Lâṭa was Indrarâja, brother of Govinda III. The Râshṭrakûṭa records expressly state that one of his acts was to give "the Lâṭa province" to Indrarâja [10]. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the unnamed uncle of Karkarâja was no other than Indrarâja himself. And the Karṇâṭa soldiers defeated by him are probably the forces of Stambha (Kambaiya) [11] who was at the head of the confederacy of twelve kings that contended against, but were put down by, Govinda III. Indrarâja probably sided with him, and consequently obtained from him the kingdom of Lâṭa for the aid given.

Now, the question arises whether Parabala of our inscription is identical with Parabala, the father-in-law of Dharmapâla of the Pâla dynasty. From the Sanjân copper-plate grant of Amoghavarsha it is clear that Dharmapâla was a contemporary of Govinda III. For the last prince we have dates ranging from A.D. 794 to 808, and the date for Parabala furnished by the Paṭhârî inscription is A.D. 861. Dharmapâla being a contemporary of Govinda III, there is thus a difference of 53 years between Dharmapâla and Parabala. This makes it improbable that the latter was a father-in-law of the former. But on the other hand, we must remember that Dharmapâla had a long reign. According to Târânâtha's account he reigned for at least 64 years. If this statement of Târânâtha is given credence, the improbability of Parabala of our inscription being the father-in-law of Dharmapâla is removed.

One more point may be noticed *en passant.* Professor Kielhorn in his paper notices another Nâgâvaloka. He is mentioned as the supreme ruler in the Hânsoṭ grant of the Châhamâna chief Bhartṛivaḍḍa [12]. It is dated [V. S.] 813 = A.D. 756. This Nâgâvaloka is certainly not the Nâgâvaloka of the Paṭhârî inscription. In my opinion he is to be identified with Nâgabhaṭa I of the same, *i.e.*, imperial Pratîhâra dynasty, who has been assigned by Mr. Smith to *circa* 725-40 A.D. He is credited with having defeated the armies of the *mlechchhas* (barbarians) called Valachas [13] (Baluchs).

XI. The Pâṭodâ Grant of the Chalukya king Vinayâditya.

Last year a certain Delhi merchant had brought a set of copper-plates to my father for getting deciphered. They were found, he said, at Pâṭodâ, in the Panjâb, in the estate of Ṭhâkur Râmsingh Chohân while some digging operations were being carried on. On inspecting the plates I found that the inscription had been greatly damaged and in some parts entirely destroyed, by verdigris. Fortunately for us, enough of the second side of the second plate has been preserved, as that contains the most important portion of the record.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Bhaṭṭâraka* Vinayâditya Satyâśraya *Śrî-Pṛithivîvallabha.* It is dated Śaka 617, corresponding to the 14th year of his prospering victorious reign. And it records a grant of his, while encamped at Dhâpyapuva, to Sagaraśarman, of the Kâśyapa *gotra,* son of Dâmodaraśarman, and grandson of Apaśarman. The grant was made on the 15th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, and consisted of the village of Sthudhirâṭâ in the district (*vishaya*) of Uttarâda situated in Chemulya. Chemulya is evidently Chaul in the Kolâbâ district, Bombay Presidency, and this inscription is an instance of how copper-plate grants belonging to one part travel far and wide, and are found in quite a distant part of the country.

9 *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.,* Vol. XXII, p. 118.

10 *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I., Pt. II, p. 400.

11 *Ibid,* p. 395 and p. 397, note 1; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI., p. 197.

12 *Prog. Report Archæol. Surv. Ind., Western Circle* for 1907-8, p. 41.

13 *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report* for 1903-4, p. 280, l. 3, where *Balana* is read, but the accompanying photo-litho has distinctly *Valacha.*

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

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Nouns.—Number.

Continued from page 189.

1. Dravidian nouns are *inflected* for number. There are two numbers :—*Singular* and *Plural*.

Singular.

2. In all the Dravidian languages, the *primitive* or uncompounded nouns have no distinguishing mark of the singular number. The absence of the plural suffix is indicative of the singular number.

But in the case of the compounded or *derivative* nouns, the gender suffixes themselves indicate the singular number. Thus, *an* and its varieties indicate the masculine singular; *aḷ* and its varieties, the feminine singular; *du* and its varieties, the neuter singular. In short, in all the Dravidian languages, gender and number are conjointly expressed by one and the same termination.

Plural.

3. The plural is of two kinds :—(1) *rational*, (2) *irrational*; and these have different suffixes.

4. In early Dravidian irrational or neuter nouns were not inflected for plural. In Old Tamil, neuter nouns were, as a rule, the same in both the numbers. Even in Middle Tamil, it was considered highly idiomatic not to inflect the neuter noun for the plural number. (*Vide* Tholkâppiam Sutram 173 of Solladikâram, also Nannûl, Sutram 281.) In the conversational dialect of New Tamil, the neuter singular is used in a plural relation as *nâlu mâḍu mêygiradu*, four cow grazes—(the translation being literal).

In Brahui, the number of nouns is generally left undefined. In Malto and Kurukh, there is no difference between the neuter singular and the neuter plural. Dr. Caldwell says that in Toda and Coorg neuter nouns have no plural; and it seems that the only words in Toda that are ever pluralised are the pronouns.

Method of Pluralisation.

5. The plural suffix is directly attached to the crude base. Hence it replaces the masculine or feminine suffix in the case of the rational nouns. But as the neuter singular of Dravidian languages is identical with the crude base, the neuter plural suffix is attached directly to the neuter noun.

In some of the rude spoken dialects, such as the Korava and Burgaṇḍi, the rational plural suffix is added to the masculine singular form. (For illustrations see *infra.*)

The Epicene Plural Suffix; (*r*, *ar*).

6. The Primitive Dravidian Epicene plural suffix is *r*. It is added directly to the base as in *nîr* from *nî*, 'Thou'. It is the plural suffix in a few words in Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam, Telugu and Tulu.

But the usual rational suffix is *ar*. As *âṇ*, 'male', and *âḷ*, 'woman'; became respectively masculine and feminine singular suffixes in their unemphatic forms *an* and *aḷ*, so their plural *âr* also became the rational plural suffix in its unstressed inflexional form *ar*. Thus *âṇ* means 'a man'; *âḷ*, 'a woman'; and *âr*, 'persons,' 'men or women'.

Later on, *âr* the lengthened form of *ar* was also adopted, because the original vowel of the stressed words *âṇ* and *âḷ* was long. Thus *ar* and *âr* are indifferently used as epicene plural suffixes in Old Tamil.

The *â* of *âr* was often rounded to *ô*; and thus *âr* became *ôr*. This form is common in Tamil and Malayalam.

In the vocative plurals and the second personal pronominal plurals the *a* of *ar* has become *i* through the influence of the front vowel in *nî*. Thus we have the vocative and second person plural suffixes *ir* and *îr*. These were also extended, though only in a few cases, to other nouns:—*e.g.*, *pendir*, 'women'; and *magalir*, 'men'. These words are found only in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese.

Mâr, which is found in Tamil and Malayalam as a rational plural suffix, is a compound word. It consists of *mâ*, 'big'; and *âr* 'persons'. Thus it means 'big persons'. And we actually find that *mâr* is used in Tamil and Malayalam as a plural suffix of honour of words denoting 'parents', 'priests', 'kings', etc. In Malayalam, it is used with a wider range of application than in Tamil, and in cases in which an honorific meaning cannot be intended—*e. g.*, *kallanmâr*, 'thieves'. It is likely also that the honorific significance may here satirically be intended. Thus *mâr* was considered in early Dravidian as a plural suffix like *ar*; and Sutram 209 Tholkâppiam confounds the future plural termination of verbs *pâr* ∠ *mâr* with the above honorific *mâr*, and thinks that the two are identical. Dr. Gundert, too, makes the same mistake. The verbal plural suffix *par* is used only in the future tense, and by the side of a nasal becomes *mâr* as in *enmanâr*, 'they will say'; *unmâr*, 'they will eat it.' etc. Thus the future plural verbal suffix *mâr* and the nominal honorific plural word *mâr* are entirely distinct. Dr. Caldwell's identification of this *mâr* with the Irish *mâr* is, of course, based on an erroneous notion that the Dravidian and the Aryan languages are somehow connected.

Var and *bar* are given as epiceue plural suffixes by Dr. Kittel in article 119 of his Kannadâ grammar. But these are not suffixes different from *ar*; *var* is simply *ar* with the homo-organic consonant. Take the example given by him: *ivar*, these men, *ivar* is *i*, these, and *ar*, men; and *v* is the homo-organic consonant developed before *a* in Sandhi. This *v* naturally becomes in most words of Canarese *b* (see my phonology). Thus we have *bar*. The Canarese *anibar*, 'many men', is the same as Tamil *anaivar*.

Mbar is also one of the plural suffixes given by Dr. Kittel. *Mbar* is *bar* with *m*. This *m* is merely optional, see Sutram 99 of Sabdamanidarpana. Further it is found only in the plural forms of neuter nouns generally denoting number or quality: *e. g.*, *kelambar*, 'few men'; *palambar*, 'many men'; *posambar*, 'new men.' Perhaps this nasal *m* is due to the influence of Sanskrit neuters and some Dravidian neuters like *maram*, 'tree', which end in *m*.

Again the Canarese plural suffix *ndir*, given also by Dr. Kittel, is a double suffix. It is composed of *and* and *ir and* means in Telugu where it is *anta* and *antu*, 'whole'. Hence it is itself a plural word, and *andir* or *ndir* is a double plural suffix. *Avandir* 'those men' etc., are due to the influence of Telugu.

Arir is no doubt a double plural being equal to *ar* plus *ir*.

Thus *var*, *bar*, *mbar*, *ndir*, *arir*, of Canarese, are all reduced to the Primitive Dravidian *ar*, and we have also shown that *mâr* is a compound of *mâ* and *âr*.

To sum up, the Primitive Dravidian *r* is found in the epicene plurals of Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, Telugu, Tulu, Malto, Kui, and Gôndi; the suffix *ar* is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, and Kurukh; *ôr* is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese and Naiki.

7. We shall now take each language separately and illustrate the use of the epicene plural suffix in it:—

Tamil.

In Tamil *ar*, *âr*, *ôr*, and *mâr* are the rational plural suffixes. We may add to these the rare *ir*, *îr*. Nannûl sums up all these in Sutram 278 under *r*.

Of these *ar* and *âr* are also used as verbal suffixes: *e. g., periyar* and *periyâr*, 'big men"; *vandanar* and *vandâr*, they 'came'; *ar* as a verbal suffix is preceded always by the consonant *n*, while as a nominal suffix, it takes *v* or *y*, the homo-organic Sandhi consonant: *e. g., vandanar* 'they came'; but *vandavar*, 'those who came'; also *periyar*, 'big men'. (For explanation see *verbs*.)

Mâr and *ôr* are used only as nominal suffixes: *tây mâr*, 'mothers'; *tagappan-mâr*, 'fathers'; and *periyôr*, 'big men'. *Mâr* is used as a plural suffix of honour of words signifying 'parents', priests, kings, etc.; cf. *perumân*, 'respected person'.

Ir is found only in a few words as *peṇḍir*, 'women', *magaḷir*, 'men,' etc., also *nîyir* and *nîvir*, 'you'.

Or is directly added to *nî*. Hence *nîr*, 'you'.

In the Korava dialect of Tamil, *mâr* and *aru* are the plural suffixes :—*tôp-mâr*, 'fathers'; *manasaru*, 'men' (*vide L. S.*, p. 319).

Malayalam.

The epicene plural suffixes of Malayalam are *mâr*, *âr*, *ar* (*vide* Article 86 in Sheshagiri Prabhu's Grammar). Examples are :—*nârimâr*, 'women'; *tambiyâr*, 'younger brothers'; *nâyanâr*, 'chief men'.

The demonstratives *avar*, *ivar* and the interrogative *evar* have, as in Tamil, plural suffix *ar*. But the second person plural is *niŋŋal* and not *nîr* as in Tamil.

Canarese.

Sutram 98 of Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa gives *ar* as the epicene plural suffix, *e. g., arasar*, 'kings'; *dêviyar*, 'goddesses'.

Dr. Kittel, as explained already, gives the following suffixes in Article 119, of his Kannada Grammar under *Ancient Dialect* :—*ar, aru, or, bar, mbar, var, ir, arir, ndir* : *e. g., ivar*, 'these men'; *arasar*, 'kings', *nûrpadimbôr* (in a sasana of 1123 A.D.); *anibar*, 'many men'; *irvar*, 'two men'; *peṇḍir*, 'women'; *akkaygaḷir*, 'sisters'; *ivandir*, 'these men'. In the mediæval and the modern dialect, too, these suffixes are given; only they take uniformly the final enunciative *u*.

The forms *palambar*, *kelambar* have already been explained.

Tulu.

Tulu uses *ru* (Brigel 28) as the epicene plural suffix., *e. g., naramâni*, 'man,' and *naramânyeru*, 'men'; *kartâve*, 'lord'; *kartâveru*, 'lords.'

Nouns like *kudike*, 'fox', have a double plural suffix, *rlu*, *e. g., kudikerlu*, 'foxes.'

The Demonstratives *mêru*, they (proximate) and *âru*, they (remote); as also the second person plural *îru*, you, contain the *r* suffix.

Telugu.

That *ar* or *r* was the epicene plural suffix in Prehistoric Telugu is proved by the existence of a few nouns in New Telugu which take *r* as the plural suffix. Chinnayya Sûri refers to the following words in rules 5, 6, and 7 *âtʃtʃika paritʃtʃêdamu* Chapter.

1. *Rule 5.*

Singular.	*Plural.*
pagatuḍu, a foe;	*pagaturu*, foes.
alluḍu, son-in-law;	*alluru*.
neyyuḍu, a friend;	*neyyuru*.
mârtuḍu, a foe;	*mârturu*.

2. *Rule 6.*

gaṇḍa(ṇ)ḍu, a brave man;	*gaṇḍaṇḍru*.
miṇḍa(ṇ)ḍu, a paramour;	*miṇḍaṇḍru*

3. *Rule 7.*

Words ending in *kâ(ṇ)ḍu* become in plura *karru*; *e. g.*,

vilukâ(ṇ)ḍu, archer;	*vilukârru*.
vêṭakâḍu, hunter; etc.	*vêṭakârru*.

All the other nouns have adopted the irrational plural suffix *lu*, a shortening and softening of the Tamil, Malayalam, Canarese, *kaḷ*. Thus in Telugu, the ruling plural suffix, rational and irrational, is *lu*.

The Telugu second and third personal pronouns take *r* in the plural; *mîru*, 'you'; cf. Tamil *nîr-vâru*, *evaru*, and also *tamaru*, meaning respectively they, who, and themselves.

Other North Dravidian languages.

Kurukh forms the plural of rational nouns by adding *ar*. (*Vide* L. S., p. 412.) Thus *âl-ar*, men; *mukkar*, women.

In Malto the rational plural suffix is *r* (L. S., p. 448). Thus *maler*, men; *peler*, women.

In Kui, the rational suffix is *ru*, *i.e.*, masculine plural suffix; for feminine and neuter have another suffix. Thus *dâdâ*, elder brother, *dâdâru*, elder brother (L. S., p. 462).

Gôṇḍi. Dr. Grierson has the following interesting note on *ôr*, he, the demonstrative singular of Gôṇḍi:—*Ôr* is, however, by origin a plural form, which has become used in the singular, just as the corresponding plural pronoun in connected languages is very commonly used as an honorific singular. The old singular form must have been *ôn*. It is still preserved in the form *ôṇḍu* in the so-called *kôi* of Bastar and Madras Presidency. (L. S., p. 479.) Thus we see that in old Gôṇḍi we had *r* as the rational suffix.

In Kôlâmî the usual suffix is *l*. Still in *mâsur-ung*, 'to the men,' we have, says Dr. Grierson, apparently a plural suffix *ur*, *r*, for the singular is *mas*, 'man.' (L. S., pp. 562, 564.)

In Naiki we have a rational plural suffix *kôr*. Perhaps this corresponds to *mâr* of Tamil and Malayalam, or more correctly to *ôr*. Thus *pôra*, son; *pôrakôr*, sons (L. S., p. 572.)

The Neuter Plural Suffix gaḷ.

In Primitive Dravidian, the plural suffix of neuter primitive or uncompounded nouns was *gaḷ*. This is found in its original form in the central and the south Dravidian languages; but in the Northern dialect the gutteral *g* has disappeared, and the suffix is reduced to *lu*.

We shall now give the various forms that this suffix has assumed in the different Dravidian dialects:—

Tamil and Malayalam.

In these two languages the suffix is *gaḷ* or *kkaḷ*. *Gaḷ* is used in the case of neuter nouns of more than two syllables, and nouns of two syllables that have a long vowel in the first syllable. In all the other cases *kkaḷ* is used:—*e. g.*, Tamil and Malayalam: *padagu*, boat; *padagugaḷ*, boats; Tamil and Malayalam; *âdu*, sheep; *âdugaḷ*, sheep (pl.); *kâdu*, jungle; *kâdugaḷ*, 'jungles'; *pû*, flower; *pûkkaḷ*, flowers; *paśu*, cow; *paśukkaḷ*, cows, etc.

In Malayalam *gaḷ* becomes *ṅaḷ* if the noun should end in a nasal: *e. g.*, *maram*, tree; *maraṅṅaḷ*, trees; *peṇ*, girl; *peṇṇaḷ*, girls; etc. (*Vide* Art. 87, Shashageriprabhu's Vyakarṇa Mitran.)

Canarese.

Sutram 95 of Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa gives *gaḷ* as the plural suffix of neuter nouns, *e. g.*, *kaṇ*, eye; *kaṇgaḷ*, eyes; *tode*, thigh; *todegaḷ*, thighs; *koḷam*, tank; *koḷamgaḷ*, tanks. Dr. Kittel's grammar, too, gives the same: *gaḷ* in ancient dialect, *gaḷ*, *gaḷu* in mediæval dialect, and *gaḷu* in the modern dialect. But under the ancient dialect he gives also *kaḷ*. The examples are only two:—*kôḷkaḷ*, *nâḷkaḷ*. Evidently the *kaḷ* form must have been very rare.

Tulu.

In Tulu we have as neuter plural suffixes *kuḷu* and *ḷu* (*Vide* Brigel's Tulu Grammar, Article 32), *e. g.*, *mara*, a tree; *marokuḷu*, trees; *kuri*, a sheep; *kurikuḷu*, sheep; *guru*, a priest; *gurukuḷu*, priests; *pû*, flower; *pûkuḷu*, flowers; but *jîva*, life; *jivoḷu*, lives; *paravâdi*, a prophet; *paravâdiḷu*, prophets; *mêji*, a table; *mêjiḷu*, tables; *bêle*, work; *bêleḷu*, works, etc. It seems possible even in Tulu to apply the rules for the use of *kkaḷ* and *gaḷ* in Tamil and Malayalam. Polysyllabic words of more than two syllables and dissyllabic words which have a long vowel in the first or the second syllable take *ḷu* and all other words take *kaḷu*. Here in this respect Tulu seems nearer Tamil and Malayalam than Canarese, though Tulu and Canarese both belong to the central Dravidian group. In its use of *ḷu* it is like Telugu which uses *lu*, the softened form of *ḷu*.

Telugu.

The usual plural suffix in Telugu is *lu*. (This is also used in the case of rational nouns.) For example, *âvu*, a cow; *âvulu*, cows; *kâlu*, leg; *kâḷlu*, legs, etc.

That *kaḷ* was the plural suffix in Primitive Telugu, *i.e.*, prior to the period of the Great Accent change, and that it was subsequently contracted to *lu* is amply proved by the following words :—

	Singular.	Plural.
1.	*kalanu*, a battlefield;	*kala(ŋ)kulu.*
2.	*kolanu*, a tank;	*kola(ŋ)kulu.*
3.	*neṛanu*, joint;	*neṛankulu.*
4.	*mrânu*, a tree;	*mrâ(n)kulu.*
5.	*kelanu*, a side;	*kela(n)kulu.*
6.	*koṛanu*, a pasture ground;	*koṛa(n)kulu.*
7.	*gavanu*, an opening;	*gavankulu.*
8.	*rênu*, a fig tree;	*rê(n)gulu.*
9.	*gônu*, a kind of vegetable;	*gô(n)gulu.*

In these words *kulu* is regularly added to the singular.

The analogy of words taking *lu* only in the plural led to the false conclusion that *k* in *kal* or *kulu* must be a part of the singular and not of the plural. Hence many false singulars with final *k* were formed; and the old regular singulars without *k*, which exactly corresponded to the Kindred form in other languages, were replaced by these false forms :—

	Telugu Plural.	Telugu Singular.	Tamil Singular.
1	*ênugulu*, elephants	*ênugu*	*ânaî.*
2	*pînugulu*, corpses	*pînugu*	*pinam.*
3	*aḍugulu*, feet	*aḍugu*...	*aḍi.*
4	*maḍugulu*, folds	*maḍugu*	*maḍi.*
5	*koŋgulu*, branches or leaves...	*koŋgu*	*unkai.*
6	*elukalu*, rats...	*eluka*	*eli.*
7	*tʃilukalu*, parrot	*tʃiluka*	*kiḷi.*

In these cases the Telugu singular has a *k* or *g* which is not found in the Tamil singulars. But the plurals exactly correspond. So it is evident that the *k* of the Telugu singular belongs to the plural.

Other Spoken Dialects.

Malto, Brahui, and Kurukh have the same form in the singular and the plural as Old Tamil. (*Vide* L. S., pp. 412, 448 and 622.)

In the other dialects *gaḷu* has worn out to *ga*, *i.e.*, its final syllable *ḷu* is lost. Sometimes this *g* is added to the masculine singular ending *n*, and we have the plural *ŋga*. This is due to the extension of *ga* to the rational nouns also.

In Gôṇḍi the suffixes are *k* and *ŋg*, *e. g.*, *kâl-k*, feet; *maṭṭâ-ŋg*, mountains. When a word ends in *r* preceded by a long vowel, then *r* becomes *k* :—*miâr*, daughters; *miâkk*, daughters. Some are irregular :—*allî*, rat; *alk*, rats; *kaller=rk* is a double plural having *r* and *k*. (*Vide* L. S., p. 479.)

Korava, a dialect of Tamil, has *gaḷu*, *ga*, *ŋga* as neuter plural suffixes. It has also rational suffixes, *mâr* and *aru* : (L. S., p. 319) *âvaŋga*, cows; *mâḍaŋga*, bulls.

Kaikâḍi and Burgaṇḍi (also dialects of Tamil) have *aŋg* as neuter plural suffix. Kaikâḍi has also *ga* :—*kudri*, horse: *kudriyaŋg*, horses; *nây*, a dog; *nâyaŋg*, dogs. These dialects have no separate rational plural suffixes. The above suffixes are also used as epicene suffixes. (*Vide* L. S., pp. 334 and 343.)

To sum up, the neuter plural suffix of primitive or uncompounded nouns is *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* in Tamil and Malayalam, *gaḷ* and *kaḷ* in Canarese, *kuḷu* and *ḷu* in Tulu, *lu* in Telugu, and *k*, *ga*, or *ŋga* in Korava, Kaikadi, Burguṇḍi, and Gôṇḍi. Brahui has sometimes *t*. Malto, Kurakh, and Bruhui have the same form in the singular and the plural.

(b) Neuter Plural Suffix in a.

Besides the neuter plural in *gaḷ* with its varieties, we find in all the Dravidian languages a neuter plural in short *a*. But the following is the difference in use between the two suffixes:—

(1) *Gaḷ* is the neuter plural suffix of primitive or uncompounded nouns, while *a* is the neuter plural suffix of compounded or derivative nouns.

(2) *Gaḷ* has a tendency in most languages to replace the rational plural suffix, and is often found compounded with it, while *a* has remained purely a neuter plural suffix of compounded words.

(3) *Gaḷ* is not used as the verbal suffix of plurality, while *a*, like other suffixes of derivative nouns (*aṉ*, *aḷ*, *ar*), is used also as a verbal suffix.

We shall now treat of its various forms in the different Dravidian dialects:—

Tamil.

In Old and Middle Tamil the neuter plural suffix of compounded nouns is *a* :—*ariya*, rare things; *śiriya*, small things. This *a* very early became *ai*, as it is found in the demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns:—*avai*, they; *evai*, what; etc. Gradually this *ai* form was extended also to other words. Thus Old Tamil *ariya* and *śiriya* became *areyavai* and *śireyavai* in Middle Tamil. In New Tamil *gaḷ*, the primitive neuter suffix, was added to *ai*. Thus we have, *avaigaḷ*, *ariyavaigaḷ*, etc.

Dr. Caldwell is right in thinking that *pala*, *śila*, *piṟa*, etc., when they are used as nouns, may contain the neuter plural suffix *a*. The final *a* of these words is not to be confounded with the adjectiveal suffix *a*.

Malayalam.

Malayalam faithfully preserves this suffix in its original form, *a*. We have, *ava*, they; *iva*, these; *eva*, what. We have also the double plural form *agaḷ*. Thus *avagaḷ*, *evagaḷ*, etc., are also found.

Canarese.

In Canarese this *a* becomes *u*, which in Sandhi becomes *vu* with the homo-organic consonant. Thus we have *avu*, they; *ivu*, these; *peṟavu*, others; *pallavu*, many things. In verbal forms, too, we find *u* (which becomes *vu*); *e. g.*, *kêḷdapuva*, they hear.

Tulu.

The Tulu demonstratives and interrogatives are so contracted that it is impossible to say if they contain this neuter plural suffix. But the existence of this *a* as a plural verbal suffix of neuters points out to the existence of the normal suffix *a* also in very early Tulu. Compare the following verbs; *mulpuṇḍu*, it makes; *muḷvuva*, they make; *maḷtuṇḍu*, it made; *maḷta*, they made.

Double or Mixed Plural Suffixes.

For a long time (till about the 7th century) the distinction between the rational and irrational suffixes was carefully preserved. But gradually the rational suffixes *r*, *aru*, etc., were used to denote honorific singulars; and hence it became necessary to add to these words another suffix denoting plurality. The suffix that was used in all such cases was *gaḷ*. Thus we have in all languages a double or mixed plural, form: *e. g.*, Tamil, *avargal*, *dêvargaḷ*, etc. Malayalam: *avargal*, etc. Canarese: *avargaḷu*, etc. Telugu: *vâralu* and *vâḷḷu*, etc. Tulu: In this, r has disappeared and we have, *âkulu* those men.

Further *kaḷ* or *gaḷ* was extended to neuter nouns as well. Thus we have *avaigaḷ*, *evaigaḷ*, etc., in Tamil; *avagaḷ*, *evagaḷ*, etc., in Malayalam; *avagaḷu*, etc., in *Canarese* and *aikulu*, they, in Tulu.

GABRIEL BOUGHTON AND THE GRANT OF TRADING PRIVILEGES TO THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL.

BY W. FOSTER.

MOST writers on the early history of British trade in Bengal have repeated (with more or less reserve) the picturesque story according to which the concessions, that enabled the East India Company's servants to establish factories and to trade duty-free in that province, were obtained through the magnanimity of a surgeon named Boughton, who, having cured, first an imperial princess, and then one of the consorts of Prince Shujâ, the Viceroy of Bengal, declined to receive any personal remuneration, but begged that in lieu thereof his fellow countrymen might be granted the commercial privileges they had long desired. The story has been traced by Sir Henry Yule (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. 167) to Major Charles Stewart's *History of Bengal* (1813), where it is given as follows (p. 251):—

"In the year of the Hegira 1046 [A. D. 1636 *in margin*] a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the vizier Assud Khan, to desire the assistance of an European surgeon. For this service the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, then in the Dekkan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite at Court; and, having been desired to name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterizes Britons, sought not for any private emolument, but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country. His request was complied with, and he was furnished with the means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province, he proceeded to Pipley; and, in the year 1048 [A. D. 1638 *in margin*] an English ship happening to arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor's firman[1], and the privileges granted to him, negociated the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties. In the following year, the Prince Shujaa having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajemahel, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness: he was most graciously received; and one of the ladies of the *haram* being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr. Boughton was held in high estimation at the Court of Rajemahel; and, by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the orders of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or, by some underhand method, have been rendered nugatory. In the year 1050 [A. D. 1640 *in margin*] the same ship returned from England and brought out a Mr. Bridgeman and some other persons, for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton, having represented the circumstance to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgeman: that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajemahel, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at Pipley, factories at Ballasore and Hoogly.[2] Some time after this event, Mr. Boughton died; but the Prince still continued his liberality and kindness to the English."

[1] Stewart explains that this was the *farmân* received at Surat in February, 1634, giving the English permission to trade in Bengal, using Pippli as their port of entry. (See *The English Factories in India*. 1634-36, p. XXXV.)

[2] Stewart here appends: 'See *East India Records*, Vol. XIV, p. 22'—a reference which no one has succeeded in explaining. There is no such series now at the India Office, nor is there any evidence of its having existed at the East India House; and it cannot be linked in any way with the Memorandum mentioned on the next page.

"This extract from Stewart," says Yule, "furnishes the earliest version that I have been able to find of this story in its completeness, and it has become the staple of the popular historians, but I cannot trace it to any accessible authority"; and after pointing out the impossibility of Boughton's deputation having had any connexion with the accident to the Princess Jahânârâ, he concludes: "If it be allowable to form a conjecture, mine would be that one of Stewart's native authorities may have 'combined the information' as to the lady's accident and Boughton's mission (the latter derived from some European source), and that Stewart had adopted this without inquiry."

Apparently Yule had not noticed that much the same account had been given by Orme in the second volume of his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, published in 1778. Here (p. 8), speaking of Bengal, Orme says :—

"The trade of this country was opened to the English by means of a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the Emperor Shaw Jehan, whom he cured, and the Emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province and to carry them by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered; on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an ample stipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the Company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which, being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courtesy and assisted in their mercantile transactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade."

Clearly, Stewart did not take his version from this, for his is the more detailed account; but the resemblance between the two is sufficiently close to warrant our concluding that both made use of the same authority. What then was this common source? We are guided to an answer by an examination of the *Orme MSS.* in the India Office Library, where, among the materials used by the historian, will be found two copies (*India*, Vol. VII, p. 1726, and *O. V.* 12, p. 1[3]) of an unsigned memorandum, dated February, 1685, on the origin of the East India Company's privileges in Bengal. To one of these Orme has prefixed a note that it was copied from a document "by an uncertain hand, who appears to have been one of the Company's agents in Bengal during the Agency of Job Chanock; which I, R. O., first discovered in the East India House, in a book intitled Fort St. George Letters Received, from the 28th July, 1687, to 18th February, 1687-88."

This reference is precise enough to enable us to trace the memorandum among the India Office records, in what is now *Factory Records : Fort St. George*, Vol. XXX (p. 35). The volume containing it is one sent home from Madras in 1688 for the information of the Company, and comprises (as noted by Orme) copies of letters received at that Presidency between July, 1687, and the following February. The document in question, though dated in 1685, is entered without comment among letters received in September, 1687; but there is a possible explanation of this. It follows a letter from Thomas Davies, the interloper, protesting against his being kept a prisoner; and, as it contains an accusation against him of being partly responsible for the troubles experienced

[3] I am indebted to Mr. S. C. Hill for this reference. My attention had, however, been previously drawn by Miss Anstey to the early copy among the records relating to Fort St. George from which Orme's transcript were made.

by the Company in Bengal, it may have been recorded at this point in justification of his detention. Otherwise, one may guess, it would never have been entered at all, since it was not in the nature of a letter. Of the fate of the original, by the way, nothing can be traced. Apparently it is no longer among the records at Madras.

The document is of such interest that it is worth quoting in full, premising that, while the spelling remains unaltered, as regards the punctuation and the employment of capital letters we follow modern methods.

A breif accountt of the rice and tenor of the Honourable English East India Companies priviledges, together [with] their losses of them and their present case as to the customs. Feb. Anno 1684 [i.e., *1685*].

About the year 1636 there was one Gabriel Boughton, a chyrurgeon, at Madrass (in the time of Agent Cockaine), who design'd home for England, and according took his passage upon the *Hopewell*, Captain Gage commander, and near the Cape mett with very bad weather and in the storm the said ship sprang a leak, which to save themselves they threw overboard their lading, and made for the Moritious; where they arrived and mett with the ship *Dolphin*, Captain Proud commander, which ship in bad weather had lost her masts; at which place both ships being fitted they went for Suratt. Mr. Boughton, haveing lost all that he had, tarried at Suratt; during which stay Assut Chaune, the Emperours Buxy, writt to Suratt for a chirurgeon to come to court; the Emperours daughter, by accident haveing her clothes set on fire, was burnt, for the cure of whom a chirurgeon was sent for. Mr. Boughton went and performed the cure. He was much made off, and allowed 7 rupies per diem and invited to serve the Emperour; but Mr. Boughton did not like to stay, and after some time travelled most part of India, and at last came down into Bengall. The Prince Shaw Sujah then residing at Rajamaule, Mr. Boughton went thither. He had been there but a little while, when he was taken notice off by a great person that had seen him at the Emperours court, while he was performing the cure upon the Emperours daughter. And at that time there was one of the Princes concubines, which woman the Prince greatly loved, had a great pain in her side, and could find no cure. The said great person acquaints the Prince that there was a chyrurgeon in the town that had wrought a great cure on the Emperours daughter; upon which the Prince sent for Mr. Boughton, who undertoke the cure and succeeded, curing the woman in a very short time; upon which Mr. Boughton was in very great favour and allowed by the Prince 10 rups. per diem. This Prince, Shaw Sujah, was the present Emperours elder brother, and had given him by his father the government and all the revenues of the provinces of Bengalla and Orissa. He offers Mr. Boughton, if he would trade, he should be free from paying of custom and all other duties, and gave Mr. Boughton two neshauns [*nishān*, an order] to that end. Mr. Boughton thereupon came down to Piply, and by a Moors ship then bound for Suratt writ to the President there and gave an account of all goods and merchandize that he could learn were here to be had. The President received the letter, and about two years after came a ship from England, whereof was commander Captain Brookhaven, and upon the account of Mr. Boughtons neshauns was free of all duties. He was at Hugly and bought severall goods and returnd; and after two year came the second time, and brought Mr. Bridgman Cheif, and severall others, to settle factories. And upon their arrivall Captain Brookhaven writt to Mr. Boughton, being then with the Prince at Rajamaule, that he was come to settle factories.

Mr. Boughton forthwith sent down his servant James Price to Hugly to fetch Mr. Bridgman up to the Prince; who accordingly went up, and was presented by Mr. Boughton to the Prince, to whom Mr. Bridgman made a present of some rarities; and Mr. Boughton took that opportunity to speak to the Prince for his neshauns for Mr. Bridgman to trade freely without the paying of custome or any other duties. The Prince gave it, upon Mr. Boughtons request; upon which neshaun Mr. Bridgman settled factories at Ballasore, Hugly, etc., which lasted till the United Company broke up. When the United Company broke up, there was one Mr. Paul Walgrave Cheif of Bengall, who went from Ballasore over land to Metchlepatam [Masulipatam], and in the way was rob'd and lost the Princes neshaun, with several perwannas [*Parwâna*, a grant or order] grounded upon it. There was at that time a Company that went under the name of Maurice Thompsons Company here; for whom there was Mr. Billadge, Gardon and Chamberlaine, to whom joyned Mr. Blak, one that was the old Companies servant. But they haveing neither neshaun nor perwanna, and Mr. Boughton dying about that time, they apply themselves to James Price, that was Mr. Boughtons servant and well acquainted at the Princes court, to endeavour to procure the Princes neshaun; which said James Price undertook to do them what service he could, and went up with Mr. Billadge from Ballasore to Rajamaulle, and did solicite for the Princes neshaun now in our hands, which they and this present Company after them had and did hold those priviledges during the Prince Shaw Sujahs time. But it was but little time before the King, the youngest brother, by severall stratagems got the crown; which no sooner he did posses but he sought Shaw Sujahs (his brothers) life, sent a great army down to take him. Shaw Sujah fled to Arracca [*i. e.*, Arakan] where tis said he was kill'd. The King made Meer Jumle (the Generall that came down with the army) Nabob. Trad being small, and the English few, by presents he allow'd the English to go on. He continued about four years. After him, about the year fifty-nine, came Daud Chawn [Dâûd Khân] to be Nabob. Still, the trade being small, etc., he allow'd the English free trade, being presented. The next was Shaw Esta Chawn [Shâista Khân], the present Nabob, who by presents was conduced to connive at the English free trade for about 16 years. The same Shaw-Esta-Chawn being Nabob from the year 1660 to 1677, was then turn'd out. Then came Sultan Azum, the present Emperours son, to be the Nabob; and at that time was Hodge Shuffy Chaun [Hâjî Sûfî Khân] Duan [*i. e.*, Dîwân] and a great freind to the English, who by applycation made to him did greatly favour the English in procuring the Princes neshaun to be custome free, which was granted anno [*blank*]. But the Prince continued but for one year, and Shaw-Esta-Chawn, the present Nabob, return'd again; and returning (being a most covetous man) came exceeding eager now to make the best of his time. And finding that the Moors and Mogulls were not for his turne, being a lazy people and given to their pleasure, he finds out a crafty fellow, a Gentue [*i. e.*, Hindu] (who of all men are most cruell when they gett in power), a person suited every way to the said Nabobs temper and inclination, whose name was Boolchaund [Balchand]. This person racks the people, gives the Companies affairs great disturbance; so that it was thought adviceable that a Vuckell [*wakîl*, an agent] should be sent to endeavour to get the Kings phirmand [*farmân*, an order], they never haveing any law for the Companies priviledges; considering that the Nabob of Behar, residing in Battana [Patna], would never take any notice of any of the neshauns or perwannaes of the Princes and Nabobs of Bengalla, but alwayes gave great disturbance. The latter end of anno 1678 a Vuckell was sent to the

Emperour, to get his phirmaund ; who after some time had admittance to present his petition, which concerned principally those two things : first, that the English paying custome 2 per cent., and jeidge [*jizya*, poll-tax] 1½ per cent. at Surrat, they should be free of custom in all other places of his Empire ; secondly, that there should be no rewannas [*rawânah*] or writing demanded of what goods or merchandize for quantity or quality the English ship of. The petition was received and accordingly there was drawn up a phirmaund and presented to the Emperour. The Emperour read it and, it being incerted according to the petition that, there being paid 2 per cent. custom and 1½ per cent. jeidga at Surrat, the English should be free of custome, etc., in all other places, and that no writing [be ?] demanded of the English in any other place then Suratt, the former (*viz.*, 'should be free of custome in all other places') the King struck out with his own hand, and added 'let not one hinder or molest them.' The latter (*viz.*, 'that no writing should be demanded of the English in any other place') the Emperour struck that quit out and added nothing. This I find the Vuckell adviseth Mr. Vincent, who returns an answer to this effect : 'if he could not gett it as he would, should gett it as he could.' The Vuckeel procures the phirmaund at great expence and sends [it ?], which arrivd here in anno 1680: which phirmaund was thought by many not of much value. A translate of said phirmaund follows :

In the name of God, amen. To all present and future rulers in Surrat that remain in the hopes of the Emperours favour. Be it known that at this happy birth of time it is agreed of the English Nation, besides their usuall custom of 2 per cent. for their goods, more 1½ jeidge or polemony shall be taken. Wherefore it is commanded that in the said place, from the 1st day of Shuvaal in the 23d year of our reign, of the said people there [*should be* three] and a half rupees per cent. of all their goods on account of custome and polemony be taken for the future; and [at ?] all other places upon this account let no one hinder or molest them for custom, rawdarree, peashcum, phirmaish,[4] and other matters by the Emperours court forbidden ; not [nor ?] to make any demands in these particulars ; observe. Written the 23d day of the month Suffer in the year twenty three.

When the phirmaund came, though there was a dispute upon it, yet, Hodges Suffy Chaun being our friend, a perwanna was obtained of the Nabob and said Duan Hodgee Suffy Chaun for free passing our goodes upon the phirmaunde, interpreting the said phirmaund in our favour ; and accordingly for the following yeare the Honble Companies affairs were not molested. But the next year Boolchund, having a coppy of the said phirmand, puts a stop upon all affaires and gives great trouble, saying the phirmaund doth not at all concerne this place, it being directly to the Governours of Surrat, and the meaning was that those that paid custome at Surrat should not be molested in any other place, and if we would have a rewanna that we had paid custom at Surrat, he would not require it for what goods we imported : and thereupon sends a copy of the said phirmaund to the Nabob with his interpretation of it, and withall informs the Nabob the English, under a pretence that they were freed of custome by the Kings phirmaunde, give their dusticks [*dastak*, a pass] to the natives of the Kings subjects and vassalls, by which means the King was defrauded of his revenue. At which the Dutch set in and excite the Governour, alleadging they have paid four per cent. custome ever since they have been in the country, which amount to a very great sum ; which was hard measure on them when the English go free. The Nabob writes all to the Emperour, and the effect was a husball hookum (or an order) from the

[4] *Râhdârî*, transit dues ; *peshkash*, presents ; *farmâish*, commission.

Emperour to Hodgee Suffy Chaun, his Duan, to take of us $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. custome; which came down the begining of anno 1682, a little before Agent Hedges etc. arrivall, who found a stop upon all the Honourable Companies affairs. And that which confirmed the stop was Mr. Vincents complying with the orders, paying 5 per cent. custome, which was exacted from them. A little before Agent Hedges etc. arrival Mr. Vincent had dispatcht a Vukeel to court, who was proceeded as far as Pattana when Mr. Pitt in the *Crown* arriv'd, upon whose arrivall Mr. Vincent orders the Vukell to stay there till further order. When it was made known to the said Agent Hedges that there was a Vukeel going to court, he, having a design to go to Dacca, pleads the great expence, hath it collected, and calls a Consultation and there aggravates the expence and lenght of time etc., as may be seen in a Consultation September 25, 1682. And having framed his designs to serve himself, as well in that particular as many others, he dissembled matters so artificially that an honest mind could not entertain any thought of his hypocrisy; but it appeard by the event that to serve himself was his design, and therefore the Vuckeel was remanded back. And to Dacca the said Agent goes and spends near 50,000 rs. and only obtains 7 months time (we giving in bills of entry at Hugly of all goods shipt off) to try what could be done in the procuring a phirmaunde (but did no more towards it then to trust the Nabobs promise to write on our behalf); and if a phirmaund cold not be procur'd in said 7 months then he yeilded to pay custome etc.; and give [gave?] the security of a merchant at Dacca (which trap it was thought was laid for him), into whose hands was deposited 20,000 rs. for counter security. After the 7 months was some time expired and no phirmaund came, the said merchant (into whose hands was deposited the 20,000 rs.) paies the custome upon the tallicaes [*talīka*] (or bills of entry), which were giveing [sic] during the said 7 months, which was for the goods that went home per *Defence* and *Society* etc.: the depositing the 20,000 rs. being a contrivance to draw into the fact, that they might have it entered into the Kings books that we had yeilded to pay custome and so be a president for the future, presidents in all cases being what these people build greatly upon, which they always plead as we do prescriptions in England. This paying of custome, although it was endeavoured to be hid by the Agent, yet it was rumored, and I told the Agent I heard that custom was paid; which as appeared afterwards was a real truth, yet he the said Agent denyed it with the greatest aservation. Before the next shipping I told him again I heard that the merchant had paid the custome; the Agent still denyed it. After the *Prudent Mary* and the *Herbert* was gone, I told him I heard custome was paid for what we had given our tallicas for in 1683. He still denyed, and the said Agent in the first generall by the *Golden Fleece*, at a Consultation, by reading the letters being put hard to it, with great asservation affirme [s] that custome was not paid, when 2 yeares successively he knew it was paid, the 20,000 rs. being a cover to the design; but before the *Golden Fleece* went away, in a second generall he acknowledges custom was paid for the 2 years past, and writes so to the Honourable Company. So that now 3 years successively custom hath been paid for what goods hath been entered; and that which is of vast prejudice to the Honourable Company, in that as well as in other respects, is Mr. Davis his offering to pay custom, as a motive to the procuring the Nabobs perwanna and his protection; who hath procured a perwanna upon those tearms, to build factories in, any place in Bengalla; and these Governours will not understand any difference of parties of the English, pretending more right one then the other.

Dhupkhâl: see *dhonitar*.

Dhurah: the middle-sized dove. Cf. *kowî* and *kamloa*. Kângra Gloss.

Dhûri: thick mist or cloud. Kângra Gloss.

Dhurnâ, *dhuṛach*, *dhanerâ*: a large spoon in which *dhûp* is burnt. Simla Hills.

Dhusra: a kind of maize with light yellow cobs intermixed with white grains. Cf. *dhusri* and *dagh*. Jullundur S. R., p. 122.

Diâlû: dayâlû = dayâl.

Diâpan jag: a movable festival, observed when any man is desirous of holding it. Brahmans are feasted and given clothes or money. A person having observed fasts on the *ikâdshî*, *Ram-naumî*, *janm-ashtmî* days ceases do so after performing a *diâpan jag*. Simla Hills.

Dibar: ill-drained low-lying land of poor quality, often water-logged. Cf. *chahn*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Dihâlû: a large mango fruit. Inside like curds (*dahi*) and not stringy. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Dihâr: s. m. a holiday, festival.

Diklu: the marten cat. Kângra Gloss.

Dikra: son. Bauria *argot*.

Dinga: a rake with long iron teeth. Cf. *phâora*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 162.

Dip, dap: a fish trap, consisting of a basket with a small hole at the top; bait is put into it to attract fish. Kângra Gloss.

Dipi: a small bridge (Lâhul), see *trangarî*.

Ditta: p.-part of *deuâ*.

Diuḍhî: dihuḍî = ḍeudhî.

Diva: a metal or earthen lamp. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Diwâri: a little door or passage through a wall. Kângra Gloss.

Doda: a cotton pod, p. 325.

Dodhâr: (1) a house occasionally lived in to cultivate land at a distance from one's own house; (2) the house (?) where cattle go to graze on certain hills.

Dodhia: a small mango fruit, white inside like milk (*dûdh*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Doerah: a milk pot. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Dogar: a good omen:—two water pots, one on top of the other. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 154.

Dohâr: see *dhowâr*.

Dohki: a small mango fruit, with a strong taste of turpentine. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Dohki: a big spoon. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Dohli: a grant of land set apart rent-free for the benefit of a temple, mosque or shrine, or a piece of land given rent-free to a *panḍit* or other member of a religious order. Gurgaon S. R. 1883, p. 88.

Dohlidâr: a holder of a *dohli*, *q. v.* Gurgaon S. R. 1883, p. 88.

Dohr: a large fine blanket. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Dohra: a man who puts the bundle of canes between the rollers. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 82.

Dohru: a ladle for oil, *ghi*, &c. Kângra Gloss.

Dolendhi: the day after the Holi festival. Cf. *phâj*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 150.

Dolera: a wooden spoon with which *gur* is ladled out. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 182.

Dhongâr: *salvadora oleoides*. Cf. *jâl*. Gurgaon S. R. 1883, p. 12.

Dongwar: a cut male sheep under 4 years of age—see under *bhed*.

Dopahri: breakfast—see under *datiâlû*.

Dorû : a gown worn by women in winter ; it covers the whole body, fitting close under the neck. Kângra S. R., p. 45.

Dosahi : a loose rich soil, quite as productive as the *Rohî*, for being lighter, all agricultural processes, ploughing, levelling and hoeing, are more easily carried on, and from its lightness the land is not so readily encumbered with weeds. Gujranwâla S. R., p. 25.

Dotli : a term used in Kullu to describe the grazing grounds round the villages. *Rirra* is also used. Kângra Gloss.

Dotrî : a young ewe which has not yet lambed—see under *bhed*.

Drabbar : a smooth grassy place or lawn. *Drap* is a species of grass. Kângra Gloss.

Drap : a species of grass.

Drîrkar : a village official, always a Gaddî by caste, who collected the *langokârâ* (*q. v.*).

Drûn : see *darûn*.

Duârwâla : a menial who goes with the bridegroom, at the time of marriage—fr. *duār*, a door also called *putriār*. Churâh. Mono.: p. 107.

Dûbh : a grass (*cynodon dactylon*). Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Dubbain (s. f.) : a great friend of.

Dubkia : a diver. Cf. *chaikan* and *dabolia*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 159.

Duchâb : a low grass, which remains green all the year round and is eaten by cattle, it has long spreading roots which cover the ground in all directions and are difficult to eradicate. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 14.

Dudharchar opâhû : a tenant-farmer residing in another village. Cf. *hal châk*, *bhatrî*, and *oprâ*. Kângra S. R. Review, p. 8.

Dudhi: a white beardless wheat. Cf. *dudh khâni*. Ludhiâna S. R. 1383, p. 113.

Dudh khâni : a white beardless wheat. Cf. *dudhi*. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 113.

Dûdni: a milk pail. Jullundur S. R., p. 61.

Dugar : a sorcerer, see under *den*.

Duhnî : a milk-pot := doerah. Sirmûr cis-Girî·

Dulhâ : bridegroom, *-an*, bride, wife.

Dûna : a vessel made of pottery, smaller than the *ghara*, for dipping water. Cf. *thilia* and *gharia*. Karnal S. R. 1880, p. 121.

Dunun : wasan ; a garlic. Simla S, R., p 46.

Dunggan : the ears of *jowâr* and *bâjra*. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 252.

Dupâtera : a one-stringed musical instrument. Pângi. (Dopâtra).

Durri : a fish (*Pseudeutropins mitchelli*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Dwâr : a door. Sirmûr.

Dwatan, or **dehl** : the beam on the floor between the door-posts on which the door shuts. Kângra Gloss.

Ehhari : lit. a fly flap ; a blue flag on the top of the shrine of the *gûga* pir (the greatest of the snake-kings). Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 152.

Ek hal kâ sâjji : a man who has contributed a full plough. Karnâl S. R., p. 112.

Ekar : a sugarcane, which resembles *dhaulu* (whiter, thicker and rather more easily peeled) only with dark coloured lines, the peel is harder, and there is less juice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 79.

Farolta : a small basket for holding grain. Simla S. R., p. 45.

Firohî (?) : a fine. Kângra S. R., p. 63.

Fitâ chalnâ : to keep along a hill-side—see under *bunh*.

Gâba : a bud of the *jowâr*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 187.

Gabhîr = gambhîr : an ulcer, syn. *adîth*.

Gad : a mud pillar. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 318.

this point, however, the story runs right off the rails—how far may be seen by comparing the following extract from a letter addressed to the East India Company by their President and Council at Surat under date of January 3,1645 (*India Office Records : O.C.* 1905), which gives the true story of Boughton's deputation to Agra. In excusing themselves for making a larger demand than usual for medical stores, the President and his colleagues explain that an unexpected call has been made upon their resources in this line:—

> "Assalant Ckaune, a very great Umbra [*umarâ*], gratious with the King and our very good freind, haveing long importuned us to supply him with [a] chirurgeon, wee consideringe how advantageous itt may be unto you, and haveinge a fitt oportunity, one Gabriel Boughten, late chirurgeon of the *Hopewell*, being thereunto very well qualifyed and being willinge to stay, wee have thought fittinge to designe him to that service ; wherewith Assal [aut] Ckaune is soe well pleased that lately, when Mr. Turner was to leave Agra, he accompanyed Mr. Tash and Mr. Turner to the King, who honord them more then ordinary in a long conference he held with them, dismissing them with vests, and sending unto the President a firman and dagger; which not being yett received, wee know not what the former may import[6] or the latters valew, but shall hereafter advise."

As will be seen, nothing is here said about the accident to the Princess Jahânârâ, which, according to our narrative, was the immediate cause of Boughton's journey to Agra ; on the contrary, we find that Asâlat Khân (not Asad Khân, who was quite a different person) had long been importunate for an English doctor—doubtless to attend to his own infirmities—and that only the difficulty of finding one who could be spared, and who was willing to accept the employment, had prevented an earlier compliance with his desires. Moreover, apart from this evidence, it has been pointed out by Yule and others that the fire-accident occurred early in 1644—nearly a year before Boughton was despatched ; while in any case, as the Court was then at Delhi, it would have been impossible to procure a European surgeon from Surat in time to be of any real service. We must conclude, therefore, that this part of the story is incorrect; and it is noteworthy that Bowrey's slightly earlier version (quoted below) says not a word about Boughton having had anything to do with the cure of the Princess. Further, in neither of them is it asserted that any *farmân* was granted to Boughton by the Emperor.

We next find the English surgeon at the court of Shâh Shujâ, who was then in charge of the province of Bengal. Asâlat Khân is said to have died in 1647 ; and this may have been the cause of Boughton's seeking a new patron. The account given in the narrative of his having cured a member of the Prince's *haram* may be accepted as probably correct, especially as it is corroborated to some extent by a further traditional account which Sir Henry Yule found in a MS. discourse by a Captain who traded in India about 1669-79.[7] This account, as printed by Yule (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III., p. 183), may here be quoted. After noting that the English were custom-free throughout Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, it proceeds :—

> " All which was procured by the ingenuitie of Mr. Gabriel Bowden, one of our owne nation, and a very eminent doctor of phisick, sometime doctor in ordinary to the great warriour

6 No reference is made to the *farmân* in later letters, but it appears to have been one for which the factors had applied, laying down the rates at which their export goods were to be valued at Surat.

7 The MS. has since been published by the Hakluyt Society under the title of *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1379, by Thomas Bowrey.* Sir Richard Temple, who edited the work, considered that the passage quoted above was Stewart's authority for his story of Boughton's mission ; but, apart from the notable discrepancies between the two accounts, there is no evidence that Stewart was aware of the existence of Bowrey's manuscript, while on the other hand he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to the East India House records.

Emir Jemla,[8] who tooke a very great affection towards him, and was most courteous and free to him. And especially upon a notable cure of his owne lady performed (under God) by the doctor, the Nabob, callinge for him, ordered him att that instant to demand what he wold have given him or had most likeinge to and it should be granted in consideration of his loyal service and care of the best of his familie. The doctor, highly surprised with this great person's generositie, soone considered upon it, yett soe as not to be greedy of any present gaine (onely for himselfe), and now in the best of time requested that the English nation might settle factories in what parts of the kingdomes they pleased, and be free off all duties and customes, which then was four per cent. in and the like out for all the goods dealt in. The which was noe sooner demanded but as readily granted, with phyrmands in the Persian languadge that the English nation should hold that priviledge soe longe as they pleased to live and settle in these dominions, and many other rewards liberally bestowed upon the doctor (one beinge very rare amonge the Mahometants)."

It will be observed that the two narratives differ as to the nature of the privileges obtained by Boughton, Bowrey's account representing that they were general to the English, while the other implies that they were special concessions to Boughton himself, though they were made to cover the transactions of Brookhaven in his first voyage. The latter version is the more likely, and it is supported by a document quoted by Yule (*loc. cit.* p. 184) relative to Brookhaven's second visit. This is a set of instructions to James Bridgeman and other merchants, whom Brookhaven was sending up from Balasore (December, 1650) to start a factory at Hugli; and in them stress is laid upon the necessity of obtaining a *farmân* from Shâh Shujâ for trade in Bengal—a clear proof that no general concession had yet been obtained from the Prince—and reference is made to certain promises received from "Mr. Gabriel Boughton, chirurgeon to the Prince," of assistance herein. The statement in our narrative that Bridgeman and his colleagues were successful in obtaining the desired grant is borne out by a letter from Madras dated January 14, 1652 (*O. C.* 2246), which says that "our freinds there [*i. e.*, in Bengal] have bin at the expence of 3,000 rups. at least to procure the Princes firmand for free trade in his dominions; which, if it can bee mainetained in its full vigour will in short time quite [*i. e.*, quit] the charge." Presumably this was the *farmân* that was lost by Waldegrave; whereupon a fresh grant was procured by the interlopers Gawton and Billidge, *viz.*, the well-known *nishân* of April, 1656.

The loss of the farmân is narrated as follows in a letter from Madras to the Company dated November 10 and 22, 1656 (*O. C.* 2579):—

"Mr. George Gawton, who hath also settled a factory in Ballasore, with eight or nine assistants, and procured a new phirmand for trade, that of Your Worships being lost, togither with all the Bay accompts and papers, by Mr. Waldegrave; who, being very sicke at the ships departure, could not come by sea but followed after by land, bringing the said phirmand, accompts, etc., with him, without leaving coppies behind in the factorie, recommended to the broker Narrana his charge, as hee ought to have done (having sent none by the ships) in regard of the dangers incident to soe long a journey and the troubles on the way, some of our English etc. people having byn robbd and wounded not many months before betweene Verasheroone and Vizagapatam; which

[8] This is a mistake. Mîr Jumla did not come to Bengal until after Boughton's death. The error may have been due to the fact that Mîr Jumla, as mentioned later, confirmed Shâh Shujâ's grant.

last place Mr. Waldegrave, accompanied with Capt. Durson and Thomas Wilson etc. servants having passed, about two daies journey on this side were sett on by other theeves, wounded, and robbed of all about them to their very clothes; in which disaster the said papers were lost, and could never since bee heard of, though Mr. Waldegrave himselfe staied some daies behind to make enquiry after them, and Mr. Winter since by our order sent purposely others to looke for them."

The date of Boughton's death is unknown. There is reason to believe that he was still alive in January, 1652, when two small vessels, in whose lading he had an interest, started from Bengal for Persia; but he was certainly dead by the summer of the following year. A letter from Paul Waldegrave at Balasore to the President at Surat, dated August 17, 1653 (*O.C.* 2336), referring to this venture, says:—

"Mr. Boughton had a great share therein, who died in debt to one Churmull, a shroff in Puttanah [Patna], betweene 5 and 6,000 rups. with its interest; and from whome wee have often received very many troublesome solicitacions for payment or securitie for that debt, hee [Boughton] being then under the nocion of the Companies servant and did their bussinesse in Puttanah that yeare."

Other claims were made upon the estate, particularly by William Pitt or Pitts, who had married "a Mogullana or Morish woman, the relict of Gabriell Boughton" (*O. C.* 2610). With this glimpse of Boughton's domestic arrangements we must here take our leave of him.

It would lead us too far to follow the unknown writer's account of transactions in Bengal subsequent to the viceroyalty of Shâh Shujâ; and it must suffice to warn the reader that the dates—doubtless given from memory—are approximate merely, and that there is an evident animus on the part of the writer (whom we have already guessed to have been John Beard) against Agent Hedges. It is quite possible, by the way, that the note was penned for the information of President Gyfford, who came from Madras to displace Hedges and at his departure left Beard in charge of the Bengal factories.

We may conclude by citing an interesting passage in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, to which attention was first drawn by Sir Richard Temple in his edition of Bowrey's work (p. 234). It is from a report made to the Court on September 4, 1674, by a Committee specially appointed to investigate the question of trade in Bengal; and it gives the following account (based, it would seem, on hearsay mostly) of the origin of that commerce:—

"We have discussed with Mr. [Shem] Bridges and others concerning the phirmaund or patent for trade granted the English by the Prince of Bengala; and we find that it was first procured by one Mr. Bowden, a chyrurgeon, and gave the English onely a libertie to trade, paying custom according to the King's phirmand, but was altered and made to pay noe custom according to the King's phirmand: that afterwards there was another phirmand, thought to be more advantageous to the trade of the English, procured by Mr. Gauton and Billidge, by which the English enjoyed the privilege of trading custom free (but still according to the King's phirmand) till the King [*sic*] fled out of Bengal: after which, and in Mr. Trevisa's time, the Nabob Mozam Cawne (formerly called Meere Jumbla) confirmed to the English the privilege of trading custom free, for all goods in and exported, by his perwanna: which privilege was again confirmed by Shaster Cawne, the present Nabob of Bengal, in Mr. Blake's time."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p.* 235.)

Dhaunchi: wheat liable to smut. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 189.

Dhâwan: bellows. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 106.

Dhejû: a widower when he marries again. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 135.

Dheû (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) : the jack-fruit tree. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 13.

Dhî dhain (fr. *dhî*—a daughter and *dhain* or *dhaen*—a girl of the village). Hence daughters of the village are called *dhi-dhaen*. Simla Hills.

Dhihâlu: a small earthen pot: a big one is called *hândi*, and a middle sized one *hândû*. The *dhihâlu* used to carry small presents of curds, *ghi*, &c., which a man takes to a friend or a patron's house when he goes to visit him. Kângra Gloss.

Dhingânâ: *adj.* violent, forcible.

Dhîṇg-dhîngane: willy-nilly. *P. D.*. p. 308.

Dhingiâria: a peacock. Bauria *argot.*

Dhiṅgon joṛi: *Panjabi Dicty*, p. 309.

Dhingra: buckwheat (*Cajanus bicolor*). Cf. *urhur* and *kundi*. Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Dhînkar: a hedge of thorny bushes. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 171.

Dhîngarî: a potsherd, *Panj. Dy.* p. 309.

Dhokkhâ: danger, *Ib.* p. 310.

Dhok mârna: to join the hands palm to palm and raise them to the forehead in salutation. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 144.

Dhol: *ek dhol*: a term applied to a turn of the whole water of a *kul*; "it is my *dhol*." When water is divided, the term would not be used. *Dhol dena*, to divert a stream into another channel. Kângra Gloss.

Dhola: a pair of scanty drawers worn by a bride. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 130.

Dhon: a tree whose leaves afford fodder. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Dhond: the big wood pigeon. Kângra Gloss.

Dhonitar: *dhup khâl*: a *dhobi's ghât* or place for washing clothes.

Dhonsû: a drummer. Kângra S. R., p. 92.

Dhontu: bellows. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Dhotin: a woman. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 150.

Dhouru: a tambourine. Cf. *dhad*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 70.

Dhowâr: *dohâr*, *dofaslî* land, as opposed to *bâsand*; applied to rice land in which wheat is sown to be followed by rice: when left fallow, it would be called *bâsand*. Kângra Gloss.

Dhuan: an order of *Udâsîs*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 35.

Dhukar: a variety of coarse, hardy rice sown on dry land. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Dhunch: a censer (? fr. *dhûp*, incense)—used in Pângi.

Dhunka: a large double-stringed bow with which ginned cotton is scutched. Cf. *pînan*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 183.

Dhûp: the plant *Dolomiora macrcocephala*, used as incense in India and China. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 96.

Dhûp-dîp: 'incense and light;' *ghi*, *gugal*, certain leaves, spices, etc., are mixed together to make *dhûp* and put on the fire to make an odorous smoke. *Dîp* is a light, generally a wick burning *ghi*. *Dhûp* is offered to a *deota* and the place illuminated with *dîp*. Simla Hills.

From what I have gathered by searching into the rice and tenor upon which the Honourable Company have had and held their priviledges, and how now it stands with them, I shall note a few things as follows, viz. :—

1st That Shaw-Sujah, that first granted the English those priviledges they enjoyed, had by his father the government and all the revenues of Bengall and Orisa given him, and therefore might have [given ?] those priviledges as a right to the first English, but it could last no longer then his time.

2. That the Emperour hath never given any phirmaund (a phirmaund is an edict or law) but what is directed to the Governours at Suratt, the translate of which I have given your Honour.

3. Yet notwithstanding in the time of the severall Nabobs and Duans we have had the priviledges continued from time to time till anno 1682, with much strugling and great bribes.

4. That the Emperour hath given his order to the Duan that he shall take 3½ per cent. of the English, according as it is paid at Surrat, except we bring a rewanna that custom is paid there.

5. That the Duan cann't dispence with the Kings order; and the said Duan that now is, is a devout Musselman that will take no present to the value of a flower.

6. That custome hath been paid this 3 years according to Agent Hedges agreement with the Nabob, that if a phirmaund could not be procured in 7 months then he should pay it.

7. That the Dutch upon all occasions excite the Governours to take custom of us, alleadging their case, whom they (as they say) have as much reason to be free of custom as the English, and yet pay 4 per cent.

8. That Mr. Vincent, and after him Captain Alley paying custome, and at last Mr. Davis offering to pay 3½ per cent., if they might have the Nabobs perwanna, which was granted in the name of the Ld. Lumly,[5] was of great prejudic to the Honourable Company in this affair.

Since our present concern with this narrative is confined to its version of the Boughton legend, as current in Bengal about 1685, we shall say little or nothing regarding its other contents, except to note that they afford some grounds for thinking that the author was John Beard, who became Agent in Bengal in October, 1684, and died at Hugli in the following August. Whoever he was, as regards the earlier part of the story he probably depended on hearsay, and in certain details his information was demonstrably inaccurate. The opening date, for instance, is wrong. Andrew Cogan (here called Cockaine) was not Agent on the Coromandel Coast until the autumn of 1639; and it was in August, 1643, that the *Hopewell* (with Cogan on board) sailed from Madras for Bantam, where she arrived in the following November.

Assuming that, as our narrative declares, Boughton sailed with Cogan from Madras, the question arises whether he merely joined the ship at that place, or whether he had taken part in her earlier cruises. The former theory is more consonant with the text; but the entire absence of any reference in the extant records to his being employed on shore at Madras rather favours the view that he had been the ship's surgeon from the start, though no trace of his appointment can be found in the home records of the Company. On this hypothesis, it will be of interest to note that the *Hopewell* sailed from the Down on the last day of 1641, with Andrew Trumball as her master, and Francis Day in charge of her cargo. She was bound for Fort St. George, and duly reached that

[5] This must have been the nobleman who was created Baron Lumley (in the peerage of England) in 1681, Viscount Lumley in 1689, and Earl of Scarbrough in 1690. He was probably a patron of the notorious interloper Alley, whose ship was named the *Lumley Castle*.

place on July 5, 1642. A fortnight later she sailed for Masulipatam and thence to Balasore, in the Bay of Bengal, where she spent three months, returning to Madras in December. On the 30th of that month she departed for Gombroon in Persia, arrived there in March, and got back to Madras on May 19, 1643. There had been continual disputes between Day and Trumball, and charges of cruelty were brought against the latter by many of the officers and crew, with the result that the Agent and Council at Fort St. George ordered the master on shore and sent the ship down the coast to Tranquebar without him. On her return (August 1643) Trumball was reinstated; but this produced a fresh hubbub, and Day positively refused to venture on board again. At last a solution was found for the difficulty: Cogan himself took command of the vessel for the voyage to Bantam, while Day remained at Fort St. George as Agent in his place. The scanty records of the time include several documents relating to the charges against Trumball. One of these (*O. C. Duplicates*, No. 1824) contains the latter's answer, in June, 1643, to certain accusations made by Day (not now extant), which evidently alleged, among other things, that the master had used the surgeon of the *Hopewell* 'in a cruell horrid manner.' To this Trumball replied that:—

> "It is not soe. But the above said chirurgion havinge caused my servant to enter 8 pound in the pursers books to him for curinge (as he said) the runninge of the reynes, I questioned with him why he would have any dealinge with him that was my servant and not let me know of it, and to cause him to enter any money, which he, beinge another mans servant, could not doe. I said moreover, if he [had] acquainted me with it, I would have made him satisfaction. His reply [was] now it was entred in the booke, he had satisfaction. Whereupon I demanded whose the medecines were that he did use. He tould me the Company did lay them in for his use. I tould him, if the Company did lay them in for his use, yet they did not permitt him to sell them at such high rates. He made me answere verie proudly he would make what rates he thought fitt, and that it did not belonge to me to examine him in those particulers. I further asked him why he caried the medecines ashore now wee had noe sicke men there. He replied I should never know; which mov'd me, seeinge his infinite pride, to strike him 3 or 4 blowes with an inch rope; which I thinke was noe more then I might doe."

Further on in the same document Trumball alludes to his having on another occasion "had some words" with the surgeon, who had refused to come near him, though his foot was giving him "extreame paine." There is also a reference to some complaint that Trumball sent his sick men ashore at Balasore without seeing that they had proper shelter and food; in reply to which he protests that he left the matter in the hands of the "chirurgion," who "never asked any thinge of me; but (as afterward I knew) tooke care to gett his owne chest and lumber into the boate." In none of these instances, however, is the name of the surgeon given; and so, unless some further evidence is forthcoming, it must remain doubtful whether they really relate to Boughton or to some predecessor of his.

After this digression, we return to our examination of the narrative. The *Hopewell* sailed from Bantam for England in January, 1644, under the command of Captain Yates (not Gage); but she had not got far on her way when she was forced by bad weather and her leaky condition to put into the Island of Mauritius. There, as stated in the narrative, she met the *Dolphin*, which had left Surat at the beginning of the year and had likewise been badly damaged in a storm. After refitting as best they could, the two ships went on to Madagascar and the Comoros; but then, finding themselves in no condition to complete the voyage to Europe, they made their way to Surat, which was reached in September, 1644.

Thus far the narrative appears to be in the main correct, though it must be confessed that in the extant records no trace can be found of Boughton's participation in the voyage. At

Gâdâ : coarse unbleached country cotton cloth. Sirsa 1883, p. 155.

Gadal : a beam fixed to the vertical axis of the horizontal cogged wheel of a Persian well, to which the bullocks are yoked. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 160.

Gâdal : fine mud. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 186.

Gaddi : a reddish insect which preys on the inside leaf of the arrow, thus stopping all growth. Cf. *sûra*. Jullundur S. R., p. 119.

Gaddi : a sheaf, or man's load of rice in straw. Kângra Gloss.

Gadel : a snake (*Bungarus fasciatus*). Cf. *raonâ*. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Gâdû-vand : see *tarophlâ*.

Gadwâla : a felloe. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 158.

Gadwâla : a kind of brick. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 159.

Gâhî, gâî : a bear (Kullû), chidhâ gâî, black bear—see under *bâlû*.

Gahi : a recess or shelf in a wall ; *âla* is the common term. Kângra Gloss.

Gâhr : the sides of the high Himalayas, from the upper limit of the forests down to the grazing grounds about the highest villages, also a sheep-run in such a locality opposed to *nigâhr*, *q. v.* also called *kundlî*. Kângra Gloss.

Gâî kî pûn : the superstition under which cows and oxen were exempted from grazing-tax. Kângra S. R, p. 24.

Gaira : a small bundle of corn. Karnâl S. R., p. 117.

Gal lipaṭnâ : to embrace.

Gal-peṛî,—e : a disease of the throat : D. G. Khân. Syn. *sanghṛî*.

Gâla : a share or portion, as in *ek-gâla pâni*, one allowance or share of water from a canal: *ek-gâla ghâ*, one feed of hay for an ox. Kângra Gloss.

Galâna : to speak or say. Kângra Gloss.

Galen (Gâḍi) : any place where rocks and boulders lie in masses one over the other, a moraine. Kângra Gloss.

Galî : the curved bearing of the beam of a sugar press, to which the oxen are fastened. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 161.

Galla : a hail-storm. Cf. *golî*. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 125.

Galota : a reel or spindleful of spun cotton (Mâlwâ).

Gamîna : a messenger. Karnâl S. R., p. 118.

Gâmro : village. Bauria *argot*.

Gand : a part of a plough. Jullundur S. R., p. 109.

Gandâla : an iron for digging holes. Cf. *khuti*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 72.

Gândhi : a grass (*Andropogon*). Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Gandmûl : the worst combination of stars at a child's birth. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883., p. 71.

Gandra : a grass found in ponds and depressions, very valuable for thatching and brooms : syns. *jhund* and *pani* (*anathenum mudricatam*) : Rohtak.

Ganlâha : a small chopper, with a long handle, used to cut up sugar-cane into lengths. Kângra Gloss.

Ganna : thick or close, as of a wood ; opposed to *birla*, scanty or scattered. Kângra Gloss.

Ganthîl : a kind of grass, (*eleusine flagellifera*. Cf. *bhobriya*, *chîmbar* and *kharîmliar*). Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Gâopun : an offering of a cow. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 145.

Gâr : a scar or slip of part of a hill-side. *Lhâ* is also used. Kângra Gloss.

Garakha : thunder. Kângra Gloss.

Garehi : a fish (*Ophiocephalus gachua*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Garent : a glacier (Gâdi). Kângra Gloss.

Garh : a pan of clay. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 159.

Garhâna, gorhakara : the site where a house once stood—see under *ghandâra*.

Garhi : a small outlying hamlet in the village area in which are settled cultivators who till the surrounding land. Cf. *mâjra*. Karnâl S. R., p. 76.

Gharîb châra : a form of *sargudhi* marriage among the poor—an inexpensive form. Churâh.

Gârnâ (*carissa diffusa*) : Kângra S. R., Lyall., p. 33.

Garoi : a worm. Kângra Gloss.

Gârṛî : one who plays the *dopátra*, an instrument like a violin with only one string or wire, played with both hands on the string in Churâh and other parts.

Garṛâ : roan (of a horse).

Garûna : an insect destructive to sugarcane. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 81.

Gâsh : heavy rain (Kullû). Kângra Gloss.

Gat : a bundle—see under *gatta*.

Gatârû : a numerous class who make a livelihood by buying corn in villages and carrying it on their backs into towns and selling it. Kangra Gloss. from *gat, q. v.*

Gatta : a sheaf (of corn); a faggot of (wood) a truss (of hay). A bundle of anything wrapped in cloth is called a *gat*. Kângra Gloss.

Gauhin : a small tree (*Premna mucronata*) : of no use except for firewood. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 13.

Gaula : the crown of the sugarcane. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 181.

Gaun : the inclined plane on which the oxen run down from a well. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 161.

Gawânr : a pulse (*Dolichos psoraloides*). Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 179.

Gehna : mortgage. Karnâl S. R., p. 111.

Gelar : a child born of a woman to her former husband=*pichhlag*. Karnâl S. R., p. 100.

Gena (*? Gahna*) : a jewel. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 125.

Genṛ : a disease of the stomach. D. G. Khân.

Gesla : a flail. Cf. *kutka*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 173.

Ghachol : confusion or an erroneous account. Kângra Gloss.

Ghai : a large seine used in very deep water. Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Ghalua : a dip or depression in a ridge. Kângra Gloss.

Ghale : Field pease ; very little grown : eaten as *dâl* syn-*kalao*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 39.

Ghân : a hammer for breaking stones. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Ghân : a bundle of canes of sizes made up to be put in the sugar-press at once. *Gannedi ghân*. Kângra Gloss.

Ghandâra : the ruins of a house; the place where a house stood is called *garhâna* or *garhakara*, if no walls remain standing. Kângra Gloss.

Ghaniṭṭâ = gur or devâ : a man through whom a *deota's* spirit speaks; a functionary of a *deota*. Chamba.

Ghar : the house of a rich man. Sirmûr.

Ghâṛâ : a tenant who pays half the produce as rent. Cf. *adighâri*. Churâh.

Gharethrû : a wooden frame on which earthen vessels are kept. Jullundur S. R., p. 60.

Gharia : a vessel made of pottery, smaller than the *ghara*, for dipping in water. Cf. *thilia* and *dûna*. Karnal S. R. 1880, p. 121.

Ghar jawâî : a custom, whereby a sonless man settles his daughter's husband (*jawâî*) in his house, as his heir. Karnâl S. R., p. 101.

Gharti : a handmill. Bauria *argot*.

Gharûrû: a cradle on ropes which serves as a bridge. *Jhûla* is used for both this and a rope suspension bridge. Kângra Gloss.

Ghât: husked barley. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 153.

Ghattî: the sand which comes out in lumps mixed with pieces of clay and *kankar* when digging a well. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 98.

Ghazîmard: violent death. Cf. *apgat.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 153.

Ghidhî: past of ghinnaṇâ, take.

Ghiu: = gheu 390.

Ghî gundolî: fenugreek (Luffa). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Ghighiânnâ: to implore, beseech.

Ghîmgat: the bosses and chains fastened to the front of the *orna* so as to fall over the face. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 125.

Ghona, ghoena: to mount, ascend; *ghoigia,* gone up. Kângra Gloss.

Ghoro: a horse. Bauria *argot.*

Ghorru: an inferior sort of sugarcane, having many joints and a great deal of leaf at the top, very hard and yielding much less juice than the others. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 110.

Ghûân: an instrument used for scaring animals. The mouth of a small earthen pot is covered with leather, a hole is made in the bottom of the pot and another in the leather, and through these holes a thong is passed. The latter being pulled backwards and forwards through the pot (in which some water is put), makes a terrifying sound. Cf. *hûngâ.* Jullundur S. R., p. 108.

Ghûgi: a shroud. Cf. *guji.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 136.

Ghûkî (s. f.): insensibility, the state of being sound asleep.

Ghulnâ: to blow (as wind). Amritsar 392.

Ghundâ: a veil,—*khaṛâ karnâ* to lift the veil of a bride after the wedding, done first by the mother-in-law. Churâh.

Ghupa: a sieve for cleaning rice. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Ghurâ: ogling. Ludhiâna.

Ghûrâl (on): a cattle-shed. Kângra.

Giḍânnâ: causal of *girnâ*; see *Gaḍânnâ* (P. D. p. 397).

Giddh: not Gh.

Gihûn: wheat. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 39.

Gilra: a goitered man. Kângra Gloss.

Girâe paṛa: it is raining. Bauria *argot.*

Girjh: a vulture.

Girri: a heavy wooden roller. Cf. *ûd.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 162.

Gîṭâ: *s. m.*, a pebble, p. 400.

Goa: the serow deer; *jingâl* is also used, and *yâmu* in Kullû. Kângra Gloss.

Gobî: a kind of tobacco stronger than *desi* (a kind of tobacco) and more popular. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 77.

Gochani: mixed crop of wheat and barley. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 193.

Gochni: a mixture of wheat and grain grown together. Rohtak.

Gôd lîa: adopted. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 314.

Godal: a thorny bush; it is weighted with clods and drawn over the land to remove the grass and weeds. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 168.

Goglâs: a variety of cobra. Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Gohâra: a yard in which grass or straw is stacked. Kângra Gloss.

Gohârah: a hedged enclosure outside a village, in which the manure heaps are kept and the women bake the cowdung fuel. Cf. *wârah*. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 64.

Gohr: the real *gohr* is the road by which the cattle leave the houses to go out grazing. It is the big road in and out of a hamlet, and runs between fences. Kângra Gloss.

Gohra: a large mango fruit, round like the balls made up of cleaned cotton. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Gohrâl, *gohrán*, a cattle-shed. Kângra Gloss.

Gohth: a place where sheep are penned or collected for the night in the high ranges. Kângra Gloss.

Goiyâ, gongmo (Spiti): snow pheasant—see *gulînd*.

Gokrû: a grass. Cf. *bhâkri*.

Gola: a hail-storm. Cf. *galla*.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Oxford, 13th June 1911.

IN the June number of this Journal, p. 170, there is a valuable note by Professor K. B. Pathak on the historical implications in the passage of Vâmana's *Kâvyâlaṅkâra sûtra-vṛitti*, which he quotes. In a footnote you rightly draw attention to an earlier note of M. M. Haraprasâd Śâstri on the same subject. As to the implications, I am disposed, in the main, to agree with Professor Pathak's interpretation of the passage, that it contains a reference to the accession (*jito bhûpatiḥ*) of Chandragupta II's son, Kumâragupta. I have no prints or manuscripts of Vâmana's work at hand, but it would seem that M. M. Haraprasâd's reading of *Subandhu* is a mere conjecture, not supported by any manuscript evidence. The manuscript reading *Vastubandhu* is obviously a clerical error for *Vasubandhu*. As to M. M. Haraprasâd's objection that "a Buddhist monk would not accept office" (of minister), does the term *sâchivya*, in the verse cited by Vâmana, necessarily refer to the ministerial office? May it not simply mean "companionship" or "friendship"?

But what concerns me more immediately is a point that arises out of Professor Pathak's interpretation. The verse, as translated by him, does not name the person to whom it refers. Is that a probable thing in a verse which refers to a person as "deserving congratulations on the success of his efforts"? One does not usually congratulate a person anonymously. It appears to me that M. M. Haraprasâd Śâstri is right in taking the term *Chandraprakâśa* to be the name of the son of Chandragupta. But, then, what is the relation of this Chandraprakâśa to Kumâragupta? M. M. Haraprasâd suggests the hypothesis that Chandragupta II had two sons, and that upon his death a civil war broke out between the two brothers, in which however Kumâragupta was successful. This is quite possible; but so far as I know, there is no known historical evidence of any sort in support of it. And, in any case, the verse itself would seem to indicate that, if there was such a civil war of the two brothers, Chandraprakâśa was successful. For the verse says of him that he was *kṛitârtha-śrama, i. e.*, successful in his endeavour. What endeavour? On the hypothesis, one naturally thinks of Chandraprakâśa's endeavour to secure the succession as against his brother Kumâragupta. Here one must observe the word *samprati* (now), in the verse. That word suggests an early date after the death of Chandragupta II, and M. M. Haraprasâd might reply that Chandraprakâśa's success was quite transitory, and was soon superseded by that of Kumâragupta. But is there any real need for the hypothesis? Is it not much simpler to suppose that Chandragupta's son was known as Chandraprakâśa, before, upon his succession to the throne, he assumed the regnal name of Kumâragupta? Only upon this alternative hypothesis, the phrase *kṛitârtha-śrama*, successful in his endeavour, yields no satisfactory meaning. What was his endeavour in that case? Possibly there may be some, now not intelligible, explanation of it on the alliterations of the two phrases *kṛitadhiyâm* and *kṛitârtha-śrama*.

On either hypothesis, however, we have the result of the fixation of the date of the composition of the verse within a brief interval, immediately after Chandragupta's death, either before Chandraprakâśa was displaced by his brother Kumâragupta, or before Chandraprakâśa assumed the regnal name Kumâragupta; that is to say, the date would be 413 A.D., to adopt Mr. Vincent Smith's chronology.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

EARLY SOUTH INDIAN FINANCE.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L., F.R.A.I. (LONDON), MADRAS.

[IT need not surprise anybody if no systematic attempt, on the lines of Mr. Thomas' well-known brochure on Moghul finance, has yet been made in regard to the revenue finance of the dynasties that have successively held sway over Southern India. Southern India has been fortunate, however, in the preservation of its ancient records, which consist mainly of lithic inscriptions, coins and palm leaf MSS. These and the writings of European travellers and missionaries in later times afford the necessary material for studying in some detail this important subject. What is presented here is, however, nothing more than a mere attempt in this field of inquiry; and I would fain see others, more able and more learned, take it up and throw fresh or additional light on it. I may here add that the present paper is an amplification of a brief note, now incorporated in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (Madras, Vol. I, p. 90), which I supplied, some time back, to Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S., formerly Superintendent of Gazetteer Revision in Madras and now Collector of Malabar.

I.—The Cholas.

Of all the early rulers in Southern India, the Cho!as are the only ones of whom anything definite is known. They are mentioned, together with the Pâṇḍyas and Keralas, of whom we know as yet very little, as independent rulers as early as the 3rd century B. C. in the Aśoka inscriptions.[1] During the 11th and the following two centuries A. D., they ruled over the whole of what is now known as the Madras Presidency, the Provinces of Coorg and Mysore and the northern portion of Ceylon. The principal sources of their revenue are spoken of in their inscriptions as being of two kinds—external and internal. The former probably included all taxes on imports and octroi duties, and the latter all other kinds of revenue, besides the land tax. The other kinds of revenue included tax in money; the share of the village watchman; the share of the *Karnam* or village accountant; the unripe fruit in *Kârtiggai*; the tax on looms; the tax on trade; the tax on oil mills; the tax on goldsmiths; the dues on animals and tanks; the tax on water courses; tolls; tax on castes; the tax on weights; the fine for rotten drugs; the tax on bazaars; the salt tax; fishing rent; hedge tax; tax on collecting rents; and a good many others that have not yet been made out.[2] There were besides collected a number of fines and other unnamed minor taxes and rents.[3] With this may be compared "the variety of vexatious taxes" imposed by Chikkadêvarâja, the greatest king of Mysore, in order to supplement the usual one-sixth share of the produce. Somewhat similar are the taxes recommended by Manu in his well-known Laws. The chief source, however, of state income was that derived from land revenue, and if that was not capable of direct increase, a number of petty imposts would, it was evidently thought, make up for it.

As to the actual share that Government took during these days in Southern India, an inscription of the Choḷa king Râjâdhirâja, who ruled from about A. D. 1018 to A. D. 1052, praises him for taking "the sixth share of the produce of the earth," and incidentally compares him with Manu[4], who, it is well-known, recommends the taking of the sixth of the crops by the king, if not the eighth, or the twelfth part.[5] King Adhirâjendra, son of Vîrarâjendra, who ruled from 1063 to 1070[6], is also said to have "continually increased his great fame by following the laws of Manu."[7] If from these praises we can infer anything, it is that some of their predecessors had deviated from the rule whose observance by their successors brought them fame. If such an inference is valid, as it certainly seems to be, then there is ground for believing Dr. Burnell when he says that the indigenous

[1] V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, pp. 115 and 131. [2] Dr. Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, III. i. 38, 43, 111 and 117.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *South Indian Ins.* III. 57.
[5] *Laws of Manu*, VII. 130, Dr. Bühler's Edition, in the *Sacred Books of the East* Series, pp. 236-7.
[6] *Ep. Ind.*, VII., 9. [7] *South Ind. Ins.* III. i. 117.

Choḷa kings of the 11th century took about half the produce and Mr. Ellis when he more cautiously, and in all probability correctly, estimates that the tax was always more than the sixth or fourth, permitted by the Sanskrit lawyers.[8] Over and above this proportion of land tax there were, as already stated, the extra taxes. Those forming the internal revenue were commuted during the reign of Vîrarâjendra (1063-1070) to 1/10th of the gross produce paid in cash.[9] Thus the total demand on land was, when the land tax was at 1/6th of the gross produce, 4/15th of the gross produce (1/6+1/10=4/15). If the land tax, however, was at 1/3—moderating the figures of Burnell to that of Ellis—then it would be about 13/30ths (1/3+1/10=13/30) excluding, in both the cases, the cost of cultivation. According to the latest calculations,[10] the share now taken by the British in the Madras Presidency is well below 10 %, including all cesses and charges for water ; or exclusive of all charges for water the proportion falls to about 6 % or about 1/17th,[11] and even this includes a couple of cesses.[12] It would appear from this that the land taxation of the ancient Choḷa kings was over four times, if they took 4/15ths, and over 7 times if they took 13/30ths, heavier than the British taxation at the present day. Taking into account the purchasing power of gold, it would have been much greater. Unfortunately, there are no materials for forming a correct opinion of its purchasing power in those ancient days. The value of the Choḷa gold coins—Southern India having not much silver currency until the advent of Muhammadans[13]—is not known. Perhaps a rough approximation may be reached in this way. During the days of Râjarâja (985-1015) a *kâsu* passed for its weight in gold and was worth 2 *kalams* of paddy,[14] though it exchanged in the days of Vîrarâjendra, fifty years later, for about 4 *kulams*.[15] In Râjarâja's time, therefore, a *kâsu* must have been worth about Rs. 2/- in modern currency, valuing a *kalam* of paddy on the average at Re. 1/-. It is stated in another inscription that two *kâsus* bought in the days of the same king 2 buffaloes, 2 cows, and 6 sheep. At the present day at the very least all these jointly would be worth about Rs. 40/-. It would appear from this that half a *kâsu*, or a rupee in modern currency, would in those days have bought ten times what it would buy now. That a *kâsu* may be worth about Rs. 2/-, may be inferred in another way. The rate of interest in Râjarâja's time is specifically stated to be 12½ per cent.[16] During the time of Râjendra, his son, 1/8th *kâsu* is stated in a number of inscriptions to be the interest for a *kâsu*.[17] At two rupees a *kâsu*, this comes to 12 per cent. ; so that the rate of interest had not in his reign risen above what it was during his father's reign, which is natural seeing that he immediately succeeded him.[18]

Payment in kind—an economic fallacy.

It might be imagined that a possible palliative to this high rate of assessment was that it was paid either in kind, gold, or both.[19] This, however, involves an economic fallacy that is always forgotten but is easily laid bare. A little reflection shows that paying in kind could not have in

[8] Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd Ed., p. 119.

[9] *South Indian Ins.* III. i. 117. The internal revenues were, according to an inscription of that king, collected at the rate of 25 *kâsu* per 1,000 *kalam* of paddy. A *kâsu*, according to inscriptions of the time, bought 4 *kalams* of paddy Thus, for every thousand *kalams*, the Government collection was one hundred *kalams*, *i.e.*, 1/10th which was paid in cash.

[10] *Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government*, paras. 69 to 71.

[11] The Famine Commissioners of 1880, who were the only body who had the evidence of all India before them, estimate the land tax on the average throughout British India "at from 3 p. c. to 7 p. c. of the gross out-turn." See also *Indian Famine Commission Report*, 1901, paras. 260-67, for the latest figures in respect to certain parts of India.

[12] *Land Revenue Policy of the Government*, para. 68.

[13] Sir Walter Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 57.

[14] *South Ind. Ins.* II. 68.

[15] *Ibid.* III. 117.

[16] *Ibid* II. i 68.

[17] *Ibid.* 95.

[18] If *a priori* reasoning is permissible in a matter like this, it may be instructive to note here that rice sells at a price which is about six times what it sold sixty years ago.

[19] *South Ind. Ins.* II. i, 42, 53 ; *et seq.*

any way diminished the heaviness of the burden. "Collecting the revenue in kind," says Sir Thomas Munro in one of his able minutes, "is a very clumsy, but very simple mode of realising it. No commutation is required, whether the crop is poor or abundant, a share can easily be taken, and Government can always draw from the ryot as much as he can possibly pay. The case is very different under money-rents. If the assessment is to be a fixed one—he means one fixed in money as contradistinguished from the fluctuating one in kind and not a perpetually fixed money assessment—it must be so moderate as to meet the contingencies of the seasons in ordinary times, and a more liberal share must therefore be allowed to the ryot than when he pays in kind ; and the consequence is, that where the ryots pay a fixed money-rent, they are usually more substantial than when by a share of the crop."[20] Elsewhere Sir Thomas Munro thus balances the advantages and disadvantages of the system of payment in kind and shows clearly that payment in kind itself discloses the heaviness of the assessments.—"The system of paying in kind, a share of the produce as the Government rent, is also well adapted to the same state of things, because Government is always sure of obtaining half of the produce, or whatever its share may be, from the ryot, whether the crop be scanty or abundant, and because the ryot is also sure of not being called on for rent, when the crop has entirely failed, and he is, perhaps, unable to pay. Such a system is better calculated to save the ryot from being oppressed by demands which he cannot pay, than to enable him to become wealthy. This protection to the ryot from payment of revenue in a season of calamity is the only advantage which appears to belong to the system ; but it is an advantage which could be necessary only under a rigid system and would not be wanted under a more liberal one of assessment. The very existence of such a system in Arcot and other districts where it is prevalent, is a proof that, however light Indian revenue may be in the theories of Indian writers, in practice it has always been heavy. Had the public assessment, as pretended, ever been, as in the books of their sages, only a sixth or a fifth, or even only a fourth of the gross produce, the payment of a fixed share in kind and all the expensive machinery requisite for its supervision, never could have been wanted. The simple plan of money assessment might have been at once resorted to, in the full confidence that the revenue would every year, in good and bad seasons, easily and punctually be paid. No person who knows anything of Indian revenue can believe that the ryot, if his fixed assessment were only a fifth or a fourth of a gross produce, would not every year, whether good or bad, pay it without difficulty, and not only do this, but prosper under it, beyond what he has ever done at any previous period. Had such a moderate assessment ever been established, it would undoubtedly have been paid in money, because there would have been no reason for continuing the expensive process of making collections in kind. It was because the assessment was not moderate, that assessments in kind were introduced or continued ; for a money-rent equivalent to the amount could not have been realised one year with another.[21]" He winds up with the conclusion that there is no ground, either from tradition or from record, or from the present state of the country, for believing that a moderate land-tax was ever at any time throughout India the principle of its revenue system.[22] Nothing more, perhaps, is necessary to show the uncommon general acuteness of Sir Thomas Munro than these few sentences of his, written when epigraphical and other historical researches had not yet made known to us the really high rate of assessments that prevailed during the days of the Choḷas and their Hindu and Muhammadan successors.

[20] *Minute on Northern Circars* printed in Sir A. J. Arbuthnot's *Selections from Sir Thomas Munro's Minutes* I. 206, where, however, *contrivance* is plainly a misprint for *commutation*. See *E. I. House Selections* III, paras. 23 to 26.

[21] Minute on the state of the country and condition of the people. Arbuthnot's *Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro*, I. 246-7.

[22] *Ibid.* 249.

His theoretic reasoning has a strong substratum of truth underlying it, and the conclusions which he reached by it are thus shown to be invulnerable. It is important that we should bear in mind these remarks of his, since the system of payment in kind continued in Southern India down to its final cession in 1801 and during the later Hindu and Muhammadan times degenerated into the worst engine of oppression in the hands of renters who forced the Government share upon unwilling ryots below the market rates. More than this, its effects were of the most demoralising character. It led, as between renters and cultivators, to mutual cheating and common ruin. The practical difficulties that beset its adoption in modern days, as advocated by certain writers, are admirably summed up by the Government of India in its resolution on the Land Revenue Policy of the Government[23] No one, aware of the history of payment in kind and the worst abuses to which it had been in the past put, would ever hazard a word of its renewal, since such a retrograde step would involve the exhuming of a system of oppression that has been rightly buried deep and the raising of the assessments all round. Some of its evils seem to have been noticed by the Choḷa kings as early as the 11th century A. D. One of them, Vîrarâjendra, commuted a portion of the Government share into a money payment, as already stated, but his later Hindu and Muhammadan successors instead of following it up, were only too glad to do away with it and fall back on the system of payment in kind, which always afforded the amplest scope for oppression and rack renting, for which they seem to have had quite a genius. Payment in money is the best *British* factor in the Land Revenue system in India and though its inception in the beginning of the 18th century entailed a great deal of hardship on the poorer cultivators, which was always met by liberal remissions, owing to the remarkable fall in prices that took place then through the insufficiency of the currency of the country,[24] its subsequent and general effect on their well-being and improvement by its characteristic security and certainty has been too great to be superseded by an essentially archaic system which in modern times would inflict several hardships without any compensating benefits.

Choḷa assessment, then, ranging as it did between at least 13/30ths and 4/15ths of the gross produce and being paid as it was partly in kind, was from 4 to 7 times heavier than the British assessment of the present day. That the petty imposts of their times were felt vexatious and heartily detested is apparent from the praises bestowed on king Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa I, who ascended the throne about 1070 A. D., and abolished most of them and got the popular sobriquet of Sungandavṛitta Kulôttunga Soladeva or " the Kulôttunga Chôḷa who abolished the tolls.[25] At the same time he seems to have recouped the loss thus sustained by a revision of the land assessments. He made a re-survey of the lands in 1086, about the time of the famous Domesday Survey in England[26] and revised the assessments. The old survey of the lands, which was correct to 1/52, 428, 800,000 of a *vêli* (6 2/3 acres), or 1/50000 of a square inch,[27] had been made during the reign of, if not prior to, Râjarâja,[28] the greatest of Choḷa kings, who ruled from about A. D. 985. It would follow from this that as early as the days of Choḷa kings, temporary and not permanent settlement was the rule. Even in the matter of collections and remissions on reasonable occasions of the land tax, the Choḷa kings seem to have been more rigorous than the British in modern times. Thus, we see Râjarâja sternly ordering the sale of the lands of defaulters[29] and Vikrama Chôḷa, one of his successors, who ruled a century later, refusing the expected remission even when the crops had been totally destroyed by *Vis major*, *e. g.*, destructive floods.[30]

[23] Paras. 16 to 17.

[24] See an able article on the subject in the now defunct *Bombay Quarterly Review*, for April 1857.

[25] *Epigraphy Report*, for 1900-1 p. 9.

[26] Bawden's *Domesday*, Introd. 12.

[27] *Epigraphy Report* 1899-1900, p. 11; *South Ind. Ins.*, II. 62. A *vêli* = $6\frac{74}{121}$ acres, see Mr. Venkasami Row's *Tanjore District Manual*, 315.

[28] *South Ind. Ins.* III. i, *Et passim*; *Epigraphy Report* for 1899-1900, page 11, and *Madras Review*, VIII, p 112.

[29] *South Ind. Ins.*, III, i.

[30] *Epigraphy Report*, 1899-1900, para. 24.

II.—Vijayanagara Kings.

During the 14th and the succeeding two centuries, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was supreme all through Southern India.[31] The prime-minister of the first king Harihara I (1336-1343),[32] was Mâdhava, the celebrated dialectician. He composed a work on law and government, which is still extant.[33] It was intended as a manual for the officers of the newly created State and is founded on the text of Parâśara, with a copious commentary by Mâdhava, for which reason it is known as *Parâśara-Mâdhavîyam* or *Vidyâraṇya-Smṛiti*, from Vidyâraṇaya, or Forest of Learning, the surname of Mâdhava. In this treatise Mâdhava assigns the usual one-sixth as the royal share of the crop. But this share he was desirous of converting from a grain to a money payment and established fixed rules for the conversion, founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase and the value of the grain. "The result," says Col. Wilks, the well-known historian of Mysore,[34] "literally conforms with the law of the Digest, *viz*., one-sixth to the king, one-thirteenth to the Brahmins, one-twentieth to the gods, the rest to the proprietor. It is unnecessary to enter farther into this detail, than to state that thirty is the whole number on which the distribution is made: of which it is calculated that fifteen or one half is consumed in the expenses of agriculture and the maintenance of the farmer's family. The distribution of the remaining fifteen stands thus :—

" The sovereign one-sixth of the gross produce	5
To the Brahmins one-twentieth	$1\frac{1}{2}$
To the gods one-thirtieth	1
Remains proprietor's share, which is exactly $\frac{1}{4}$th	$7\frac{1}{2}$"

The share of the temples and Brahmins was collected by the State and paid over by it, so that the share payable by the land-holder was really $\frac{1}{4}$th of the estimated gross produce,[35] and of the result of the rules laid down for the conversion into money, Wilks remarks[36] :— "It is evident that Haribara Râja called in the aid of the Shastras for the purpose of raising the revenue and did actually raise it exactly 20 per cent. by his skill in applying that authority to his calculations, the result of the whole being that he received one *ghatti* pagoda for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kuttis* of land, the same sum having been paid for 3 kuttis." The Bombay High Court describe the transaction as a thinly-veiled violation of the law[37] and states that although he affected to adhere to the Shaster, he exceeded the prescribed limit of $\frac{1}{6}$th of the gross produce.[38] This system, according to Wilks, continued in South Canara, a province of the Vijayanagar kingdom, until 1618, when the hereditary governors declared themselves independent and imposed an additional 50 per cent. on the whole revenues.[39] Even before that, it appears from the information extracted by Buchanan, who travelled in these parts about 1807, from a hereditary village accountant of North Canara, that according to the valuation of Kṛishṇarâja, king of Vijayanagar between 1509-1530,[40] while the tax on rice lands was $\frac{1}{4}$th of the gross produce, that on cocoanut was quite half the supposed gross produce.[41]

31 Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, 5.
32 *Ibid*, 25-6.
33 A portion of it, the section on Inheritance, was translated by the late Dr. Burnell and published in Madras under the name of *Daya Vibhâga*, in 1868.
34 *Historical Sketches*, Madras Ed. I, 94-5.
35 Munro in his Minute on the "Condition and Assessment of South Canara" (Arbuthnot I, 63-4), writing in 1800 after careful local inquiries and examination of official papers. Wilks published his first volume just before the battle of Waterloo.
36 *Loc. cit*. I, 95.
37 Canara Land Assessment Case, p. 84.
38 *Ibid*. p. 120.
39 *Loc. cit* I, 95.
40 Sewell's *A Forg. Emp.*, 120.
41 Buchanan's *Journey through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (Ed. 1807), III, 170-2.

If this was the system followed in a province like Canara, far away from the capital of the kingdom, we may take it that it was far more rigorous in near-lying tracts. At any rate, it seems pretty probable that Harihara I. and his successors would have stuck to the system propounded by their first prime-minister, who, according to tradition and inscriptions, was chiefly instrumental in bringing their kingdom into existence.[42] More than this, Wilks would seem to infer that the latter's work *Parâśara-Mâdhavîya*, was written at the instance of the first Vijayanagara king rather than for them. However that may be, it appears that more than even what is declared in Mâdhava's text was usually taken by Kṛishṇarâya, if we may believe the incalculable extent of his revenues, as stated by his foreign contemporaries. For instance, Domingos Paes, the Portuguese trader, who sojourned in Vijayanagar about 1520,[43] gives the following summary of the revenue resources of Kṛishṇarâya :—" Should any one ask, " he says, " what revenue this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops"[44]—Paes says, he maintained continually a million fighting troops, of which 35,000 were cavalry in armour, besides many elephants[45]—"since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues," I answer thus :—" These captains, whom he has over these troops of his, are the nobles of his kingdom ; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom ; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million and a half pardaos[46], others a hundred thousand pardaos, others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand pardaos, and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse, and elephants. These troops are always ready for duty whenever they may be called out and wherever they have to go ; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready . . . . . , ... Besides maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payment to the king, and the king has his own salaried troops to whom he gives pay. He has eight hundred elephants attached to his person, and five hundred horses always ready in his stables, and for the expenses of these horses and elephants he has devoted the revenues that he recieves from the city of Bisnaga. You may well imagine how great these expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants, who have the care of the horses and elephants ; and by this you will be able to judge what will be the revenue of this city."[47] Besides these captains and lords having large territories and great revenues, the king, adds Paes, had vassal kings, and that whenever a son or a daughter was born to him all his nobles offered him a present of money and jewels of price as also on his each birthday : He moreover adds that Kṛishṇarâya, after retaining enough for his expenses and for " the expenses in the houses of his wives " of whom he had " near him twelve thousand, " put in his treasury " every year ten million pardaos. "

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[42] Sewell's *A Forg. Emp*, 19, 20, 21. See also pp. 299-300, where the Portuguese trader, Nuniz, in his *Chronicle* written about 1536-37, gives the same story.

Rice's *Mysore*, I, 344-45.

Burnell's *Dâyavibhâga* of Madhava Introd. X and XI.

Fleet in *J. B. B.* and *R. A. S.* XII, 340.

Fleet in *Indian Antiquary* IV. 206. Mâdhava's brother Sâyana was also minister to Kampa, who reigned between A. D. 1343 and 1355.

Sewell's *A Forg. Emp*. 28.

Fleet in *J. (Bomb.) B. R. A. S.* XII. 339. In the Colophon of Mâdhaviya-dhâttuvṛitti, Ŝâyanâchârya is described as "the prime-minister of Sangama, the son of Kampa, monarch of the Eastern, Southern and Western Oceans ; the son of Mâyana ; and the uterine brother of Mâdhava." See Roth's Ed. of Wilson's Works, V. 192 note.

[43] Sewell's *A Forg. Emp*. Introd. vi.

[44] *Ibid*. pp. 281-82.

[45] *Ibid*. pp. 147 to 151, for some very interesting remarks by Sewell on the immense armies employed by Indian kings.

[46] Pagodas ; a pagoda, according to Yule and Burnell being of the value of, at the period treated of, about 4*s*. 6*d*. See Hobson Jobson, p. 837, and Sewell's *A Forg. Emp*. 270-71, f. n. 2.

[47] Sewell's *A Forg. Emp*. 280-81.

If we take it that his savings represented a third part of his income, of which, if we again suppose, only one-third came from land, then the land revenue of Kṛishṇarâya would come to about ten million pardaos, an estimate which very well agrees with the statement of another Portuguese trader. Nuniz, writing about sixteen or seventeen years after Paes (1536-37), portrays in his interesting *Chronicle* how the poor cultivators suffered through the exactions of the Vijayanagar renters. "The kings of this country," says he,[48] "are able to assemble as many soldiers as they want, as they have them there at their kingdom and have much wealth wherewith to pay them. This king Chitarao (Achyutarâya, 1530-1542) has foot-soldiers paid by his nobles and they are obliged to maintain six lakhs of soldiers, that is, six hundred thousand men, and twenty-four thousand horses, which the same nobles are obliged to have. These nobles are like renters, who hold all the land from the king, and besides keeping all these people, they have to pay their costs; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of pardaos as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty lakhs, of which they must pay sixty to the king, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. For this reason the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the land being so tyrannical." It would seem to follow from this that although early Vijayanagar kings may have, in accordance with Mâdhava's text, taken only the then enhanced quarter share of the gross produce in money, the later kings seem to have quite disregarded it and took full one-half in money. At any rate, it seems clear from Nuniz's narrative that the net land revenue of the Vijayanagar kingdom, which included the whole of what is now the Madras Presidency and the Province of Mysore, with the exception of Ganjâm, Vizagapatâm, Gôdâvari, and the northern portion of Kistna district, which never even nominally came under their rule, was about 120 lakhs of pardaos, or 12 millions of pardaos, which roughly agrees with our inference from Paes's narrative that the land revenue of Kṛishṇarâya might have been about 10 millions of pardaos. Taking the pardao, or pagoda, which was at the period treated of equal to 4*s.* 6*d.*, at Rs. 3½, we see that the Achyutarâya's land revenue amounted to 42 millions of rupees. But the purchasing power of the rupee then was greater than what it is now. Nuniz says[49] "that in the markets they give twelve sheep for a pardao, and in the hills they give 14 or 15 for a pardao," *viz.*, about 4½ annas for a sheep. The present price of a sheep, when and where it could be got cheapest, is at least Rs. 2½ or 40 annas. In other words, the purchasing power of the rupee then was about ten times what it is now. During the time of Kṛishṇarâya, about 16 years before, it seems to have been a little less. Paes[50], writing about 1520, says that in the *city* of Vijayanagar—in the country they gave one more—they gave three for a coin worth a *vintem*, which is equal to 17/20 of a penny. A fowl now, when it is cheapest, costs about 4 annas, which sum during the time of Paes would have brought at least 8 fowls. The difference, thus, in the purchasing powers of the rupee between the times of Kṛishṇarâya and Achyutarâya, separated as they were by a period of over 15 years, is not very great. Taking, then, the purchasing power of the rupee at ten times what it is now, Achyutarâya's total net land revenue would come to about 420 millions of rupees. The total land revenue at present of the Madras Presidency is about 63⅓ millions, or excluding the land revenues of Ganjâm, Vizâgapatâm, Godâvari and Northern Kistna, and including that of Mysore it is less than 60 millions.[51] It seems

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48 Sewell's *A Forg. Emp.*

49 Sewell's *A Forg. Emp.*, 375.

50 *Ibid.* 257.

51 *Madras Administration Report*, for 1901-02. Total land revenue, inclusive of cesses, of the whole Presidency, is Rs. 6,52,99,814. (Pages 5 and 117.)

The following is the average land revenue, inclusive of cesses, of the Districts noted in the text, for th three years ending 1901-2:—

Ganjam	... ...	17·99 lakhs.
Vizagapatam	...	19·25 ,,
Godavari	... ...	71·01 ,,
Kistna	... ...	71·33 ,,

(one half the amount taken into calculation.) (See *Ibid.* p. 82.)

The latest figure available for Mysore is that for 1894-95. The total land revenue for that year is stated to be Rs. 95,57,323. (See Rice's *Mysore*, I. 780.)

to follow from this that Vijayanagar taxation was about seven times that of the British, or about 42 per cent., an estimate that agrees with the former inference that the later Vijayanagar kings quite disregarded Mâdhava's injunction of $\frac{1}{6}$th of the gross produce paid in cash, and had in practice taken 50 per cent. of it. It would be much more, if we deduct from the present British revenue the amounts realised from the cesses and that derived from land that has since been reclaimed from the proverbial forest land of Southern India, and exclude also that resulting from the territories that form integral portions of the Presidency but which during the times of the Hindu kingdom were only nominally part of it and as such in fact brought no revenues at all. No wonder then that the renters of lands, of whom there were in all more than 200 in number,[52] were tyrannical and that the common people, as Nuniz feelingly complains, suffered much hardship. It would further appear from a Vijayanagar inscription of about A. D. 1455[53] that the fees of the village establishment were paid from the share of the cultivator. That inscription records the exempting of a number of villages from the taxes that they usually paid to the Government. Those enumerated are "the prime-minister's quit-rent, the *karnam's* quit-rent, the dues on animals, trees and tanks, and all other dues"—how many more we do not know. In all probability, most of the petty imposts of the Chola period continued undisturbed throughout the Vijayanagar and the succeeding periods of Muhammadan rule when they were unduly multiplied and absorbed in the general system—Mohaturpha and Sayer. At any rate, tolls seem to have brought a good amount to the Vijayanagar exchequer. Of the principal streets of Nâgalâpûr,[54] the present town of Hospet, in Bellary District, built by Kṛishṇarâya in honour of his favourite wife, Nuniz writes,[55] "it yields forty-two thousand pardaos of duties for things which enter into it, the duties in this land being very great; since nothing comes through the gates that does not pay duty, even men and women, as well as headloads and all merchandise." Of the gates leading to "the city of Bisnaga," he says,[56] "this gate is rented out for 12,000 pardaos each year, and no man can enter it without paying just what the renters ask, country folk as well as foreigners." Nor could any one well evade this exaction, since the gate was well guarded by 1,000 men.[57]

(*To be continued.*)

GOVERNOR RICHARD BOURCHIER.

BY WILLIAM FOSTER.

THE acquisition by the India Office of a half-length portrait (attributed to George Dance, Junior) of Richard Bourchier, Governor of Bombay, revives the memory of a half-forgotten worthy, and will perhaps justify the publication of a few notes upon a career that presents many points of interest.

There were Bourchiers or Bowchers in India in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and probably the subject of this sketch was related to one or other of these; but the connexion has not been traced. Nor has it been discovered when and where he was born. Mr. Forrest, however, in his *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series* (Vol. I, p. xliv) says that Bourchier was sixty-one when he became Governor of Bombay; and this would indicate 1688 or 1689 as the year of his birth.

His name does not occur in the East India Company's records until October, 1718, when he applied to the Directors for permission to reside at Madras as a Free Merchant. His request was granted on November 26; and on the 3rd of the following month he was

[52] Sewell's *A Forg. Emp.*, 389. [53] *South Indian Inscriptions*, i. 119. [54] Sewell, *loc. cit.*, 363 and f. n. 1.
[55] *Ibid.* 363-64. [56] *Ibid.*, 366. [57] *Ibid.*

authorised to carry out with him 2,000*l* in foreign bullion. He seems now to have engaged in what was termed 'the country trade,' *i. e.*, from port to port in the East. In June, 1721, he wrote from Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) to the Company, complaining of his treatment by the Agent there; while a Madras list of 1724 includes his name among the 'seafaring people in Bengall service.'

In 1725 Bourchier was at home, and (doubtless at the instance of his friends) was appointed (December 31) by the Directors Sixth in Council at Fort William in Bengal. He reached Calcutta on July 6, 1726, and was made Export Warehouse Keeper (and Member of Council) at 40*l*. per annum. This post he retained for six years, and then came a sudden blow. In July, 1732, arrived a letter from the Court of Directors, dismissing President Deane (who, however, had already relinquished office) and most of his Council, for sending home goods of an unsatisfactory quality. Bourchier thus found himself thrust out of office at a time when he had reached the rank of Second in Council and might reasonably look forward to becoming in his turn the President and Governor of Fort William.

Of the events of the next few years we know little; but it is certain that Bourchier remained in Calcutta and that at some unascertained date he was appointed Master Attendant there. A Calcutta tradition—preserved by *Asiaticus* in his *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal*—ascribed to him the building of the Charity School House (which afterwards became the home, first of the Mayor's Court and then, for a time, of the Supreme Court); and this, it was said, he made over to the East India Company on condition that a sum of Rs. 4,000 was paid annually in return to support a Charity School and for other benevolent purposes. The tradition has, however, been shown by Archdeacon Hyde (*Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 91) to be erroneous, though it is possible that Bourchier contributed generously to the foundation of the Charity School (about 1731).

Evidently Bourchier had powerful friends in London, for, on February 18, 1743, the Court of Directors, at the instance of his uncle, George Harrison, appointed him to succeed Mr. Whitehill as Chief of Anjengo, on the Malabar Coast—one of the best posts in the Western Presidency. This decision was communicated to Bourchier by the Bengal Council on August 4, and on December 5(having presumably spent the interim in winding up his affairs at Calcutta), he resigned the post of Master Attendant. He took up his appointment at Anjengo a few months later, and for the next five years we hear little of him. One little point may, however, be mentioned. He must have been acquainted with Sterne's 'Eliza,' who was born at Anjengo in April, 1744; and the acquaintance was doubtless renewed when in 1758 she married Daniel Draper, then Secretary to the Bombay Government.

It would seem that Bourchier's management of affairs at Anjengo gave satisfaction to the Directors, for on March 15th, 1749, they wrote to Bombay appointing him second in Council there, and directing him to proceed at once to the Presidency to take up his new post. In November, 1750, he succeeded Mr. Wake as President and Governor of Bombay and held the office until February, 1760—a period of rather more than nine years. The chief event of his governorship was the capture of Gheria from Tulaji Angria by Clive and Watson. Clive, by the way, complained bitterly of the way in which he had been treated by Bourchier, who had omitted to consult him in the case of a court martial upon a military officer; but his remonstrance only provoked a severe snub from the Governor and Council.

Bourchier went home in 1760, and apparently settled in Sussex. In his later years, it would seem, financial misfortunes overtook him, for he is stated to have died penniless and insolvent. According to the *London Magazine* for 1770 (p. 642), the date of his decease was December 4 of that year.

He was twice married. On November 25, 1723, he espoused at Calcutta a 'Mrs. Sarah Hawkins.' Eight children were born in rapid succession, and then, on February 12, 1739, Mrs. Bourchier died, aged 35 years, and was buried in the churchyard of St. John's, Calcutta, where a tablet to her memory now lies embedded at the base of the Charnock monument. A year later (February 6, 1740) Bourchier was married (again in Calcutta) to Elizabeth, widow of Joseph Badman. A daughter, Arabella, was baptised at the same place in November, 1742, and the couple had at least one other child (William), born at Anjengo on June 27, 1745. Elizabeth Bourchier died in August, 1756, and was buried in the Bombay Cathedral.

Most of Bourchier's sons went to India. Edward, the eldest, became a Writer in the Company's service at Dacca, but died before completing his twentieth year. Richard, the second, was allowed, while still a lad, to proceed to Calcutta 'to be of service to his father there.' Charles, the third, may be confidently identified with the Madras Writer of that name, who rose to be Governor of Fort St. George, 1767-70; while James, the fifth, became a Member of the Madras Council. George, the fourth son, obtained a Bombay Writership, but died after about nine years' service.

From the foregoing sketch, it will be seen that Bourchier just missed being Governor of Fort William, and actually became Governor of Bombay, while he had a son who, a little later, was Governor of Madras. Such a conjunction was surely unique.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY. SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(*Continued from p. 264.*)

Gotan: the women, visited by the bridegroom's father, who are of his own gens and live in the village, and are given one rupee each. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 132.

Golena, golnân: white clay used for plastering walls of houses, also called *chû chik*. The place where clay is dug for such purposes is called a *mithânna*. In Núrpur, *makol*. Kângra Gloss.

Golî kî sat: a fatal disease and there is no remedy for it; it seems to be anthrax fever, and the swellings which appear on the animal's body are ascribed to coagulation of the blood. Sirsâ S. R. 1883, p. 301.

Got kûndâla: a wedding ceremony in which the women of the family all eat rice, sugar and *ghî* out of the same dish with the bride and thus admit her into the family or clan. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 167.

Goth: (1) a level place on which a flock is penned at night on a *dhâr*: (2)=*dhâr*, *q. v.* Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 41.

Greh (in Kullû): evil influence or bad luck, hence *aigâr*, unlucky, uncanny; *e. g.*, it is unlucky to mention the cuckoo till its voice is heard. Kângra Gloss.

Guji: a shroud. Cf. *ghûgi*.

Gul: core. Jullundur S. R., p. 122.

Gul: askew (beams in an upper storey not laid parallel to those in the lower storey are so called). Ludhiâna.

Gulâ: bread, made thick and lumpy.

Gulâbi: a fish (*Bolagoha*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Guldâr: a snake (*Daboia Russellii*). Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Guliât: heads of sugarcane, which are broken off and given to cows as food. Kângra Gloss.

Gulînd: the snow pheasant, called *goiyâ* or *gongmo* in Spiti. Kângra Gloss.

Gulli: a groove near the edge of the potter's *châk* (wheel). Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 200.

Gûnch: a fish (*Bagarius yarellii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Gundiâlî: an edible arum. Cf. *arbi*.

Gûne: lots. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p 405.

Gunthi: a ring. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 125.

Gupha: a grotto or cave scooped out of solid rock. *Kud* is a cave under a rock. Kângra Gloss.

Gural: the Himalayan chamois (Kullû), see *pîj*.

Guri jâna: to lie down. Bauria *argot*.

Gurûwân: a greyish-yellow caterpillar, which eats the young shoots as they spring up. Jullundur S. R., p. 119.

Gyâl: a man who has died without a son. Cf. *ût*. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 149.

Gyâs devuthni: the eleventh of Kârtik. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 146.

Habbar: a field or bit of cultivated land, generally with a depreciatory application. Kângra Gloss.

Habrû: land lying in small plots among boulders. Cf. *abrû*.

Haddin: *conj*., however. (Potwâr.)

Hagâî: betrothal (=*sagâî*). Bauria *argot*: *Ex.*: *hindo hagâi kari awiyen*, 'let us have him betrothed;' *hagâi kare awiye*, 'let us arrange a marriage.'

Hâhû: = **sâhû**. Bauria *argot*.

Hal châk: a tenant-farmer residing in another village. Cf. *bhatri*, *oprâ* and *dudharcha opâhû*. Kârnal S. R., p. 8.

Halâri: the handle of a plough. Kângra Gloss.

Haladhât: the day of the first *bân* (ceremonial oiling). Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 128.

Halai: land. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 168.

Halas: the beam of a plough. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 99.

Halatar: the first day's service (*jowârî*, *q. v.*) taken at ploughing time.

Halbâh: a ploughman. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 53.

Halela: (*Terminalia chebula*) a tree. Cf. *harar*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 12.

Haler: a small place built to put ploughs in; also applied to the day when neighbours join to plough one man's land, eating at his expense. Such service is generally done in turn or for a man of influence, or a friend (see *jowâri*). Kângra Gloss.

Hales (Gaḍi): the halting place below a pass on a high range from which the push across the pass is made. Kângra Gloss.

Hâlis: a beam passed through a mortice in the middle of a plough, to which the yoke is fastened. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 162.

Halkahâ = **halkai** (P. D. p. 425).

Hallaṛ: bastard. Pângi.

Hallar: illegitimate birth. Kângra Gloss.

Hallu: an effect of cold which attacks buffaloes only. Cf. *tilla*. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 134.

Halud: the process of constant weeding and hoeing; when a couple of feet high, the ground between the plants is ploughed up. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 78.

Hân: an impermeable stratum of whitish clay. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 13.

Hânda: an appraiser or *kan-karnewâla*. Kângra Gloss.

Hânda: a lizard—*see sânda.* Bauria *argot.* Ex. *hânda mârwa geiyo,* he has gone to slay *sândas.*

Handa: a wooden pot in which milk is churned. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Handal: a conical bag net with very fine meshes, used for catching small fry in running water. Karnâl S. R., p. 7.

Haṇḍhâuṇâ: to keep, harbour.

Handi, see *kaurî.*

Hândi: a big earthen pot; *hândû,* a middle-sized one: see under *dhihâlû.*

Handna: to trudge on foot. Kângra Gloss.

Hândo: lizard. Cf. *sânda.* Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Handûr: an officer on a *kola,* whose duty it is to let on the water. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 33.

Hanwâri: a fish (*Mugil corsula*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Hâr: fields scattered here and there, forming the rest of a holding. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 21.

Hâra: snake: Bauria *argot.*

Hârâ: a sort of oven in which milk is heated. Sirsa S. R. 1833, p. 152. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 21.

Harar: (*Terminalia chebula*) a tree. Cf. *halela.*

Harar: a small mango fruit like the fruit of the *Harar.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Harewa: a snake. Cf. *takwa.* Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Hargand: a crop of rice when ripe. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 89.

Haṛgî: an iron staff. Simla Hills.

Harh: *Terminalia chebula.* Kângra S. R., p. 21.

Hari: hither: Bauria *argot.* Ex. *hari âwî jâ, hami thâin jâ,* come hither.

Harkâri: vegetables, Bauria *argot.*

Hârkarn: the sum paid, in addition to the marriage expenses, by a man who abducts a man's wife, to her husband. Dhâmî.

Haro: here. Bauria *argot.*

Harriâban: a wild wood. Hissâr S. R., p. 15.

Harû: a snake. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Hât: seven. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Hatarki: a leather glove faced with iron for beating the canes in a sugar press. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 182.

Hathâi: a guest-house. Cf. *chaupâl.* Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 176.

Hathangna: commutation for *begâr* or corvée. Bilâspur.

Hathrâ: a frame made of mud and straw, something like a cage, in which lamps are sometimes put at the Diwâli festival. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 144.

Hathiâr: the second son's share (a weapon or implement) in the inheritance. Churâh.

Hâti: a flat piece of wood with which boiled juice of sugarcane put to cool is worked about. Cf. *hâtwa.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 182.

Hatth jhâṛnâ: to lose.

Hâtwa: a flat piece of wood with which boiled juice of sugarcane put to cool is worked about. Cf. *hâti.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 182.

Hazîra: a tomb. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 36.

Hâzirî: a small saucer of pottery in which lamps are floated in honour of Khwajâ Khizr; also used for eating from and as a cover. Cf. *khwâjirî.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 122.

Hela : special *begâr* or corvée, leviable for repairs to roads and buildings, providing supplies for the Rânâ when on tour, or State guests, and on special occasions, such as a wedding or a death in the Rânâ's family. Kuthar.

Hen : (Gâḍi) an avalanche or fall of snow. Kângra Gloss.

Hent : (Gâḍi) a drift of snow in a gorge or ravine. Kângra Gloss.

Herî : a caste which collects *kino* (resin which exudes from the *dhâk* tree). It came from the East. Karnâl S. R., p. 10.

Heri hûi : a widow married again. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 136.

Herna : to see. *Kaddi-herû ?* when did you see it ? Kângra Gloss.

Hiâli : supper. Keonṭhal

Hik : the chest, breast. Kângra Gloss.

Hilsâ : a fish (*Engraulis telara*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Hindok : a handsome tree—found in the Jhajjar tahsil of Rohtak.

Hingo : a thorny tree or a shrub (*Balanites ægyptica*), Rohtak (*Balanites roxburghii*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Hisân := ihsân.

Hittu : *s. m.* friend, well-wisher.

Hiund = Hiundhâ : winter; from *hiun*, snow. Kângra Gloss.

Hodh-karna : ploughing over young rice to destroy weeds, &c., or ploughing between rows of Indian corn. Kângra Gloss.

Hoghâr, ughâr : the first ploughing ; *jhel*, second ploughing; any subsequent ploughing is called *siyan*, from *sen*, moisture, the object being to thoroughly mix wet and dry together. Kângra Gloss.

Holdnâ : a practice of killing weeds in rice, by ploughing up and turning over the crop, weeds and all ; the weeds alone suffer, but the rice springs up again. Kângra S. R., p. 27.

Hole : roasted gram. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 190.

Hondki : cooking pot. Cf. *Handa*. Sirmur trans-Girî.

Horna : to stop, to countermand. Kângra Gloss.

Hubbî : a camel ailment, the neck swells and the mouth waters and the animal ceases to wag his tail. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 306.

Hudhâr = udhâr.

Hûi jâna : to sleep. Bauria *argot*.

Hûngâ : an instrument used for scaring animals. See *ghûân*.

Hûr : pig. Bauria *argot*.

Ibhân : now. Kângra Gloss.

Iḍḍâ : *adv.* see *aiḍḍ*, so much.

Ikk = hikke, see next.

Ikke : *adv. loc.* of *ikk*, for one thing. Cf. Panjabi Dicty. p. 443.

Ikkowâr : *adv.* at once.

Iklânâ = iklappâ. (P. D. p. 467.)

În : the flying squirrel. The name is used in Lâhul and Spiti for the marmot. Kângra Gloss.

Iniche : this way. *Uniche*, that way. Kângra Gloss.

Irna : fuel. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 404.

Jabar : moist low-lying land, very good for sugarcane and rice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 69.

Jabrâ : (*fem. jabrî*) an old man or woman. In Kullû *Kâprû*, (*fem.*) *Kâprî*. Kângra Gloss.

Jâch : a festival. Kângra S. R., p. 98.

Jadolan: a ceremony observed when for the first time a boy's hair is cut or a girl's ear and nose are bored for a ring. It is observed round about Kumharsain at the Matrî Deorî temple of Âdshakti. Simla Hills.

Jagannu: a torch of pine or cedarwood splinters. Kângra Gloss.

Jagjûp: a picture of Ganesh carved on a piece of stone or wood and set up in a house when completed, *i. q.*, *wâstû* (*? dâstû*) (S. *Vâstu*, the deity of a house.). Kângra.

Jahar=jahir (P. D. p. 467).

Jâhir pir: the greatest of the snake kings. Cf. *bâgarwâla.*

Jâhlu: when, at the time when; *tâhlu*, then; *khâlu*, at what time. Kângra Gloss.

Jâhra: the handle of a spade or *kodâl.* Kângra Gloss.

Jâkat: a little boy; *munu* is also used; *muni*, of a girl. Kângra Gloss.

Jalâkri: the woodcock; also called *ban kui* or *naddilu*; but all the three names are loosely used. Kângra Gloss.

Jalal: much the same as *jabar* (moist low-lying land, very good for sugarcane and rice). Cf. *seba.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Jaljogan: a female spirit of a well or spring which is believed to cast spells over women and children and has to be propitiated with sacrifice. Chamba.

Jamdar: a spear. Simla Hills.

Jamna: right hand. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 124.

Jamoi: a tree (*Eugenia operculata* and *jambolana*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Jan: a wedding guest. Churâh.

Janâi: wedding. Churâh.

Janâs, Junâs: a married woman. Kângra Gloss.

Janda: the board for making irrigation beds. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 72.

Jandalwâsa: a place fixed for the residence of the guests of the bridegroom's party. Cf. *dândalwâsa.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 130.

Jâni, jânji: the superior form of marriage in Pângi.

Janna: a man; *ek janna*, a solitary man; *do janna*, two men together; *kitniân janniân*, how many women are there? Kângra Gloss.

Japet: the influence of a malevolent deity. Cf. *opri.* Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 145.

Jarrî: steady fine rain or drizzle.

Jaswâlâ: (*adj.*) praiseworthy, reputable.

Jatâli: a messenger or watchman of a *kothî* appointed by a *râjâ.* Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Jathâl, jethâl: wife's elder sister. Kângra Gloss.

Jaṭhenjo: a *mela* held on the *Purn mâshi* (full moon) day in the month of Jeṭh every year, Simla Hills.

Jâtre-re-so: the dancing lawn or arena of a temple. Kângra S. R., p. 92.

Jauchani: a mixed crop of gram and barley. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 193.

Jaunchi: a weed. Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 9.

Jaunda: a platform. See *daunja.*

Jausara: a snake (*Daboia Russellii*). Cf. *guldâr.* Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Jawainia: a large mango fruit, smells like aniseed (*ajwain*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Jawâlâ jâtrâ: a fair held at long intervals, probably only once in the reign of a chief. It is held at Rashot, Châmbal, Jogshâ near Rathâl Kufar and Matrî Deorâ, on an auspicious day in the month of Baisâkh. Simla Hills.

Jawâsa: a tree (*Alhagi maurorum*). Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Jel, jhel: a second ploughing of a field; the first is called *hoghâr.* Kângra Gloss.

Jelâ : powerful, from bodily strength or any other reason. Kângra Gloss.

Jera : a pitchfork with 6 teeth. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 162.

Jeth-wâhag : eldest son's share (the best field). Churâh.

Jethâl : wife's elder sister=*jathâl.*

Jhagâla : a secret receptacle for treasure built in a house. Karnâl.

Jhagga : a large blanket (?) Sirmûr.

Jhajja : (Gâḍî) a steep hillside overgrown with long grass, bushes, etc., and hard to get along.

Jhâjri : a kind of earthenware *huqqa.* Sirmûr cis-Girl.

Jhâl : a lining of woven withies of *jhâo* or *simbhâlû* or *tûnt* for lining the lower part of a *kacha* well. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 160.

Jhâli : a rope net for carrying fodder. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 163.

? **Jhalo nâ** to arrest : Bauria *argot.* Ex. *hapâhî jhaloan awe, hara para hathaî jâ.* The constable is coming to arrest, let us escape.

Jhalra : a necklace of 14 rupees. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 125.

Jhaluhana : to singe, burn.

Jhâmb : a dredge. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 159.

Jhanjhiro : a tree. Rohtak.

Jhâolî : a vessel made of pottery, flatter and smaller than the *daggâ* (*q. v.*), with a mouth broad enough to admit the hand, for grain and flour. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 121.

Jhâre : a small, prickly bush, which grows in abundance on the waste land of most villages. Cf. *mallah.* Ludhiâna S. R. 1883, p. 8.

Jharpala : a scrub, the *zizyphus nummularia.* Rohtak.

Jharri : drizzle (Gâḍî). Cf. *megh.*

Jhatt langghṇâ : to spend a moment, pass any time (add to P. D. p. 497).

Jhawâliyo : a cooking vessel; Ex. *jhawâliyo le awiyo, harhârî meliye.* Bring a cooking vessel and put the vegetables into it. Bauria *argot.*

Jheau : a measure of grain, equal to 2 *sers kachha* of cleaned rice, or 2½ of *dhân.*

Jhel, jel : second ploughing—see under *hoghâr.*

Jhik jânâ : to go down—see under *bunh.*

Jhinwâ : a good variety of rice. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Jhoka : a man who tends fire. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 82.

Jhoka : a fireman who feeds the furnace for boiling juice of sugarcane. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 182.

Jhokar : *Capparis horrida.* Cf. *hins.* Gurgaon S. R. 1883, p. 12.

Jholâ : a gust of wind.

Jhona : a second-class rice. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 88.

Jhugla : a shirt. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 124.

Jhûla : a rope bridge. Cf. *'alâ.*

Jhund : see *gandra.*

Jhundar : a rude and primitive method of extracting juice from sugarcane ; cattle are not employed, but strong active youths, and the cane is compressed by the sudden closing of two frames of wood. Kângra S. R., p. 27.

Jhûṇditor : cutting down bushes and grubbing up stumps. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 168.

Jhuttna =jhutna, add to P. D., p. 505.

Jî akkṇa : to be vexed, annoyed.

Ji kâ sâjji : a man who contributes only personal labour. Karnâl S. R., p. 112.

Jichtâî : (s. f.) annoyance.

Jiddal: adj. perverse.

Jidhâri, jidhiâri: on the day when; *tidâri*, on that day; *kidâri* what day. Kângra Gloss.

Jikkar: (Gâḍi) a thicket or jungle of trees and bushes hard to penetrate.

Jindh, jindha: the stubble of corn in a field; also called *kânki*. Kângra Gloss.

Jingâl: the *sarâo* deer—see *goâ*.

Jinjarâra: the ceremony of a woman's second marriage.

Jînsâl: an army tax. Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), p. 33.

Jiyâch: a *jâtra*: used in the Sanch *pargana* of Pângi.

Jogia: a short red wheat of good quality. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 189.

Johal: the bed of an old drainage channel. Cf. *vâl* and *vâhal*. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 12.

Johar: marsh and waste land, moist with springs; when cultivated with rice, it is called *nad*. Kângra Gloss.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

RÂJPÛTS AND MARÂTHÂS.

IN the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Volume XL., January-June 1910, Mr. Crooke deals with the kindred topics of Râjpûts and Marâṭhâs, and claims to establish the contention that the term Râjpût denotes a status rather than a caste. Into the question of the accuracy of this contention, I do not propose to enter. So far as it goes, the evidence adduced is good. But a remark seems called for in connection with his description of the Marâṭhâs as the higher status group "of the Kunbî or Kurmî, a tribe widely spread in Northern and Western India." It is true, as I have remarked in the *Census Report of Bombay*, 1901, Chapter VIII, that Marâṭhâs are divided into a lower or cultivating class known as Kunbîs, who, when asked their caste, will describe themselves as Marâṭhâs, and a higher social group which may be called Marâṭhâs proper, claiming Kshatriya rank. But if Mr. Crooke had been asked to push his investigations further in the Bombay Deccan, he would have hesitated to describe the mass of Marâṭhâs as of the Kunbî *tribe*. So far as I can ascertain, the term *Kunbî* is just as much a 'status' term as Râjpût, and means little more than a cultivator. In the Kanarese parts of the Bombay Presidency, the corresponding term is '*vakkal.*' Kunbîs in the Deccan, who describe themselves as Marâṭhâs, probably have an exceedingly mixed origin. At the present day, Kolis who take to cultivation are termed Kunbîs, and can readily become merged in the Marâṭhâ Kunbî caste. An interesting side-light on the value of the term Kunbî when applied to Marâṭhâs is thrown by the results of Mr. J. A. Saldanha's investigations into the tribes and castes of the Sâvantvâdî State of the Bombay Presidency. The remoteness of this little State from the more accessible Konkan and Deccan tracts in which Marâṭhâs are commonly found, tends to confer a special value on the results of Mr. Saldanha's enquiries. Writing in the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society*,[1] he says:—

"One seldom or never hears the name Kunbî applied to Marâṭhâ Shudra cultivators or used by them in Sâvantvadi. In the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Volume X), no separate caste of Kuṇbî is mentioned as existing in the Sâvantvadi State. Here many communities, which in the Ratnagiri and other neighbouring districts are classed separately from Marâṭhâs, namely, Kunbîs and Bandes, Ghadis, Lads, Bhavins, Guravas, rejoice in the name of Marâṭhâ."

This tends to support my contention that Kunbî is an occupational term, as applied to the lower division of Marâṭhâs, and does not, as suggested by Mr. Crooke, represent a distinct tribe.

I hope to show later, in dealing with the results of the Ethnographic Survey of Bombay, what the chief constituent elements of the Marâṭhâs are. They are likely to prove more heterogeneous than has hitherto been supposed. At present I have no reason for holding that they can correctly be described as consisting largely of a Kunbî *tribe*.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

August 18th, 1911.

[1] Volume VIII, p. 7, p. 502.

EARLY SOUTH INDIAN FINANCE.

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L., F.R.A.I. (LOND.), MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 272)

III.—Nâyaks of Madura.

AFTER the crushing defeat inflicted by the combined Deccan Muhammadans on the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar at Talikota in 1565,[58] their kingdom broke up into several independent principalities,[59] their former governors now founding independent hereditary royal families. One of these was the Nâyak kings of Madurâ, who ruled over the modern districts of Madurâ, Tinnevelly, Trichinopoly, and part of Salem, for about two centuries,[60] (1559-1741 A. D.). Father Vico, one of the Madurâ Jesuit Mission, writing in 1611, sketches for us their revenue administration:—"The king or Grand Nâyaker of Madurâ," says he,[61] "has but few domains which depend immediately on him, that is to say, which form his property (for in this country, the great are sole proprietors, and the people are only tenants or farmers); all the other lands are the domains of a multitude of petty princes or tributary lords; these latter have each in his own domains the full administration of the police and of justice, if justice there is at all, they levy contributions which comprise at least the half of the produce of the lands; of this they make three parts, the first of which is reserved as tribute to the Grand Nâyaker; the second is employed in supporting troops, which the lord is bound to furnish him; the third belongs to the lord. The grand Nâyakers of Madurâ, like those of Tanjore and Gingee, are themselves tributaries of Vijayanagar, to whom they pay, or ought to pay, each one an annual tribute of from six to ten millions of francs. But they are not punctual in their payment; often they delay, and even sometimes refuse insolently; then Vijayanagar arrives or sends one of his generals at the head of a hundred thousand men to enforce payment of all arrears, with interest, and in such cases, which are frequent, it is the poor people who are to expiate the fault of their princes; the whole country is devastated and the population is either pillaged or massacred." This letter shows that the subordinate princes, to whom the lands had been given, took "at least the half of the produce of the lands." It also shows the enormous amount that the Nâyaks derived from land. According to it the three viceroyalties of Madurâ, Tanjore, and Gingee were each bound to pay a tribute varying from six to ten millions of francs or between £240,000 and £400,000 to the Vijayanagar sovereign, and if the Madurâ province, which was the most extensive of those named, paid the higher sum; it is apparent that the revenue taken from the ryots of that province must have been at least three times that sum or £1,200,000 or about 180 lakhs of rupees. In fact, most of the lands included in the Madurâ province were in the hands of Poligars, who, it is stated, paid to the local viceroys only one-third of the revenues of their *pôlaiyams*, and out of this one-third, the viceroys had to pay the tribute after defraying their own expenses. The Madurâ province, as already stated, comprised the present districts of Madurâ, Tinnevelly, and part of Salem. The land revenue of these districts aggregates now about 120⅓ lakhs of rupees only[62], and

[58] Sewell's *A Forg. Emp.*, 199. [59] *Ibid.* 219. [60] *Madurâ District Manual*, Part III, pp. 83 and 239.

[61] *Ibid.* 149-150.

[62] *Madras Administration Report* for 1901-2 gives the following average land revenue, inclusive of cesses, for the three years ending 1901-2:—

Mâdura	34·34 lakhs.	
Tinnevelly	34·68 ,,	
Trichinopoly	24·07 ,,	
Salem	27 28 ,,	(See p. 82.)

when it is remembered that in the 16th and 17th centuries much of the country now under cultivation was covered with forest and that the purchasing power of the precious metals was several times higher than it is at present, and that the present land revenue includes cesses, we might form an idea of the large share of the gross produce which the Nâyaks took as revenue.[63] Perhaps, a possible approximation of the intensity of Nâyak land assessment may be reached in this way. Father Martin, writing in 1713, says that 8 *marakâls* of rice could in ordinary seasons be bought for one *fanam* and would keep a man in food for more than fifteen days. Mr. Nelson, the Editor of the *Madura District Manual*, takes a *fanam* as equal to $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ and a *marakâl* to be of twelve pounds weight. From these data, he deduces that the purchasing power of the rupee, at the commencement of the 18th century, would have been more than forty times what it is now.[64] Mr. Śrînivâsa Râghavaiyengar, author of the *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last Forty Years of British Administration*, estimates it even more moderately. If the quantity of rice required, says he, by a person be 3 lb. *per diem*, that required for fifteen days would be 45 lbs. Even if this reduced quantity be worth $2\frac{1}{4}d.$, the price would have been 480 lbs. per rupee or 1/12 of the price at the present time : in other words, the purchasing value of the rupee would have been in the beginning of the 18th century twelve times what it is now. If the purchasing power of the rupee was even half as much as this in the beginning of the 17th century, when Father Vico wrote, then Nâyak land revenue would amount to six times 120 lakhs of rupees, or, making allowance for the difference in area, Nâyak assessment was over nine times the actual British taxation of the present day, *i. e.*, over 50 per cent. of the gross produce. This estimate would seem to agree with the other statement of Vico that Nâyak feudatories took "at least half of the produce of the lands." Besides the land revenue there were the usual imposts on every kind of profession and art ; land customs ; plough tax ; ferry-boat tax ; free labour service, etc.[65]

IV.—Nâyaks of Coimbatore.

The Nâyak Government of Coimbatore seems to have been even worse. A Jesuit missionary letter of the first half of the 17th century describes its rulers as "considering themselves rather owners of the people, and their kingdom as a vast farm to be operated upon. While they are of unbounded energy and acuteness in extorting from their subjects the utmost possible revenue, they are wholly blind, careless, and weak in the matters of order, justice, and repression of crime."[66] Another letter speaks of it as a "mere tyranny and a mass of confusion and disorder."[67]

Nor was the administration of Tanjore under the Marâṭhâ rulers, who held it for about a century and a quarter (1674—1799),[68] any way better. The deplorable condition of the ryot in 1683, when Veṇkâjî, the first of the dynasty and brother of the celebrated Śivâjî, the founder of the Marâṭhâ power in India, was king, is thus alluded to in a letter of the well-known but ill-fated Jesuit Missionary John De Britto,[69] who was an eye-witness of what he wrote. "Tanjore," he says, "is in the possession of Ekôjî (Venkâjî) with the exception of a few provinces which have been seized by the Marava." Here is a short sketch of the administration of this country. Ekôjî appropriates four-fifths of the produce. This is not all. Instead of accepting these four-fifths in kind, he insists that they should be paid in money ; and as he takes care to fix the price himself much beyond that which the proprietor can realise, the result

63 *Mâdurâ Dt. Manual*, Part III, 149-156.

64 *Ibid.* 155-56.

65 *Mâdurâ Dt. Manual*, Part III, 153-155.

66 *Coimbatore Manual*, 89-90, quoting Mission De Mâdure, II, 384.

67 *Ibid.* 90, quoting Mission de Mâdure, II, 6.

68 *Tanjore Manual* (Dewan Bahadur T. Venkasami Rao's Edn.), p. 730.

69 *Mâdura Dt. Manual*, Part III, 151, quoting Mission de Mâdure.

is that the sale of the entire produce does not suffice to pay the entire contribution. The cultivators then remain under the weight of a heavy debt; and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay by submitting to the most barbarous tortures. It would be difficult for you to conceive such an oppression, and yet I must add that this tyranny is more frightful and revolting in the kingdom of Gingee. For the rest this is all I can say, for I cannot find words to express all that is horrible in it." This letter shows that Venkâjî took full 80 per cent. of the gross produce as revenue, leaving only 20 per cent. to the cultivators. On the accession of Râjâ Pratâpsing in 1741, the cultivators enjoyed 29 per cent. of the *pisânam* (staple crop), which required additional labour in watering.[70] The rate for the former was raised by him and his successors till it amounted to 40 per cent. in the time of Amîrsing.[71] These rates applied solely to cultivation under river irrigation. In regard to wet cultivation under rain-fed tanks, the *vâram* varied from 50 to 60 per cent. of the gross produce.[72] Besides the regular land assessment, there were several cesses, the names, nature, and extent of as many as twenty-seven of them being known.[73]

V.—Nawabs of Arcot.

The conquest of Bijâpur and Golkoṇḍâ by Aurangazîb by 1687[74] opened the way for Marâṭhâ raids into the south of India. But that puritanical Mogul would not desist from making the south an integral portion of his empire.[75] Mogul thus followed in the wake of the Marâṭhâ and the state of the country, towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, was truly distressing. Zulifikâr Khân, the Mogul general in the south, was employed in a course of incessant and destructive warfare. "The express statement," says Wilks,[76] "of nineteen actions fought and three thousand coss (6,000 miles) marched by this officer in the course of six months only, may afford some faint idea of the wretchedness in which the unfortunate inhabitants were involved during that period, and these miseries of war, in the ordinary course of human calamity, were necessarily followed by a long and destructive famine and pestilence." Within this period, Zulifikar Khân made three different expeditions to the south of the Cauvery, levying heavy contributions on Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Both the Marâṭhâ and the Mogul fleeced the cultivators, who often had no alternative but to give up their occupation and turn freebooters themselves. Shortly after, followed the war in the Coromandel (174--1761) between the rival Nawâbs of Arcot, aided by the rival *subadars* of the Deccan and the French and the English on opposite sides. This ended in the Treaty of Paris of 1763 which recognised Muhammad Alî as the Nawâb of the Carnatic, though to the close of the century the country knew no rest through the devastating invasions of Haider Alî, the usurper of the Mysore throne. The territories, over which Muhammad Alî's rule, nominal or actual, extended, were divided into the four *Subhâs* of Arcot, including the present districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, which was in 1763 granted as a *jâghîr* to the East India Company; Trichinopoly, to which in 1774 was added by conquest the Marâṭhâ kingdom of Tanjore; Madurâ, including the present Tinnevelly district; and lastly Nellore. The system of administration introduced by the Nawâbs of the Carnatic was utterly destructive of the ancient village institutions of Southern India.[77] To each of the *Subhâs* was appointed a Fauzdâr,[78] or Military Governor, who exercised the supreme authority of the State in it as the chief officer and representative of the Nawâb. During early times he

[70] *Tanjore Dt. Manual*, 476, quoting *Report of the Tanjore Commissioners of* 1798.
[71] *Ibid.* 477. [72] *Ibid.* 479. [73] *Ibid*, 482, 483, and 487.
[74] See Lane Pole's *Aurangazîb* in the *Rulers of India Series*, 183. [75] *Ibid.* 190.
[76] *Historical Sketches*, etc., I., 135. [77] See *Nellore Dt. Manual*, 481, and *North Arcot Dt. Manual*, I., 117-8.
[78] Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, 125; *Nellore Dt Manual*, 482.

was usually a Muhammadan and almost always a favourite of the Nawâb. The revenues of each *Subhâ* were farmed out in large portions, never less than taluks, or sometimes even whole *Subhâs*, to renters,[79] who paid the revenue sometimes to the Fauzdâr and sometimes direct to the Nawâb's court.

"All the demands of the State were" writes an authority,[80] "in this manner farmed out to the highest bidder, whose hope of profit, therefore, lay in what he could extort from the people. The uncertainty of his position—liable as he was to be ejected at the caprice of the Nawâb—made the renter neglectful of developing or fostering the resources of his charge, which it would have been his interest to do had his tenure been more permanent. His aim was simply to get as much out of the country as he could; to conceal what he got; and to pay the Nawâb or his agents as little as possible. The renters, on obtaining the rent, had to pay a *Nazrana* or benevolence to the Nawâb, and another to the Fauzdâr; and if it became notorious that the renter had made a good thing of his contract, or if the Nawâb wanted money, extra *Nazrânas* were, from time to time, demanded. If the renter could not or would not pay, either the rent was given to another, or the demand was discontinued, and the holder of the Nawâb's orders vested with full power to recover the amount any way he could. The renters when pressed by the Government, tightened the screw on the sub-renters, generally the head inhabitants of villages; and these in their turn, recouped themselves at the expense of the other inhabitants, who were the ultimate sufferers. The Fauzdâr, whose power was the only check on the renters, leant to their side as being those who could pay best, so that the inhabitants got scant justice. Even this slight check disappeared in the last quarter of the 10th century when the misgovernment of the Carnatic reached its height under Muhammad Alî and Umdatl-ul-Umra. Then whole provinces were leased out and the Fauzdâr and head-renter were often the same person. This was repeatedly the case in Nellore.[81] Under these circumstances the last resource of the inhabitants was flight. Large numbers were thus driven from their villages and took refuge either in the Ceded Districts, Madras, or the Company's territory in the Northern Circars. The renters themselves, when hard pressed by the Nawâb, adopted a similar course. When the Fauzdâr was also renter, the peculation and corruption that took place under the other system were doubled. All the demands from all the sources of the revenue and all payments on account of the Nawâb, were then in the hands of the renters. Tankas or orders for money, which the Nawâb used to issue on the renters, were unpaid, but credits were taken in the accounts; so also for the pay of the Nawâb's troops stationed in the district, which had never been disbursed; for pensions, which were paid to the generality of the recipients for from three to six months of the year; and in short, fraud and extortion flourished, of course, under a government by unscrupulous speculators. "The oppression of the under-renters (usually heads of villages)," says the Fifth Report,[82] "principally consisted in levying private contributions on frivolous pretences; in under-assessing lands in the occupation of themselves, their relations, or friends, and making up the differences by an over-assessment of the other village cultivators, more especially those who were the poorest, and therefore unable to protect themselves; in forcing the poorer ryots to cultivate their lands and to perform for them, free of charge, various

[79] *North Arcot Dt. Manual*, I, 119; Garstin's *South Arcot Dt. Manual*, 233; Moore's *Trichinopoly Dt. Manual*, 179; *Nellore Dt. Manual*, 482; Nelson's *Madura Dt. Manual*, III, 274, 277, 280, and IV, 4 *et seq.*; Caldwell's *Tinnevelly*, 125-6. As to Chingleput, see Orme's *Indostan*, II, 368, 562, and *Chingleput Dt. Manual*, 231. Also see Fullarton's *View of the English Interests in India*, 102-3, 138, 245-6, and 248-252 particularly.

[80] "M. C. S." in the *Nellore Dt. Manual*, p. 482-4.

[81] So it would appear in the other *Subhâs* also. See Fullerton's *View of the English Interests in India*, p. 248-252.

[82] *Fifth Report of the Parliamentary Committee for the East India Affairs*, 1813.

other services; in monopolizing the produce of the several villages, which they afterwards disposed of at an advanced price; and in applying to their own use the allowances and requisites of the *pagodas* and village servants, by which the parties were deprived of their rights, or the inhabitants, as was often the case, were obliged to make good the loss." "They also secured for themselves, either for tillage or pasture, the best lands of the village. Thus the mass of the people were ground down, nothing beyond a bare subsistence left them, and improvement in their condition was impossible."[83] An equally harrowing picture is drawn by Colonel Fullerton, who was Commander of the Southern Army of the Coromandel Coast during the years 1782-4, of the southern districts under the management of these wretched "inferior instruments (the renters) who are eager to perpetuate oppression, and to enforce unusual measures by unprecedented means."[84] In these circumstances it would be nothing less than strange if the Nawâb's officers did not take what they chose for the Government share. Even if they wanted authority of a written test they would have found one in the Hedaia which states, "The learned in the law allege that the utmost extent of tribute is one half of the actual product, nor it is allowable to exact more. But the taking of a half is no more than strict justice and is not tyrannical, because, as it is lawful to take the whole of the person and property of infidels and distribute them among the Mussalmans, it follows that taking half their incomes is lawful *a fortiori*."[85] It is, however, more than doubtful if ever they consciously acted on the principle so openly asserted as that, for their radical defect was not so much a system founded upon avarice and cruelty but the lack of any system whatsoever that was compatible with good government.[86] The effect was, however, all the same. The State share was in theory one half of the gross produce,[87] and the collection was farmed out to unscrupulous renters, who as the biggest bidders, had every inducement to fleece the poor cultivators as much as they could, so much so that the latter deemed themselves fortunate if they held back stealthily a bare subsistence for themselves. "The renters preferred to a moderate and fixed money rent, a large share of the crop, which by extortion they could increase, and which they could realise more easily than a proportionate money rent; while the ryots, as they afterwards often showed when the proportionate money rent was introduced, preferred a system, under which by deceiving the renter and abstracting the produce, they could easily secure better terms for themselves."[88] Renters on the coast," says Colonel Fullerton, "have not scrupled to imprison reputable farmers, and inflict on them extreme severity of punishment, for refusing to accept of *sixteen in the hundred as the portion* out of which they were to maintain a family, to furnish stock and implements of husbandry, cattle, feed, and all expenses incident to the cultivation of their lands." Thus, in the present North Arcot district the rapacity of the renters had been so great that it was only in a few *jâgîr* villages that the ryots got their full proportion of *vâram*, while in Government villages sometimes the whole produce had been seized by the renters or the Nawâb's servants. In others, the cultivators received one to three parts out of ten, instead of the customary four or five. Their share was in fact often "only what they could conceal or make away with."[89] In Trichinopoly, as a general rule, the crops were equally divided between the Nawâb's government and the cultivators, after a deduction of 5 per cent. of the gross produce had been made for reaping expenses. But, since the allowances, paid to the village establishment, which varied from 23 to 28 per cent of the

[83] *Nellore Dt. Manual*, 484. [84] *Loc. cit.*, 248-252. See also *Chingleput District Manual*, 231.

[85] *Hedaia*, Bk. IX, chap. 7, quoted in Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, 101-102. "This text was written in the sixth century of Hijera, and had undoubtedly been," says Wilks, "the chief rule of action since that period."

[86] Sir Thomas Munro rejects, after a lengthy argument, the view that assessments were low under ancient Hindu Governments and were raised by Muhammadan rulers. See his Minute on the State of the Country and the Condition of the People. Arbuthnot's *Munro*, I, 237-75.

[87] Col. Fullerton, a contemporary of the times, is explicit on this point. See his *View*, 249.

[88] "M. C. S." in the *Nellore Dt. Manual*, 477. [89] *North Arcot District Manual*, I, 119.

gross produce, were paid by the cultivators alone from their share, they had really only about 23 per cent. As regards lands under dry cultivation, the demads were made in a most arbitrary manner, and were invariably increased if the out-turn of the crops happened to be better than usual. The sale of grain, moreover, was a strict monopoly, the price being fixed by the manager. All importation was forbidden, and it was an offence punishable by exorbitant fines, even to lend a neighbour such small quantities of grain as he might require for his immediate support. The grain was taken from the cultivators at the rate of 7 and 8 *fanams*[90] per *kalam*, and sold back to them from Government granaries kept in different parts of the district, at 9 and 10 *fanams* per *kalam*. When Mr. Wallace, the first Collector of Trichinopoly, settled the Government revenue, he had to base his settlement on the prices of grain prevailing in the neighbouring districts, as its natural prices in the Trichinopoly district itself could not be ascertained in consequence of the Government monopoly in it which had long been subsisting there.[91] Tanjore, which was in the Nawâb's possession during the years 1774-5, was almost ruined, as Schwartz, the well-known Lutheran Missionary, puts it in a letter to his English friends in 1799, by his "inhuman exactions."[92] In 1774-5, the year of his sole management, the Nawâb extorted from the landholders no less than eighty-one lakhs of rupees—a sum not yet reached with all the development of the natural resources of the country under the influence of peace and improved administration in the course of more than a century of British rule.[93] The highest revenue exacted by the Marâṭhâs of Tanjore was 57½ lakhs of rupees, and that was by Râjâ Pratâpsing in 1761.[94] In Tinnevelly from 1770 to 1780, the usual grain rents prevailed, and the Nawâb's Government took 60 per cent. of the gross out-turn of the wet land; and from 1780 to the end of the century 50 per cent. after deducting before the division some small cultivation expenses, besides ready-money cesses of varying amounts.[95] In Nellore, the Nawâb took 55 per cent. while the village fees absorbed 3¾ per cent., leaving only 41¼ per cent. to the ryots.[96]

Besides the income derived from the land, the Nawâb had various other sources of revenue, all of them of a ready-money character, by which he squeezed out the poor inhabitants of their last coins. This was in general known as the "Sayer" or miscellaneous revenue and, as usual, rented out to the highest bidders. It comprised the duty on salt, transit duties collected at inland stations on all kinds of merchandise, personal and professional taxes, called *Moturpha*, sometimes levied on houses or shops and sometimes as a poll tax, on merchants, weavers, oilmakers, fishermen, goldsmiths, brass-smiths, dyers, painters, cotton-spinners, etc., all assessed on no fixed principles; and the export and import duties. The evil of renting the transit duties tended to the multiplication of stations where they were exacted, so much so that in some cases they were erected three miles off each other on the same road. "So unsupportable," complains Colonel Fullerton, "is this evil, that between Negapatam and Palghatcherry, not more than three hundred miles, there are about thirty places of collection; or, in other words, a tax is levied every ten miles upon the produce of the country." But their number was not so great a check on the trade as the uncertainty and variation of rates. The effect was, the trade was checked very greatly. No enterprises involving the transport of goods for long distances could be undertaken, as the profits would be swallowed up in customs; and the variation of rates rendered a safe calculation of profit impossible. That such a system, or rather the want of it, such as this, should have the effect of

[90] 30 *fanams* made a *pagoda*; so that a *fanam* equalled 1 anna and 10½ pies of our present currency.

[91] *Trichinopoly District Manual* (1st Edn.), pp. 180-1, quoting Mr. Wallace's Settlement Report for Fasli. 1211 (1801-2).

[92] Wilks' *Historical Sketches*, I, Appdx. 523, *et seq.*

[93] The average land revenue for the 3 years ending 1901-2, including cesses of Tanjore, is 64·48 lakhs. See *Madras Administration Report* for 1901-2, pp. 82, *et seq.*

[94] *Tanjore District Manual*, 1st Edition, pp. 810 and 467. [95] *Tinnevelly Manual*, 70-1. [96] *Nellore Manual*, 477.

diminishing the revenue is only what was to be expected.[95] "In short," says the authority already quoted, "the Mussalman rulers seem, like the man in the fable, to have done their best to kill the goose with the golden eggs.'"[96] No wonder then that the revenues of the Nawâb for the last twenty years of his management in Nellore steadily declined.[97] Nor was it better in any way of the other *Subhâs*. Everywhere it was the same tale of cruel oppression and worse rack renting. The rapacity of the renters in every department of the revenue pauperised the people and left the cultivating masses nothing but their ploughs and cattle. The moneyed class was conspicuous by its absence. Trade was paralysed, and there were few indeed who lived by it. Irrigation was everywhere neglected, and roads there were none, properly so called. The confusion and uncertainty of revenue system; the oppression of renters; the fraud and venality which had infected all ranks, the poverty of the cultivators, who were nine-tenths of the community; the stagnation of the trade and manufacture consequent on restrictive taxation and general insecurity; the depredations of Poligârs and Kâvalgars, the supposed guardians of the public security; the total want of a system of judicature, all these, in the words of the authority[98] already quoted, combined everywhere in the Nawâb's territories to produce a state of things which was wretched in the extreme and from which the country has not, despite the peace and progress of over a century under the ægis of British rule, yet recovered.

Summary.

To sum up:—Between the 11th and the 13th centuries A. D., **the Cholas**, who ruled over the whole of what is at present known as the Presidency and a good deal even beyond it, took between 13/30ths and 4/15ths of the gross produce from the cultivators, for the Government share. This is about from 4 to 7 times greater than the proportion taken by the British Government at the present time, which is less than 6 per cent. or 1/17th of the gross produce. The proportion taken by the Cholas would be much greater than that of the British, if we but considered the greater purchasing power of the precious metals then than it is now. Their other revenues were derived from a number of petty imposts which invaded every calling and occupation, and must have been a great impediment to the growth of commerce and enterprise. One of their later kings, who ruled between 1063 and 1070 A. D., commuted a portion of the Government share into a money payment, while another successor of his abolished most of the vexatious taxes and resurveyed the lands—the first survey having been carried out at least a century before—about 1086 A. D., the time of the famous Domesday survey in England, and recouped the loss sustained by a revision of land assessments. Thus, the principle of temporary and not permanent settlements seems to have been adopted by the ancient Cholas, and considering the praises bestowed upon the particular kings who carried out these reforms, there is every reason to believe that the people preferred a little addition to their land assessments to the retention of the oppressive imposts. In the matter of collection and remission, the Cholas seem to have been more rigorous than their British successors, refusing, as they did, even the expected remission when the crops had been destroyed wholesale by *vis major*.

On the decay of the Cholas came the **Vijayanagar kings**. From about the middle of the 14th century to 1565 their supremacy was undisputed throughout southern India and Mysore. The early kings, if we may believe the treatise on law and government, written by their first Prime Minister, Mâdhava, who was, according to unvarying tradition, chiefly instrumental in bringing their kingdom into existence, raised the land tax to ¼ of the gross produce, which was paid in cash and was exclusive of the fees absorbed by the village etablishment, which was met from the cultivators' share. Their later successors of the sixteenth century disregarded the tax and practically raised it to

[97] *Nellore District Manual*, 485-8. [98] *Ibid.*, 488. [99] *Ibid*, 489. [100] *Nellore Manual*, 494-5.

one-half. Their land revenue for the whole of the Madras Presidency and Mysore, except the districts of Ganjâm, Vizâgapatâm, Godâvarî, and the northern part of Kistna, which never came under their survey, was, according to the chroniclers, Paes and Nuniz, who visited Vijayanagar about 1520 and 1535-7, about 120 lakhs of pagodas. This in modern currency would be worth about 420 millions of rupees, the purchasing power of the rupee being about ten times what it is now. Allowing for the difference in area under cultivation, this means that Vijayanagar taxation was over seven times what the British is at present, or over forty-two per cent of the gross produce, taking the land revenue of the Madras Presidency, with the exception of the excluded districts and Mysore, according to the latest available statistics, at about sixty millions of rupees. But since the fees of village establishment and the expenses of the cultivation, as of necessity, were met from the cultivators' share, he would be left with a proportion, which, by the exactions of the renters, amongst whom the country was parcelled out, would only be reduced to a bare subsistence. Hence it is that Nuniz feelingly complains that "the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical." Besides the income derived from lands, the Vijayanagar kings had many other sources of revenue. The collection of tolls alone seems to have brought enormous sums to the treasury.

On the break of the Vijayanagar kingdom after the battle of Talikota, its former governors became everywhere independent. The **Nayaks of Madura** were one of these, and they ruled over the present districts of Madurâ, Tinnevelly, and Trichinopoly, besides a part of Salem. Their feudatories, amongst whom the country was divided, according to a Jesuit letter of 1611, took "at least the half of the produce of the land." Their land revenue, according to the same letter, seems to have been about £1,200,000, or 180 lakhs of rupees. The purchasing power of the rupee in the beginning of the 18th century would, from another Jesuit letter, appear, on the most moderate calculation, to be about twelve times what it is now. If it was only half as much—the probabilities are it might have been greater—in the beginning of the 17th century, then Nâyak land revenue would, in modern currency, be about 1,080 lakhs of rupees.[99] The present land revenue of these districts jointly amounts to about 120¼ lakhs. Allowing for the difference in area and for the cesses included, Nâyak land revenue of the present day is over 50 per cent., which quite agrees with the other statement in the Jesuit letter that the Nâyak feudatories took "at least half of the produce of the lands." **The Nâyak government of Coimbatore** is described in a third Jesuit letter as a "mere tyranny and mass of confusion and disorder." The other sources of Nâyak revenue were the usual vexatious imposts on every kind of profession and art; land customs; fishery; plough-tax; ferry-boat tax, etc. They also exacted free manual labour. **Tanjore under the Marâṭhâs** fared no better. The celebrated Jesuit missionary De Britto says, in one of his letters, that Venkâjî, the founder of the dynasty, exacted four-fifths of the produce and insisted on its payment in money at a rate fixed by himself. The result of his thus extorting 80 per cent of the gross produce was that the sale of the entire produce did not suffice to meet the whole contribution. There were, besides the land revenue thus exacted, several cesses, the nature and extent of as many as 27 being known.

The decline of Nâyak power in the south prepared the way for Muhammadan conquest. The conquest of Bijâpur and Golconda by the Mogul emperor, Aurangzîb, opened the line for predatory Marâṭhâ marches, followed up by Mogul generals to put them down. Both Marâṭhâ and Mogul conquerors fleeced the inhabitants everywhere during the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The establishment of the **Nawâb of Arcot** was a fresh beginning towards settled government and order, but the war of succession that followed in the Carnatic soon after, during the years 1749-1761, between the rival Nawâbs, aided by the rival

[99] 120¼ lakhs includes the revenue for the whole of Salem, whereas only *a part* of it was under the Nâyaks. Moreover, the area under cultivation has increased since Nâyak times.

Subhedars of the Deccan and the French and the English nations on opposite sides, postponed it to a later date. However, Muhammad Alî was recognised as Nawâb in 1763, and that indeed was a step gained towards security and order in the south. But his system of government in the four **Subhas**—Arcot, Trichinopoly, Madurâ, and Nellore—was entirely destructive of the ancient village institutions of the country, and conducted as it was through rapacious renters, was the worst kind of tyranny that was compatible with the name of government. In theory, the land tax was the now usual one-half of the gross produce paid in kind. But the rapacity of the renters reduced the other half of the cultivator to almost nothing. In the vigorous language of Colonel Fullerton, a contemporary of the times, "the renters on the coast did not scruple to imprison reputable farmers, and to inflict on them the extreme severity of the punishment, for refusing to accept of sixteen in the hundred as the portion out of which they were to maintain a family, to furnish stock and implements of husbandry, cattle, feed, and all expenses incident to the cultivation of their lands." "Their share, in fact," writes another authority, was often "only what they could conceal, or make away with." The system of renting, which pervaded every department of public revenue, pauperised the masses, paralysed trade, wrecked irrigation, and in general produced a state of things which was wretched in the extreme and from which, despite the peace and progress of over a century, under the ægis of British rule, the country has not yet thoroughly recovered.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(*Continued from p. 280, Vol. XXXIX.*)

Johâri: the ceremony at which the bride's mother puts the *tika* on the bridegroom's forehead and gives him one rupee and two *laddûs*; other women also feed him. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 132.

Johl, johal: a long field or strip of low land sunk below the ordinary level. Kângra, Gloss.

Jokham: risk. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 191.

Jol: a long strip of land running between two banks or ridges of rock. Kângra Gloss.

Jongra, jongla: a yoke for oxen. Kângra Gloss.

Joth: a pass in the high Himâlayas; also applied generally to a great range.

Jowârâ, jowâri: (1) a bee or alternate gathering of neighbours to do some farm work such as *lunâi* (reaping), *nidâi* (weeding) on one holding. The proprietor finds food and drink and sometimes music for all present; a bee to cut grass is often called a *kharodi*; (2) *jowârî*, a form of service, consisting of one day's work (*halatar*) at ploughing time, another (*danretar* at reaping, and a third at *karoti*, or mowing time. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 45.

Ju =jo (P. D., p. 516).

Jûa: a yoke consisting of a straight piece of wood which rests against the humps of the oxen, 4 small pegs keeping it from shifting laterally. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 162.

Jûa: to fix the yoke to the plough. Karnâl S. R., p. 116.

Jûa kî angûthi: a yoke-ring sent by the bridegroom's father to the bride's house shortly before the wedding. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 130.

Jubaṛ: a plain. Simla Hills.

Jugti: carefully.

Jûh: waste land near the house and home fields where the cattle graze every day. Kângra Gloss.

Jul : scales of metal. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Jun : a measure = 16 *kât* = 24 *sers*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Jun, jo : wife (Kullû) see *lâri*.

Jûn : a weight = 16 *paththas* or 24 *sers*. Cf. *kâin*. Jabhal, p. 28.

Junîs : a married woman = *janâs*.

Juphlota : *Croton tiglium*. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Jura : a bundle into which growing sugarcane is tied up when it shows any tendency to droop. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 181.

Jûti : a handful of seedlings. Karnâl S. R. 1880, p. 185.

Kabâr : a weed. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 168.

Kacha : the strip of land in the immediate vicinity of the river liable to annual inundation Cf. *mand*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 3.

Kachâ pâr : the hole in which the cylinder of the well is to be sunk, dug in the sand. Jullundur S. R., p. 100.

Kachhâli : a vessel flatter and smaller than the *daggâ* (*q. v.*), with a mouth for grain and flour broad enough to admit the hand. Cf. *jhâkrâ* and *jhâoli*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kachhâltû : see *handa* : Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Kachhrâlî : see *hadh*.

Kâchwa kâ sâjji : a man in the *lâna* who has contributed a half plough. Karnâl S. R. p. 112.

Kaddû : the operation of watering the ground and ploughing up and harrowing it while under water, till the field is turned into mud. Jullundur S. R., p. 124.

Kadelni : a kind of coarse sieve, with a smaller mesh than the *kharelna*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46

Kadhiâlî : a carpenter's workshop : a *lohâr's* (is called ?) *harniâlî*.

Kadrân : porridge made of *koda* or *mandwa* flour. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 40.

Kadroli : *chapattis* made of *koda* or *mandwâ* flour. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 40.

Kadu : broadcast sowing : to steep the seed of rice in water for two or three days and then scatter it broadcast in the mud. Cf. *kadwân*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Kadwân : broadcast sowing : see *kadu*.

Kâg : a fish (*Belone cancila*). Cf. *kawwu*. Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Kâg : smut produced by east winds with cloudy damp weather. It attacks wheat especially ; and also *jawâr* and sometimes barley. But it is, as a rule, sporadic in the two latter. Cf. *kâgwa*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 180.

Kâgan dora khelna : the game in which the bride and the bridegroom are seated, on opposite sides of a dish into which water and various articles are put, and the bride unfastens the strings on the wrist and ankle of the bridegroom, while he does the same for her, and the bridegroom's brother's wife takes them and throws them into the water. Then the bride and bridegroom dip their hands into the dish and take out what they can find, and the brother's wife takes the articles and throws them into the water again. Sirsâ S. R., 1883, p. 167.

Kâgwa : smut produced by east winds. See *kâg*.

Kâhi, (*adj.*) green, grass-green.

Kâhkar : land in which *kahi* grass grows, as on a *bela*, beside a river.

Kahlu : a spirit which lives in the mountains and when angry causes landslips. It must be appeased with sacrifices. Chamba.

Kahu : half a *gaddi*, or sheaf of corn given to village servants at harvest usually. Kangra Gloss.

Kahû : a kind of sugarcane. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 79.

Kaimb : a tree only useful for shade. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 8.

Kâin : a weight = 16 *paththas*, *i. q. jûn*.

Kainchwa: an earth-worm. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 20.

Kaimal: a timber tree. (? *i. q.*, *kaimbal*, Odina wodier.) Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Kaindu: a tree. *Diospyros montana.* Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Kair: a tree. (*Capparis aphylla*). Karnâl S, R., p. 3.

Kâit, kâyat: an accountant appointed by a *râjâ*. Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Kâj: a funeral feast. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 85.

Kaju: why? Kângra Gloss.

Kâkâ: father's younger brother. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 121.

Kâkal: paper. Kângra Gloss.

Kakkar: *Rhus kukursinghi*: a timber tree, yielding a very handsome yellow-grained wood. Cf. *kakkrain*, and P. D., p. 535. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Kâkra: a large long mango fruit. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Kakra: *Podophyllum emodi*, a good wood for boxes. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Kakrain: a timber tree. See *kakkar*.

Kakrola: the *koklâs* pheasant, also called *quâglas* in Kullu, or *Ban kironk*, *i. e.*, forest watchman. Kângra Gloss.

Kâla: a mango fruit having a dark coloured skin. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Kalâîsh: a snake (*Cullaphis Maclellandii*). Jullundur S. R., p. 12.

Kalak: a method of paying menials. Karnâl S. R., p. 116.

Kalâo: midday meal. Keonthal.

Kalar: soil with a large mixture of sand (not applied to brackish land, as in the Punjab plains). Kângra Gloss.

Kalâr, lunch: see under *datiâlû*.

Kalari: an earthen vessel, into which the juice of the cane flows as it exudes. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 82.

Kala bathu: *Amaranthas.* Simla S. R., 1883, p. 40.

Kâlbâns: a fish (*Labeo calbasu*). Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Kâlchingârî: the ordinary red wheat, so called because its ear (*chingâr*) gets a dark colour when ripe. Sirsa S. R. 1883, p. 284.

Kalhâ: s. m. quarrel, dispute.

Kâlî ûnglî: 'black finger,' the catcher in hide-and-seek. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 206.

Kalona: a second class rice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Kaloti: see *khelothî*.

Kalsa: a little earthen pot. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 163.

Kamâna: a screen. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 158.

Kamashal: a plant similar to the *bhakal*; the fruit yields an oil, edible and used for lamps. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Kamdarî: a *patwâr* cess. Kuthâr.

Kameli: a blanket. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Kâmil, Kemble (?): a tree whose leaves afford fodder. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Kamloâ: the big dove. Kângra Gloss.

Kamrakh: *Averrhoa carambola.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Kamri: a short overcoat fastening with a flap at the side. Cf. *mirzâi*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 123.

Kan: a measure, $4\frac{3}{4}$ yards in length. = 52 *chappas* or fists.

Kan-bah: a wielder of the *kan* (fr. *bahnâ*), a measurer or surveyor. Kângra S. R. (Barnes), p. 48.

Kan : the share of the produce taken by estimate of the yield. Karnâl S. R., p. 105.

Kanaila : an iron nail or ring. Simla Hills.

Kanâli : a large flat saucer for cooking in and eating from. Cf. *kânda.* Karnâl S. R, 1880, p. 121.

Kan-peṛî : see *badh* (*peṛâ* appears to mean 'lump').

Kanâra : white, very soft and juicy sugarcane. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 79.

Kanash : alder (*alnus*), only used for firewood. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Kanch kudhi : guessing the whereabouts of a hidden *kauri* with forfeits. Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 60.

Kânchli : bodice. Cf. *ângî.* Sirsa S. R, 1883, p. 155.

Kandai : a tree (*Argemone mexicana*). Cf. *khari* and *satiyanâsi.* Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Kandai : a tree (*Sotanum xanthocarpum*). Cf. *chipat.* Karnâl S. R., p. 9.

Kandû : a swelling below the ears. Jullundur.

Kanger : a tree (*pistachia integerrima*). Rohtak.

Kângna khelna : the bride unties the *kângna* or a knotted sacred thread, which the Brahmaṇ tied round the boy's wrist before he started, and he undoes hers. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 133.

Kânga : a tree whose leaves afford fodder. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Kângu : (*Flacourtia sapida*), a tree. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 13.

Kanhîrâ : s. m. oleander, (*herium odorum*).

Kanjul : s. m. fem. kanjlî, a partridge.

Kânki : straw of wheat, stubble, see *jindh.* Kângra Gloss.

Kanku : a white beardless wheat Cf. *mundri.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 74.

Kanouji : late sown barley. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 114.

Kanni : along with. Kângra Gloss.

Kans : a kind of grass, used chopped up for fodder. Rohtak.

Kâns : *saccharum spontaneum.* Gurgaon S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Kansua : a caterpillar which attacks young cane. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 126.

Kanti : a locket. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Kantlâ : a broad necklace made of chains. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Kaṇuri : —— an ornament worn on that part, add to P. D. p. 552.

Kaphar, kupphar : a small pool of water in a hollow. Kângra Gloss.

Kapni : a sort of cover made of pottery. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kappan : a sort of cover made of pottery. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kappra-latta : clothes. P. D., p. 554.

Kar : a rent or tax; a fee of 4 or 5 *thimîs* per *topa,* which proprietors take from the tenants' share of the grain; in many places also called *koroh.* Kângra Gloss.

Kâr : walking round in exorcism. Shâhpur.

Kârâ : adj. = **kharâ** : P. D., p. 555.

Kara : the bank which surrounds a mass of cultivation. Cf. *Kot.* Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 171.

Kaṛach : a spoon. Simla Hills.

Kârah : a portion of the booty set aside for the heirs of the slain. Hissâr S. R., p. 10.

Karâkâ : force. P. D., p. 556.

Karâl (*Bauhinia variegata*) : a tree. Cf. *Kachnâr.* Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 14.

Kâṛânu ? : an agricultural implement. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Kaṛâri ? : Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Karâsni or **khaṛâsni** : the recitation of *mantras* morning and evening by a *pujâri* before a *deotâ*. Simla Hills.

Karat : the cultivator's share, as opposed to *sat*, the Râjâ's share. Kângra S. R. (Lyal). p. 31.

Karbi : *bâjra* straw. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 158.

Karda : a fee payable to a landlord. Cf. *panchotra*.

Karda : a commission charged for a loan and added on to the amount actually advanced. Jullundur S. R., p. 72.

Karhan : a peasant. Bauria *argot*.

Karlathi : a variety of soil. Gujranwalla S. R., p. 25.

Karonk : a village watchman or messenger. Kângra Gloss.

Karoti : the third day's service (*jowâri q. v.*), taken at morning time.

Kart : in Kullu : *kort*. The wild goat commonly called in books the *ther*. The female is called *meh* or *mehi*. Kângra Gloss.

Karûa : a vessel made of pottery, smaller than a *baroli* (*q. v.*) with spouts, used to carry milk to the fields. Karnâl S. R., 1880. p. 121.

Karûmblî : (*s. f.*) lobe of the ear.

Kas : a square stack of rice in bundles. Kângra Gloss.

Kashara : a wooden cup. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Kashi : a large hoe. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Kasi : a handful of corn or anything else. Kângra Gloss.

Kaslânâ : to store up grain in straw. Kângra Gloss.

Kasoli : a tiny one-handed spade used as a hoe. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 163.

Kasora : a platter, made of pottery, used once at feasts and thrown away. Cf. *kasori*, *sarai*, and *sarânu*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kasori : a platter made of pottery, used once at feasts and thrown away. Cf. *kasora*, *sarai*, and *sarânu*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kassi : a spade. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 162.

Kasumbia : a small mango fruit having its outer colour like safflower (*kasumb*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Kasûn : who ? Bauria *argot*. *Ex* : 'who is there ?' *kasûn e ?*

Katak : a raid made by a large expedition of two or three hundred men, some of them mounted on ponies. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 31.

Katâra : a tall thistle-like plant with a yellow flower. Cf. *kateli* and *satyanâs*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 16.

Kateli : a tall thistle-like plant with a yellow flower. Cf. *katâra* and *satyanâs*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 16.

Katera : a Jât. Hârni *argot*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 150.

Kathan = **Kaṭhan**. P. D., p. 568.

Katherti : a peach tree. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 42.

Kathewat : *Indigofera heterantha* ; a small shrub ; leaves used as fodder for sheep and goats. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Katkana : the revenue management. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 168.

Kathla : a necklace of gold. Cf. *tora*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 157.

Kâthra : a wooden plate. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Katnî : a work-basket in which rolls of cotton to be spun are placed. Jullundur S. R., p. 60.

Kauni, kangni: *Pennisetum italicum,* an Autumn grain. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 40.

Kaur chhamb: like *chahn* (ill-drained low-lying land of poor quality, often waterlogged, but with an admixture of saltpetre). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Kauri: a band of silver cowries, worn by women, going up the parting of the hair, and fastening to pins on the back. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 125.

Kaurî: an earthen vessel for sugarcane juice, oftener called *handî* or *rasûn*. Kângra Gloss.

Kawâl, akhwâl: a paved road going straight up a hill. Kângra Gloss.

Kawnk: the ruddy sheldrake. Cf. *surkhâb*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 14.

Kawwa: a fish. See *Kâg*. Karnâl S. R., p. 8.

Keh: a place covered thickly with pebbles or small boulders. Kângra Gloss.

Kela: a long mango fruit like a plantain (*kela*), with a small stone. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 15.

Kelâr: a cedar forest. See under *bûnâr*.

Kemble (?): See *kâmil*.

Kemlu: the sour lime. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 42.

Keor (*Holar antidissentiericum*): Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Kesari: a large mango fruit, in colour like saffron (*kesar*). Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Ketal: the bed of a river consisting of sand and stone, no grass. Kângra Gloss.

Ketlû (*Bungarus cœruleus*): a snake. Cf. *karait*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 18.

Ken: a kind of bean grown in marshy lands, often mixed with barley. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 78.

Kewali: counting grains in order to ascertain the deity to be appeased. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 146.

Khabli: a lawn, from *khabbal,* lawn grass. Kângra Gloss.

Khabre: *adv.* perhaps, who knows? Loc. of *khabar*.

Khadauru: ? *kadenru*, *Tuxus baccata,* the yew. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Khadhâ, **Khâhda** } irreg. past part. of Khânâ.

Khadû: a ram. *bheṛ*, a ewe. Simla Hills.

Khaggar: a bull. Cf. *bijar*.

Khaggnâ: to cough.

Khâhara: a shoe. Bauria *argot*.

Khai: a ravine. See *khâl*.

Khâi huâ: to eat. Bauria *argot*.

Khàkhra: father-in-law. Cf. *susra*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 124.

Khâkhû: mother-in-law. Cf. *sâsû*. Sirsa S. R., 1883, p. 124.

Khakkar: the barking deer. Kângra Gloss.

Khâl: a hollow or cutting made by water, big or little; *khola* or *khâi* are words of similar origin applied to ravines, &c. Kângra Gloss.

Khâla: an old river channel. Karnâl S. R., p. 4.

Khalja: gum, of the *chir* pine, *kail* or *kelon* trees. Simla Hills.

Khâltu: a leather bag, made of goat's skin, to hold 8 to 10 *sers*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Khambaṛ (*s m.*): the flat disks which, connected by string (*baiṛ*), form a spinning wheel.

Khambi: a diver. Cf. *kîlia*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 169.

Khamra: a wide-mouthed vessel. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Khân, (*s. f.*): a mine, quarry.

Khandhâ: a flock of sheep or goats. Kângra Gloss.

Khande dî pohal: an initiatory ceremony, in which a two-edged dagger (*khandâ*) is used; performed by Sikhs. Jullundur S. R., p. 51.

Khanêvar: a decorative wooden frame attached to the ridge of a pent. Sirmûr.

Khânî: *adv.*, over and above.

Khanor, *Pavia indica*: horse chestnut. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 42.

Khantu: a small *khânda*, or box, to hold 2 to 4 *mans*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Khâp: a faction. Karnâl S. R., p. 79.

Khar: leaves of the *saccharum sara*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Khâr: manure. Cf. *khât kûra*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 164.

Khar = 20 *jûn*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Khara: any government official. Hârni *argot*. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 15.

Kharângni: court-yard. Sirmûr.

Kharâshû = 2 *khâr*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Kharshu, Kharu: *Quercus semecarpifolia*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Kharelna: a coarse sieve, see *kadelni*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 46.

Kharen or *khin*: dues—when a *deotâ* is invited by anyone, the host gives a feast to the people who come with the *deotâ*. This word is used in Sarâj: in Shadhoch the word used is *phanel*. Simla Hills.

Kharet: hail (Gâdî). Cf. *an* and *akhânet*.

Kharetar: a grass or hay preserve. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), pp. 8 and 36.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SIR WILLIAM H. SLEEMAN.

THE Catalogue of the Indian Court at the Festival of Empire gives the good news that Captain J. L. Sleeman, Royal Sussex Regiment, Belfast, is writing a full memoir of his illustrious ancestor, famous for his suppression of thuggee (*ṭhagî*) and his well-known books. Captain Sleeman will be grateful to any one who will assist him by the loan of letters or papers.

Several valuable manuscripts written by Sir William Sleeman, and sundry interesting relics connected with him were exhibited in cases 86 to 92. They included two charts showing the relationship of the Ṭhag families.

V. A. S.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE BRAHMANAIC SYSTEMS OF RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. By M T. NARASIMHIENGAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., CENTRAL COLLEGE, BANGALORE. Reprinted from the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, for April, 1911. Printed at the S. P. C. K. Press, Church Road, Madras, N.C. 1911.

MR. NARASIMHIENGAR's well-written pamphlet is intended as a contribution to the study of the Vedânta from the point of view of a Hindu who prefers the school known by the name of Viśishṭâdvaita or 'qualified monism' as followed by the Śrî-Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇs. According to him most European scholars erroneously identify the Vedânta teaching with the school known by the name of *Advaita*, or 'monism', as taught by Śaṅkarâchârya, and generally accepted by the Smârta community among the Brâhmaṇs, which recognizes only one entity called *Brahman* or *Âtman*, and holds the world to be unreal. The third Vedântist school, that called *Dvaita*, or 'Dualism', which is followed by the Mâdhva Brâhmaṇs, teaches that the three entities—matter, soul, and God—are by nature distinct from one another, so that no two of them can ever be identified.

The author gives numerous classified quotations to prove that the theories of all the three schools can be supported by texts from the *Upanishads*, and evidently is of opinion that the apparent discrepancies can be reconciled only by adopting the views of the Viśishṭâdvaita school, which

maintains the existence of natural differences between the three entities—matter, soul, and God—while regarding the Supreme Being (*Paramâtman*) as inseparably united with matter and souls forming the universe of matter and souls forming the body of the Supreme Being. "The attributes of God", he observes, "are as real as God Himself; that is, the universe is not *unreal*." Mr. Narasimhiengar, although holding that 'every object in the universe is pervaded by the All-pervading God (Vishṇu)', considers the term 'Indian Pantheism', commonly applied to Vedântist philosophy, to be misleading. It seems to me that a teacher who maintains that "every object in the universe is pervaded by the All-pervading God" may be described as 'a pantheist' with perfect correctness. If that doctrine is not 'pantheism,' I have no notion what that term means.

Mr. Narasimhienger begins his discourse by remarking that "to treat of *Religion* separately from *Philosophy* is, from the Hindu point of view, an impossible task." Maintaining this attitude throughout he tacitly assumes the divine authority of the *Upanishads* and other Hindu scriptures, and must be regarded as addressing Hindus rather than the world of scholars in general, and as appealing to authority rather than to pure reason.

He sums up as follows **the points of agreement between the three schools of Hindu Vedântists** :—

'(1) All the three systems are based upon the authority of the *Śrutis* (the *Upanishads*), the *Smṛitis*, the *Itihâsas*, and the *Purâṇas*.

(2) All believe that the beginningless *karma* is the cause of worldly bondage, and that the soul will undergo birth after birth until the whole of *karma* is exhausted.

(3) All recognize that the study of the Vedânta is essential for the attainment of *Jñâna* (wisdom) which serves as a passport to the Heavenly Abode.

(4) *Bhakti* or Love of God is the most perfect means of salvation according to all the three systems.

(5) Image-worship is an essential feature of all the Brahmanaic systems; and Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu), in various forms, is generally worshipped, as the Supreme Being by all the three sects.

(6) The Spiritual Preceptor is the mediator between the individual soul and God; and is revered as equal to God in several respects.

(7) Divine Grace alone can ultimately secure salvation, as human efforts by themselves will be fruitless.

(8) All recognize that salvation consists in the attainment of Brahman, which is Eternal Bliss.'

It being inconceivable that any European could accept the whole of those eight propositions, which would require him to admit the authority of the Hindu scriptures, to receive the *karma* doctrine as axiomatic, to worship Hindu images, and to attach himself to a *guru*, **it appears to be impossible for any European to declare himself an adherent of the Vedântist philosophy**, which is so inextricably mixed up with the practice of Hindu religion. If that view be correct, it is easy to understand why Hindu philosophy on its own account is unable to attract the serious notice of the teachers of philosophy at English universities. An Englishman may be a follower of Aristotle, Plato, Kant, or Hegel, but he cannot be expected to become a Hindu in order to enrol himself in the ranks of the Vedântists.

Mr. Narasimhiengar approaches the Upanishads as the older Christian commentators approached the Bible, with a firm conviction that all passages in the sacred writings, however contradictory in appearance, are reconcilable and must be reconciled. He states his attitude frankly in the words:—'Every Vedantic scholar should admit that the Upanishads are, as a whole, a consistent embodiment of philosophical thought; and any interpretation given of them, can be considered *sound*, only if such interpretation is capable of elucidating *all* the passages in the Upanishads, as giving a consistent idea throughout.' The application of such a principle to a literature, the work of many authors, and probably extending over several centuries, cannot but produce forced interpretations, such as we are familiar with in the pages of Biblical commentators.

Some Indian Vedântists, I believe, cherish the hope that the teachings of the Vedânta will give birth to a universal religion fitted to supersede all the existing religions of the world. But it is plain that such dreams cannot be realized if the philosophy is presented, after Mr. Narasimhiengar's method, as inseperably bound up with purely Hindu beliefs and practices and as resting on **the postulate that the Upanishads, whatever be the date or authorship of each, form one consistent whole.**

V. A. S.

INDIAN PAINTING AT THE FESTIVAL OF EMPIRE, 1911.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

The contents of the Indian Court at the Festival of Empire in the grounds of the Crystal Palace, assembled by Colonel Hendley, C.I.E., with infinite trouble in the face of great difficulties, comprised many beautiful and interesting objects, fully described in the *Guide and Catalogue.*[1] The most important, although not, perhaps, the most popular exhibits were those contributed by Dr. M. A. Stein, C.I.E., and Mrs. Herringham, illustrating the early history of Indian painting. Readers of the *Indian Antiquary*, who have not enjoyed opportunities of visiting the Festival of Empire or perusing the *Guide and Catalogue* may be glad to have some account of those two remarkable exhibits. We begin with Mrs. Herringham's contribution of 26 new copies of the Ajaṇṭâ fresco paintings.

Ajaṇṭâ Pictures.

"These copies from the Ajaṇṭâ frescoes," Mrs. Herringham writes, "were made by myself and one English [Miss D. Larcher] and several Indian painters during the winter seasons of 1909-10 and 1910-11[2] . . . . Previous copies have shown all the blemishes and holes in the plaster. We have thought it advisable, for the sake of the beauty of the composition and of intelligibility, to fill up the smaller holes. But though some people may call this a restoration, altering our work from literal copies to studies, I think we may claim that this omission of damage has been done very cautiously, and the unfinished look of the copies is the consequence of our restoring so little. A copy of a damaged picture must necessarily look like the copying of a badly painted or unfinished one. In reality, the technique of the original work is so sure and swift and perfect, that we, none of us, were good enough executants to repeat it . . .

Probably every part of every chamber was originally painted or intended to be painted. The principal remains now are in Viharas I, II, XVI, and XVII, and Chaityas IX X, XIX . . . . The aisles formed by the columns are to some extent thrown into sections by occasional piers, but except this there are no divisions between the paintings, nor are they surrounded by ornamental borders.

The paintings represent the tale or incidents in a sort of continuous manner. The same personages appear twice or more times, only grouped variously, according to the subject. There are what one might call nucleus points—points of interest in the narration, and there is a certain amount of connecting links. The transition from episode to episode is managed by such a device, among many, as a man looking through or guarding a doorway, sometimes by the continuousness of the pictorial architectural background. The impression is not so much that the walls were surfaces to be decorated, but that they offered precious space on which the legends might be depicted for the edification of the devout. . . . ."

[1] 'Festival of Empire; Imperial Exhibition, Indian Section; Guide and Catalogue'; on sale at the Festival, price one shilling. Copies probably could be procured still either from the printers, Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., of Derby and London, or from Colonel Hendley, C.I.E., of 4, Loudoun Road, St. John's Wood, London, N. W. The special articles on Indian painting by Mrs. Herringham, Dr. Stein, and other contributors give the little book permanent value.

[2] The Indians were Nandalal Bose, Samarendra Nath Gupta, Asit Kumar Haldar, and Syed Ahmed, the last named being helped by his students.

The pictures illustrate events in the life of Prince Gautama Buddha and the more popular of the Jâtaka stories, namely, the stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations, perhaps also some scenes of semi-mythological history. Incidentally they illustrate the court life and popular life of the time as told in the romances and plays.

The pictures certainly spread over 200 years from 450 to 650." Some of the earliest, in caves IX and X, now, I believe, vanished, may have been executed before the Christian era. The figures of Buddhas on the pillars of Cave X, which still exist, exhibit various forms of the nimbus and a style of drapery which suggest recollections of the Gandhâra school of sculpture. Those figures may date from the fourth, or possibly the fifth century. But most of the paintings may be confidently assigned to the sixth century or the first half of the seventh. All the works copied under Mrs. Herringham's direction from Caves I, II, and XVII may be dated, I think, between A. D. 500 and 650.

In the *Burlington Magazine* for June, 1910, Mrs. Herringham published novel and valuable criticisms on the technique and æsthetic merits of the Ajaṇṭâ frescoes, of which the principal passages are quoted in my *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*. In the *Guide and Catalogue of the Indian Court* she has added further observations of much interest, some of which may now be cited. It is greatly to be desired that Mrs. Herringham should record her description and estimates of the frescoes in a convenient, systematic, and permanent form. The publications on the subject are all painfully fragmentary and incomplete.

The older accounts by Griffiths and other writers make little attempt to distinguish different styles in the frescoes. According to Mrs. Herringham's expert judgment, "there are at least twenty different kinds of painting. Some pictures recall Greek and Roman composition and proportions, a few late ones resemble the Chinese manner to a certain extent, but the majority belong to a phase of art which one can call nothing except Indian, for it is found nowhere else. In one respect the composition is unlike most Chinese painting, for there is not much landscape. The figures occupy the field, often grouped in a manner which recalls the alto-rilievo of sculpture . . . .

Nearly all the painting has for its foundation definite outlines, generally first on the plaster a vivid red, corrected and emphasized as the painting proceeded with black or brown. The outline is in its final state firm but modulated and realistic, and not often like the calligraphic sweeping curves of the Chinese and Japanese. The drawing is, on the whole, like mediæval Italian drawing . . . .

The quality of the painting varies from sublime to grotesque, from tender and graceful to other quite rough and coarse. But most of it has a kind of emphatic, passionate force, a marked technical skill very difficult to suggest in copies done in a slighter medium.

To me the art is of a primitive, not decadent nature, struggling hard for fresh expression. The artists had a complete command of posture. Their seated and floating poses, especially, are of great interest. Their knowledge of the types and positions, gesture and beauties of hands is simply amazing. Very many racial types are rendered; the features are often elaborately studied and of very high breeding, and one might call it stylistic breeding. The drawing of foliage and flowers is very beautiful. In some pictures very considerable impetus of movement of different kinds is well suggested. Some of the schemes of colour are very remarkable and interesting and there is great variety. There is no other fine portrayal of a dark-coloured race by themselves."

Mrs. Herringham's informal observations, while sufficient to call attention to many matters deserving of close study, are obviously far from constituting a complete critique, even if read with her earlier and almost equally informal contribution to the *Burlington Magazine*. Considering that the Ajaṇṭâ frescoes are the most important series of ancient paintings extant, with the exception of those at Pompeii, it is lamentable that no good account of them exists. Dr. Burgess did what he could to describe them in his *Notes* published in 1879, and that work is still the most systematic description of the paintings. But it is very meagre and illustrated only by outline sketches. Mr. Griffiths' fine volumes of reproductions published by the India Office, although containing much valuable description and criticism, are very far from furnishing a complete treatise on the subject.

A large part of the pictures described by Burgess and Griffiths has disappeared since they wrote, and each year the task of composing an adequate account of the frescoes becomes more difficult. Mrs. Herringham's notes add much to our knowledge of the subject, while leaving ample room for more exhaustive treatment, and all students of Indian art should be grateful to her for her disinterested labours. She has generously presented her copies to the 'India Society,' a small association recently formed for the purpose of studying and encouraging Indian art. The Society has at present no rooms of its own, and will, I presume, deposit Mrs. Herringham's valuable gift in some public institution. Her copies, being to some small extent restorations, are far more pleasing and easily intelligible than the more rigidly accurate facsimiles of earlier copyists.

We are, I fear, still unlikely to see for a long time yet a worthy Indian Museum established and properly administered in London. So far as I know, nothing has been done to carry out the project of such a museum, which has been freely talked about. If such an institution ever comes into being, Mrs. Herringham's gift to the Indian Society should form one of the choicest treasures of the collection.

A large series of one hundred photographs taken during last winter [apparently 1910-11] by M. Victor Golobew of Paris was exhibited as Nos. 307-310 in the Indian Court. These excellent photographs of the Ajaṇṭâ frescoes should be studied in connexion with Mrs. Herringham's copies, and it is desirable that sets of them should be acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Specimens from Dr. Stein's Collection of Ancient Buddhist Pictures and Embroideries discovered at a site near Tun-huang, on the western confines of the Chinese Province of Kan-su.

Four large cases in the Indian Court were filled with select specimens from the large collection made at Tun-huang which is the joint property of the Government of India and the Trustees of the British Museum. The art objects and an extensive library comprising many thousands of manuscripts in Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, old Turkish, and other languages came to light by the accidental discovery of a small walled-up chapel in one of the many cave-temples known collectively as 'the Halls of the Thousand Buddhas.' Conclusive evidence proves that the chapel was walled up very early in the eleventh century. Nothing, consequently, can be later than A. D. 1020. As a matter of fact, most of the contents of the chamber are much older, dating from the time of the T'ang Dynasty, that is to say,

from the seventh to the ninth century of the Christian era. One of the paintings on silk (No. 32) bears a Chinese inscription dated A. D. 892. Some of the Chinese manuscripts are still more ancient.

It is obvious that even a preliminary examination of such a vast mass of confused and partially damaged material must take a long time, while the thorough study of the manuscripts will provide work for generations of scholars. The paintings on silk alone number about three hundred, and the greatest care and skill are required for opening them out and preparing them for critical examination. Description and criticism of the paintings must be tentative and incomplete until the whole collection has been examined in the light of the accompanying documents. The 68 items shown at the Festival of Empire have been described summarily by Dr. Stein in the *Guide and Catalogue.* We propose to bring his principal observations to the notice of our readers.

Nearly all the paintings are executed on a fine gauze-like transparent silk, but a few are on paper.

Most of them fall readily into two classes, namely, (1) oblong banners provided with triangular head-piece and streamers on each side, with wood or bamboo strainers attached ; and (2) larger paintings intended to be hung on temple walls or gateways.

The subjects of the wall-pictures are the familiar scenes of Buddhist legend—the dream of Mâyâ, the departure from Kapilavastu, incidents in heaven, and so forth. The banners, pinted on both sides, are chiefly occupied by effigies of Bodhisattvas, Lôkapâlas, and Dharmapâlas, generally Chinese in style, but based on Indian tradition. A few are distinctly Indian in style.

The paintings comprise specimens of considerable beauty and aesthetic merit, and like the objects brought home by Dr. Stein from his first expedition, show the influence of Chinese, Persian, Indian, Tibetan, and Greek art. They enable us to form some notion of what the lost mediæval paintings of India must have been like, and so help to fill up the wide gap between the latest paintings at Ajaṇṭâ dating from the seventh century and the Indo-Persian painting introduced by Akbar about A. D. 1570.

The cases at the Festival of Empire included remarkable examples of ancient embroidery belonging to the same period as the pictures on silk and paper. Dr. Stein points out that "the multi-coloured patterns woven into them present the most striking resemblance to patterned silk fabrics found in Egyptian tombs of the early Christian and Byzantine period, and showing a type of decoration usually known as 'Sassanian,' and supposed to originate in Mesopotamia or Western Persia." In support of this general statement the description of No. 54 may be quoted :—

"54—Manuscript wrapper—roughly made of silk fragments stiffened with paper, lined with silk, and with coarse woollen tapes for tying. Outer edges and triangular flap made of fragments of rich silk brocade of Sassanian design. On pink ground large elliptical cartouches, bordered with double rows of overlapping petals, contain two winged bulls with abundant manes, facing each other on salmon-coloured field. Elliptical lotuses fill spaces between large cartouches. Two roughly cut strips of extremely fine silk tapestry are attached to centre panel. Style of weaving is identical with that of the Copts of the third century A. D., and of the ancient Peruvians, and closely resembles that of the Gobelin factory."

THE DATES FOR THE EARLY PRINCES OF THE PRESENT JODHPUR FAMILY.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

IN pp. 181-183, *ante*, I have given an account of the memorial stone of Sîhâ Râṭhoḍ found at Bîṭhû. The transcript of the inscription engraved on it, which was therein given, was based on an impression supplied to me, which was not quite satisfactory. The stone has now been removed to the Tawarikh Mahkma, Jodhpur, where it is open to inspection. And an excellent inked impression of it has now been kindly sent to me by Pandit Ramkaran. The transcript which I now give here may therefore be considered final.

1. ओं ।। सांवछ् १३३०
2. कार्तिक वदि १२ सोम-
3. वारे रठडा श्रीसेत-
4. कवर सुतु सीहो दे-
5. वलोके गतः सो [लं]-
6. क पारवति[1]: तस्यार्थे दे-
7. वली स्थापिना(ता) करापिवसुभं[2] भवतु:[1]

It will be seen that the historical conclusions which I have already drawn are in no way affected. Only the reading of the last two lines, which are of no importance, is definitely settled.

No reliable dates have so far been known of the early princes of the Jodhpur dynasty. Consequently, it is impossible to over-rate the importance of the date V. S. 1330 for Sîhâ, especially as he was the founder of that dynasty. A second date has now been brought to light by the same disinterested antiquarian, Nannurâm Brahmabhaṭ, but it is for Dhûhaḍa, grandson of Sîhâ. The date is Saṁvat 1366, and Dhûhaḍa is called a son of Âsvatthâma, according to the impression supplied to me. Whatever the form of the last name here intended may be, there can be no doubt that it is the same as Asothama of Tod's *Annals of Mârwâṛ* (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 14). The inscription is on a memorial stone found at Tirsingharîin the Pachbhadrâ district.

BUDDHIST PARALLELS TO PARSI HUMATA-HUKHTA-HUVARSHTA.

BY G. K. NARIMAN, RANGOON.

"HIS thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man."

Commenting on this verse of the Pâli *Dhammapada*, Max Müller proceeds to show that 'this very natural threefold division, thought, word and deed, the *trividha-dvâra*, or the three doors of the Buddhists, was not peculiar to the Buddhists or unknown to the Brâhmans," and somewhat lukewarmly adds that "similar expressions have been shown to exist in the *Zend-Avesta.*" (S. B. E., X, 28.)—(The reference to Hardy's *Manual* will be found at page 513 of the second edition. Max Müller's p. 494 refers probably to the first ed.)

That good thought, word and deed are of the essence of Zarathushtrianism is a commonplace of comparative religion, and the Parsis rightly glory in this tenet of paramount ethical importance. What I would call attention to is that it is possible to exaggerate the value of this doctrine as an ethical asset peculiar to the Parsis and confined more or less to the doctrines of the *Avesta* alone.

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[1] Here the *visarga* is evidently intended for a *virâma* ।.

[2] This stands for कारापकशुभं

On the contrary, it is inculcated with almost equal insistence in the younger Vedic literature and the Brâhmaṇa scriptures and the Buddhist writings. (A. Weber: *Indische Streifen* I, 209. Brunnhofer: *Urgeschichte der Arier* I, 192 *seq.* Tiele: *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum* II, 330).

It seems to me that the frequency with which this triad is alluded to, and the wealth of variety of manner in which it is emphasised in the Buddhist sacred books, deserves to be better studied by those who are misleading the Parsis that their Avestaic *humata-hukhta-huvarshta* is a spiritual monopoly all their own.[1]

I will only premise that the citations here produced are but a fraction of what can be produced and that they were ticked off in a fresh hurried re-reading of a few Pali and Sanskrit Buddhistic works. I have quoted the setting and the context at certain length so as not to deprive the originals by truncation of their rugged unconventional attractions. It would be easy to compose quite a charming little anthology of Buddhism merely by stringing together those passages which are instinct with the spirit of thought, speech and act that are good.[2]

Him I call indeed a Brahman who does not offend by body, word or thought, and is controlled on all these three points.—*Dhammapada:* 391.

Even if he commit a sinful deed by his body or in word or in thought he is incapable of concealing it; for to conceal is said to be impossible for one that has seen the state of Nirvâṇa. This excellent jewel is found in the Assembly, by this truth may there be salvation.—*Suttanipâta, Chullavagga*: 11.

He who is not opposed to any one in word, thought or deed, who after having understood the Dharma perfectly longs for the state of Nirvâṇa,—such a one will wander rightly in the world.—*Suttanipâta, Sammaparibbajanîyasutta*: 7.

And in which way is it, Sîha, that one speaking truly could say of me: "The Samaṇa Gotama denies action; he teaches the doctrine of non-action; and in this doctrine he trains his disciples?" I teach, Sîha, the not-doing of such actions as are unrighteous either by deed or by word or by thought; I teach the not-bringing about of the manifold conditions of heart which are evil and not good. In this way, Sîhá, one speaking truly could say of me "The Samaṇa Gotama denies action. . . . . ." I teach, Sîha, the doing of such actions as are righteous by word or by thought.—*Vinaya-Piṭaka Mahâvagga*: VI, 31, 6.

I deem, Sîha, unrighteous actions contemptible whether they be performed by deed or by word or by thought; I proclaim the doctrine of the contemptibleness of falling into the manifold conditions of the heart which are evil and not good.—*Mahâvagga*: VI, 31, 7.

I teach, Sîha, that all the conditions of heart which are evil and not good, unrighteous actions by deed, by word and by thought must be burnt away.—*Mahâvagga:* VI, 31, 8.

And what is it that gives rise to legal questions of offence? There are six origins of offence that give rise to legal questions of offence. There is an offence that originates in deed, but not in word, nor in thought (and so on till all the possible combinations are exhausted with mathematical precision after the approved Buddhist method).—*Chullavagga :* IV, 14, 6.

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[1] *Vide* Koppen: *Religion des Buddha*: 1,445.

[2] I have limited my references to a few Buddhist works with which I am more or less familiar; but that the Jaina Scriptures also inculcate the same principle is equally remarkable. See Jacobi's *Jaina Sutras*: 1, XXVI and p. 260: "Henceforth the Venerable Ascetic Mahâvîra was houseless, circumspect in his walking, circumspect in his speaking, circumspect in his begging, circumspect in his accepting anything, in the carrying of his outfit and drinking vessel; circumspect in his thoughts, circumspect in his words, circumspect in his acts: gurading his thoughts, guarding his words, guarding his acts. . . . ."

For the doctrine of the three *Guptis*, as they are callled by the Jainas, see *S. B. E.*, XLV, 50, 130, 160, 93 and 107.

A Bhikshu who warns another should, Upâli, when he is about to do so consider thus: "Am I pure in the conduct of my body, pure therein without a flaw, without a fleck? Is this quality found in me or is it not?" If, Upâli, the Bhikshu is not so, there will be some who will say to him: "Come, now, let your reverence continue still to train yourself in matters relating to the body"—thus will they say. (The same exhortation is repeated separately with reference to speech and mind.)—*Chullavagga*: IX, 5, 1.

And was not Śâriputra the Elder, O king, the best man in the whole ten thousand world systems, the Teacher of the world, himself alone excepted? And he who through endless ages had heaped up merit and had been re-born in a Brâhmaṇ family, relinquished all the delights of the pleasures of senses, and gave up boundless wealth, to enter the Order according to the teaching of the Conqueror, and having restrained his actions, words and thoughts, by these thirteen vows, became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling on the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.—*Milinda-Panha*: end of Ch. IX.

Through the merits of good theories virtuous men who understand noble knowledge go to heavenly worlds from their self-restraint as regards body, speech and thought.—*Buddhacharita*: XVI, 25.

But all they who do good with their body, who do good with their voice, who do good with their mind, they love themselves. And although they should say thus: "We do not love ourselves," nevertheless they do love themselves. And why do I say so? Because, whatever a man would do to one whom he loved, that they do to themselves. Therefore they love themselves.—*Saṁyutta-Nikâya*: iii, 1, 4.

Suppose, O Monks, one does evil with his body, does evil with his voice, does evil with his mind . . . . . .—*Aṅguttara-Nikâya*: III,35.

Permit me, Lord, give me absolution from all my faults committed in deed or word or thought.—*Portion of Buddhist Confession.*

So it appears, O Monks, that ye are distressed at, ashamed of, and loathe the idea of life in heavenly beauty, heavenly happiness, heavenly glory; that ye are distressed at, ashamed of, and loathe the idea of heavenly power. But much more, O Monks, should ye be distresed at, ashamed of, and loathe doing evil with the body . . . with the voice . . . with the mind.—*Aṅguttara-Nikâya*: III, 18

As everything he did in thought, speech and action was purified by his love, most of the animals given to wickedness were like his pupils and friends.—*Jâtakamâlâ*: VI, 3.

But the lack of mercy is to men the cause of the greatest disturbance, as it corrupts the action of their minds, and words andbodies no less with respect to their families than to strangers.—*Jâtakamâlâ*: XXVI, 40.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts; it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.—*Dhammapada*: 2.

From thought, I say, proceeds deed; after having thought, a man puts into effect a noble speech or act.—*Aṅguttara-Nikâya*: Vol. III, 415.

In deed was I well-behaved, so in words, so in thoughts; all thirst is finally quenched: extinguished I am; all put out.—Uttara's song: *Therîgâthâ*.

Those who weary of the three perfections (*pradhâna*) and their accompaniment, become hermits and (take up) cool dwelling places, their bodies, speech and minds all well controlled, knowing the proper way to comport themselves;—they are truly Bhikshus.—*Buddhist sûtras from the Tibetan*. *Ante*, Vol. XII, p. 308.

Steadily observing the tenfold way of virtuous action in body, speech and thought, and turning away from spirituous liquors, you will feel a sincere joy in this virtuous life.—*Suhṛillekha*, the epistle of Nâgârjuna to King Udayana (*Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1886).

Since then you must die in this manner (in uncertainty as to your fate) take the lamp of the three merits to give you light, for alone you must enter their endless darkness which is untouched by sun or moon.

Commentary: The three kinds of merits are those of body, speech and thought.—*Suhṛillekha*: p. 21.

A monk kills a wild goose and is reprimanded with a sermon ending in "A Brother ought to hold himself in control in deed, word and thought."—*Jâtaka*: No. 276.

Le Buddha a enonce comment du corps, de la bouche, et des pensees decoulent les trois sortes de Karmans.—Huber's French translation of the Chinese version of *Kumârajîva's Sûtrâlaṁkâra* from the original Sanskrit of *Aśvaghosha*.

Tîn-imâni bhikkhave moneyyâni. Katamâni tîni?

Kâya-moneyyam vachi-moneyyam mano-moneyyam.—

Itivuttaka 64, quoted by Minayeff in his *Recherches sur le Buddhisme h. g.; see also his next note from the Abhidharma-kośavyâkhyâ*.

त्रिविधं कायिकं कर्म वचसा च चतुर्विधम् ।
मनसा त्रिप्रकारेण तत्सर्वं देशयाम्यहम् ॥
कायकृतं वाचाकृतं मनसा च विचिन्तितम् ॥
कृतं दशविधं कर्म तत्सर्वं देशयाम्यहम् ॥

Śikshâsamuchchaya, p. 163.

It is not possible, O Monks, it is without a foundation that one with good thoughts, words and deeds shoul have a fortune undesirable, joyless and cheerless.—*Aṅguttara-Nikâya: Eka Nipâta*: 20.

Les trois occupations sont celles ducorps (kaya-karma), de la bouche (vag-karma), et de la pensee (citta-karma).—*Chavannes: Voyages des pelerins Bouddhistes*: p. 171.

Samañña-phala Sutta, etc., translated by Rhys Davids in his "Dialogues of the Buddha," pp. 57-8, 72, 103, 202, 221, 269, 279.

Seydel notes this "astonishing similarity" and refers to *Lalita-Vistâra*, Chap. 5, and to the Chinese Sutra of the 42 Articles.—

Seydel: *Evangelium von Jesu in seinem verhalt nissen zu Buddhasage und Buddha-Lehre*: pp. 202, 213.

And I know that those beings possest of good conduct in body, speech and mind, not upbraiding the elect ones, but right believers, incurring the karma of right belief, rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death—some in the world of weal and paradise, and some among the human; while those beings possest of bad conduct in body, speech and mind, upbraiders of the elect ones, false believers, incurring the karma of false belief, do rise again, upon the dissolution of the body after death, either in the realm of ghosts or in the wombs of brutes, or in the damnation, woe and perdition of hell.

"O soul, through thoughtlessness thou didst not right in body, speech and mind. Verily, O soul, they shall do to thee according to thy thoughtlessness. Moreover, this wickedness was not done by mother or father, brother or sister, friends or companions, relatives or kinsfolk; neither by philosophers, Brahmins or spirits: by thee the wickedness was done, and thou alone shalt feel its consequences."—*Majjhima-Nikâya*: 130.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES III.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(Continued, from p. 295.)

Khari : a tree. Cf. *kandai*.

Kharkâna : *accharum sara*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 16.

Khaṛkâr : s. m., noise, disturbance.

Kharkhair : the demoiselle crane (*Anthropoides virgo*). Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 13.

Kharodi : a bee held for cutting grass. See under *jowârâ*.

Kharot : a lock. Ludhiâna S. R., 1883, p. 150.

Kharsa : the hot season, including Phâgan, Chet, Baisâkh and Jeth. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 166.

Kharsana : (*crotalaria burbia*).

Kharsu : a second class rice. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 88.

Khartuâ : a weed (*Chenopodium murale*).

Khâtâ : a well. Ambâla.

Khata : a mango fruit having bad colour and acid (*khata*) taste. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Khata ânâ : to swell (*of millet*). Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 122.

Khatalat : a small thorny tree. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 43.

Khatam ; a rite.

Khatî : an underground grain-pit. Ambâla.

Khâti : a ditch. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 406.

Khatna : circumcision. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 71.

Khatola : a small stool made of a wooden frame covered with netted string. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 121.

Kheir (? ai) : a tree, whose leaves afford fodder. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 38.

Khaul : a festival held in the *puranmâsî* or full-moon day of Mâgh in Pângî.

Khawar : = khabar.

Khelothi, kalotî : the grain which *kamîns*, artizans, &c., get from the threshing-floor. Kângra Gloss.

Khep : a crate.

Khera : literally a village, the god of the homestead or village. Cf. *bhûmia*. Karnâl S. R., 1880, p. 148.

Kheshri : cloth pieced, used as a *langot*. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Khetri : an allotment of land to a *mahr*. Bilâspur.

Khetar : a big field. Cf. *Khetrû*. Kângra Gloss.

Khetrpâli : literally field-nourisher, a god. Cf. *Bhairon*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 148.

Khetru : a small field.

Khich : demand. Cf. *mâng*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 189.

Khîli : a wooden bearing on which the *châk* (wheel) of the potter rests. Cf. *taola*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 200.

Khili : uncultivated land, applied to land which has fallen out of cultivation. Kângra Gloss.

Khind, khinda, khindola : a counterpane or coverlet and mattress made of rags stuffed between. Kângra Gloss. Cf. § 288.

Khindâna : sowing the seed broadcast. Cf. *phînt*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Khinna : to tattoo. Cf. *godna*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 125.

Khip (*leptadenia spartium.*) : Rohtak. Cf. *Panjabi Dy.*, p. 599

Khirni (*mimusops elengi*) : a tree. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 14.

Khîsar : a very poor sandy soil. Cf. *sîr*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 70.

Khiyân : where ? Bauria *argot*. Ex.: *khiyân jâî ho* ? where are you going ?

Khiyânti : whence ? Bauria *argot*. Ex. *khayânti âi ho* ? 'whence have you come ?'

Khoga : a narrow shell. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 20.

Khoi : the crushed cane. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 182.

Khola : a hollow or ravine. See *khâl*.

Khonai : digging, as opposed to ploughing, which is not possible in all fields. Kângra Gloss.

Khorâti : a small plot of waste land, reserved as a hay-field in the rains. Opposed to *kharetar* which is a large plot. Kângra Gloss.

Khori : a measure used for *ghi* = 6 *chitâks*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 44.

Khoro : lame. Cf. *pângla*. Bauria *argot*.

Khowâra : a place, whence earth is taken for plastering houses. Kângra Gloss.

Khrangrela : a thicket of snow rhododendron. See under *bûnâr*.

Khûd : a furrow. Karnâl S.R., 1872-80, p. 168.

Khuddu khundî : a game exactly the same as hockey, each side trying to drive the ball with clubs through its opponent's goal. Cf. *dâjî*. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 206.

Khumandi : a sugar-cane (*saccharum officinarum*). Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Khûn : an allotment (Râjgîri). Seu *bher*, p. 31.

Khûr : a roof = *chhât*. Sirmûr.

Khurchna : a metal spatula for turning bread. Cf. *koncha* and *palta*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Khuriu : (*quercus semicarpifolia.*) i. q. *khareu*. P. D., p. 587. Kângra S. R., p. 21.

Khurnâ : to melt.

Khurpi kâ sâjji : a sharer of the hoe ; a woman not of the family or any of the landed proprietors admitted into a *lâna*. Karnâl S. R., p. 112.

Khurwâ : land irrigated by well. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 12.

Khuta : a mud receptacle for *bhûs*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 164.

Khuti : an iron for digging holes. Cf. *gandâla*. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 72.

Khutna : to circumcise. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 171.

Khwâjiri : a small saucer of pottery in which lamps are floated in honour of Khwâjah Khizr, also used for eating from and as a cover. Cf. *hâziri*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 122.

Kian : why ? Kângra Gloss.

Kidhron : *adv.*, on one side, in some parts.

Killa : a basket like a *kilta*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Kilta : a basket, carried on the back. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 45.

Kilu : who ?

Kilia : a diver. Cf. *khambi*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 169.

Kimu : the mulberry tree, *moras serrata*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 42.

Kinâra : a variety of cane, has a rather soft fibre, which fits it for being eaten. It is of a yellowish colour with green lines. Jullundur S. R., p. 118.

Kinnû : (*diospyros tomentosa*) a tree. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 12.

Kino : the resin which exudes from the *dhâk* tree. Karnâl S. R., p. 10. See under *dhâk pachû*.

Kirat ghantâ : *s. m.*, ingratitude.

Kirî : the basket-work lining of cotton stems put inside a cart to carry manure. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 162.

Kirsân : a tenant who lives in the village but not on the land. See *adheo.*

Kitha : where ? Bauria *argot.*

Kitwâ : *adj. int.*, what share ? (Potwâr).

Kiyâr : when ? Bauria *argot.* Ex.: *kiyâr âi ho ?* 'when did you arrive ?'

Kleshai : jungle-fowl (Kullû). Cf. *kolsa.*

Kochbi : a bag-net with a handle for catching small fish. Kângra Gloss.

Kodâl : a spade. Kângra Gloss.

Kohal : a granary. Kângra.

Kohla : a stream irrigating land in the hills. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 79.

Kohli : the canal watchman. Kângra Gloss.

Koki, kutki : whither ? In Kullû, *oke, koke, toke*, here, where, there ; *okena, tokena*, thence, hence.

Kokri : maize. *Zea mais.* Cf. *chulî.* Kângra S. R., p. 25.

Kola (? *kholâ, q. v.*) : a ravine ; *kopa* is also used by the Gaddis. Kângra Gloss.

Kolâ : a plot of rice land 5-10 *ghumâos* in area. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 32.

Kolsa : the common kallege pheasant ; also called *kleshai* in Kullû. Kângra Gloss.

Konâli : a wooden plate. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Koncha : a metal spatula for turning bread. Cf. *palta* and *khurchna.* Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Konwi : the part of the high Himalayas above the limits of forests. Kângra Gloss.

Kopa (**Gâdi**) : a ravine=*kolâ.*

Kor : the first watering to the young crop. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 170.

Koroh (?) :=*kar, q. v.*

Koss : *adj.* lazy, slack. *Kamm koss.*

Kotâli : a boundary pillar, also called *dehri.* Kângra Gloss.

Kotân : where ? Kângra Gloss.

Kotânki : some place or other. Kângra Gloss.

Kotela : a mallet ; see under *bhattan.*

Kotha : an interior wooden cylinder sunk below the water-level as a preventive in the well. Jullundur S. R., p. 101.

Kothari : a small back room. Sirmûr.

Kothela : a wooden club used for crushing clods. Cf. *bhukran* and *bhurota.*

Kothi : a large wooden box, which can hardly be moved by three or four men (made in Jubbal). Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Kothiâla : the treasurer or storekeeper of a *kothî* appointed by a *râjâ.* Kângra S. R., p. 80.

Koṭho : a house. Bauria *argot.*

Kotî : a receptacle for grain made of rings of adobe, built up into a cylinder. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 121.

Kowâna : to call, summon. Kângra Gloss.

Kowî, kohî : the small dove. Cf. *dhurah.*

Kowîn : a class of *dhâr* or pasture ground, lying in bare rocky ground above the line of forest (Rihlû), elsewhere called *nigâhr.* Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 41.

Krat (? *karat*) : the remaining half of the grain, taken by the tenant, *sat* being the first (owner's) half. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 46.

Kuchhak: *pron.* and *adj.*, some, any ; a diminutive of *Kuchh.*

Kûd: a cave or hollow place under a rock. In Kullu, *rowâr*. Kângra Gloss.

Kûdi kamînî: a ground-rent. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 409.

Kuh siṭṭṇâ: to kill.

Kukri: maie : syn. *makki* and *chhali*. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 39.

Kûkri: the cobs of maize. Cf. *bhûta*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 173.

Kuktu: a small *huqqa*. Sirmûr cis-Girî.

Kulah: pea ; *i. q. matar*. Kângra S. R., p. 24.

Kûlan a species of crane. Karnâl S. R., p. 6.

Kulat or **kolath**: *Dolichos uniflora* : horse gram. Simla S. R., 1883, p. 40.

Kulia: a tiny pot, made of pottery, used for offerings and in play. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 122.

Kulia: the fine little earthen pots put at wedding by a Brâhmaṇ in the sacred enclosure. Karnâl S. R. 1872-80, p. 131.

Kulhâr: a granary. Keonṭhal ? Kuthâr.

Kûlhariya: a small earthen urn. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 169.

Kuller: a saline substance, consisting chiefly of sulphate of soda. Jullundur S. R., p. 2.

Kulli; s. f.: a hut, house.

Kumantr: bad advice.

Kulu, kelû: the *Cedrus deodara, i. q.*, keloṇ, *P. D.*, p. 573. Kângra S. R., p. 21.

Kuluna: a variety of coarse, hardy rice sown on dry land. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Kumodh: a good variety of rice. Kângra S. R., p. 26.

Kûn (Kullu): who; *kosra*, of whom; *kosbi*, to whom; *kosna*, from whom.

Kunan: a small stack of grass. Cf. *kundalî*.

Kûnd: a pool or deep hole in a stream backed by rocks or a steep bank; if not so backed, it would be called an *âl*.

Kundali: a rice stack round in shape, made of bundles; if of straw only, *phalur*; of grass, small, *kunan*. Kângra Gloss.

Kundi: buckwheat (*Cajanus bicolor*). Cf. *urhur* and *dhingra*.

Kûndî: a crooked iron mace used by chelas. Pangwâl.

Kûndlî: the part below the *konwi*, in the upper forests. These two words are only used by the Rihlu shepherds; *nigâhr* and *gâhr* are the common terms.

Kundra: an earthen pot in which *gaugati* is boiled. Sirmûr trans-Girî.

Kundra: the stack in which the great millets are piled up. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 172.

Kuneri: a piece of clay of the shape of an inking pad. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 200.

Kunear: *Cassia fistula*. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Kunja: a variety of wheat with a long straw and full ear, of somewhat inferoir grain. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 189.

Kunjra: a heap of rice straw. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 164.

Kûp: a circular receptacle made of wisps of straw, wound spirally round and round upon a foundation of cotton stems for preserving and packing *bhûs*. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 164.

Kupâlî: a camel ailment due to a growth on the brain which causes the animal to keep its head constantly raised in the air. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 306.

Kupphar: a small pool = *kaphar*.

Kûra : a threshing floor. Kângra S. R., p. 30.

Kurâ : *adj.* vexed : *kure mathe rahinâ.* to be vexed.

Kurh : a cattle-shed in the *jangal.* Kângra Gloss.

Kurhal : a shed for cattle. Kângra S. R., p. 44.

Kuṛhe-ke-bâch : distribution of the land revenue over the fire-places (*kurhâ* or *chûla*). Hissar S. R. 1875, p. 10.

Kurchhi : a brass ladle. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 166.

Kûri : a grass (*Eragrostis*). Karnâl S. R., p. 13.

Kuri : a bamboo hook for raking together corn on the threshing floor, &c. Kângra Gloss.

Kuṛil : *adj.* sour, bitter (temper), *i. q.*, *kaṛwâ.*

Kurm : family.

Kuṛmni : related by marriage.

Kurri : a dung-heap. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 164.

Kurria : lit. he of the dunghill, the name of the next son of a mother, after she has lost one by small-pox. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 150.

Kurumbh : a timber tree (*Nauclea cademba*). Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Kût : bruise. Sirsa S. R., 1879-83, p. 121.

Kutba : a constable or stranger. Ludhiana S. R., 1878-83, p. 150.

Kutbâr : a granary, syn. doharoti. Sirmûr.

Kutra : a hairy red caterpillar, very destructive to the young shoots of maize, but fortunately it only appears for twelve or fourteen days in the beginning of the rains and then disappears. Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 78.

Kyâmal, *Odina wodier* : a tree. Cf. *kâmal.* Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 13.

Kyut : medlar. Kângra S. R., p. 22.

Lâ : a pass (Tibetan).

Lâb : the system of taking out the rice plants of the nursery and sticking them in the mud after the *kaddû* operation has been performed. Cf. *lâîr.* Jullundur S. R., p. 124.

Lâb : the process of sowing rice by raising seedlings. Hoshiarpur S. R , p. 88.

Lâbhwand : *adj.* useful, profitable.

Lachakdâr : taste, liking.

Lâg lût : a fine or compensation for eloping with an unmarried girl, in the eastern part of Churâh. Chamba.

Lâhna : a number of fields rented in one holding. Ludhiâna S. R., 1878-83, p. 128.

Lâhṛ : the enclosed area round the homestead. Kângra S. R., p. 34.

Lahri : a small plot of garden land, more precisely *lâhru sowâru* : *lâhri bâsi*, etc., the whole site of the house and garden ; *lahriâna*, a cess on the *lâhri.* Kângra S. R. (Lyall.), pp. 35 and 36.

Lâhru : a small plot of land attached to a house, in which flowers, &c., are grown. Kângra.

Laichi : a small mango fruit, that grows in clusters and said to smell like cardamum (*ilaichi*) Hoshiarpur S. R., p. 16.

Lâîr : the system of taking out the rice plants of the nursery. Cf. *lâb.* Jullundur S. R., p. 124.

Lâîrâ : the produce of new cultivation of the year. Cf. *Moda.* Mahlog.

Lakhola : a plaister shelf ; see *dhari.*

Lakolâ ; an *âlâ* or niche in a wall. Kângra Gloss.

Lâl : a very hardy and productive wheat of good quality. Karnâl, S. R., 1872-80, p. 189.

Laler : a large and sweet mango fruit, in shape like the cocoanut. Hoshiârpur S. R., p. 15.

Lâlri : a thin, red hardy sugarcane ; opp. to *dhaula.* Rohtak.

Lâlri : a variety of sugarcane having a hard, thin, red cane, very hardy, and will not spoil even if the cutting be long delayed ; but not very productive of juice. Karnâl S. R., 1872-80, p. 180.

Lamahâta (?), a prophet of lower grade, who passes on oracles given through a deity's inspired representative to his worshippers if many of the latter are of low caste. Oldham, Sun and Serpent, p. 94.

Lâmni: reaping. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 172.

Lân : the straw of the great millets with the ear and grain. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 172.

Lânâ : the combination of all the people of a village in cultivating their lands. Hissar S. R., p. 10.

Lânâ : an association of households or individuals to conduct the agriculture of the whole tract. Each member contributes oxen or labour, or both, and the whole *lânâ* works jointly and cultivates certain lands of which some of the members of the association have the disposal, whether as owners or tenants. Karnal S. R., p. 112.

Langâna : a stile = *charoliâ.*

Lango-kârû : lit. 'crossing-tax,' a tax or due paid to the native government on account of the spring and autumn grazing. Kângra S. R. (Lyall), p. 41.

Langri : a raft made of the *beran* on the festivals of Holi and Diwâli, for setting it afloat on the tank with a lamp on it in honour of Khwâja Khizr. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 148.

Langri: the placing of an offering with a lighted lamp on it on some moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax at a place where four roads meet. Cf. *nagdi.* Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 146.

Lâo: a strong rope made of san fibre by which the *charas* (leather bucket) is drawn up. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 160.

Laphi : a porridge, made of the grain of the *bâtha* (*Amaranthus*) roasted and ground. Simla S. R. 1883, p. 40.

Lar : a ram—see under *bhed.*

Laṛ bhiṛ : enmity.

Laṛnâ bhiṛnâ : to quarrel: *latthâ* past. part. irreg. (?)

Lâṛâ : fem. i.

Larî: the striker of a well. Jullundur S. R., p. 100.

Lâri: wife. *Swâni* or *voti* is used by Râjpûts ; *jo* or *jun* in Kullû ; *cheori* in Plach (Sarâj).

Lârki : a kind of net for catching doves.

Larumbi : the female barber who accompanies the bride when she is to travel. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 132.

Lât: the crusher in a sugar press. Karnal S. R. 1872-80, p. 161.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE BODLEIAN SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE, VOLUME II.

THE following notes embody some of the corrigenda and addenda, which I have made in reading the second volume of the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. This volume was begun by Professor M. Winternitz, and completed by Mr. A. B. Keith. In many respects, it is fully worthy of the high reputation which these scholars have earned; and this excellence renders more regrettable the defect that will be indicated in the following lines, to wit, a very inadequate knowledge of Jain *prosopographia* and of the dialect and modes of writing used by scribes, which is especially marked in the errors and omissions of the index.

Page 120, col. 2. The scribe "Leśa Ṛbhîmavijaya" is an impossible monster. Read in the colophon *tac-chiṣyaleśa-r.°-Bhîmavijaya,* "his insignificant disciple Ṛṣi Bhîmavijaya." The terms *śiṣyaleśa,* literally "scrap of a disciple," and *ṛṣi,* used for a Jain ascetic, are quite common.

Page 131, col. 1. "Sâgaramiśra" is another person who owes his existence to a misreading. The colophon gives his name correctly as Matisâgara, who is known from other sources. The words mean: "belonging to the Lecturer K.°, disciple of the Mahopâdhyâya Matisâgara, in the Upakeśa fraternity."

Page 131, col. 2. The word *mṛgendra* is not part of a name. It is to be connected with the preceding word: *gaṇi-mṛgendra* means merely a noble *gaṇi* or Dean.

Page 132, col 2. *Śrîpattana* is certainly not Patna; it means Aṇhilvâḍ or Aṇahilla-pattana in Gujarât.

Page 133, col. 1. The opening words of article 1140 seem to be a mistake, for, something like "Hemachandra's commentary Śabdânuśâsanavṛtti on his own Śabdânuśâsana."

Page 166, col. I. Is there a distinct Tulu character?

Page 169; col. 1. For "Voudhyeśvarîpiasâd,' read "Vindhyeśvarîprasâd."

Page 169, col. 2. For "Zainul Abuddn," read "Zain ul-'Âbiîdn."

Page 181, col. 2. "Vârâma" is another *chimæra bombinans in vacuo.* The manuscript itself rightly reads *mevârâma°*, a good Hindi name (for an example see Garcin de Tassy, Vol. II, p. 302); the compilers of our Catalogue apparently take *me* for *mayâ*, and make up an imaginary "Vârâma" from the remainder.

Page 192, col. 2. "Jaḍubharata" is a mistake. "Jaḍu" has nothing to do with *Yadu*, and could not by any possibility be a "prakritism" for the latter word. The right form is *Jaḍa-bharata.* The tale comes from the Viṣṇu-purâṇa, and is well-known in South India.

Page 208, col. 2. The work noticed in article 1346 is identical with that by Padmasâgara described in Mitra's Notices, Vol. IX., p. 81.

Page 215, col. 1. It does not seem reasonable to identify the pious Jain scribe Jagarâma with the Saiva author Jagarâma, when they come from different religious ancestries, and have only a name in common.

Page 219, col. 1. In line 10 from bottom there is a wrong division of words. Read *Meghabhâ-ryâsa Virîti*, i.e., *Meghabhâryâ âsa Vîrî iti*, "Megha's wife was named Vîrî." The latter name is common among Jains.

Page 219, col. 2. "Lelâkhya" is not a name, but a compound. The name is *Lela* (if the reading is right), to which is added *°âkhya* in the usual sense of *°nâmaka*.

Page 220, col. 1. In Kṣamâkalyâṇa's pedigree, the name of his guru has been omitted at the head of the article. The Sanskrit quoted further down in the column clearly shows that the pedigree is: Jinalâbha, Amṛtadharma Vâcaka, Kṣamâkalyâṇa.

Page 221, col. 1. If we may judge by the index, this colophon has not been understood. The sense is as follows: The manuscript was written at Azimganj on the banks of the Ganges, by a "Yatîsa" whose name is not clear (perhaps Jîta sobhâgjî), by the grace of the blessed Cintâmaṇi; the Yati Sundaravijaya appended his sign manual to attest that it was a true copy. "Cintâmaṇi" here and in Weber, *loc. cit*, is the Tîrthaṃkara Pârśvanâtha, not a patron, as the compilers imagine; cf. p. 228, col. 1, and p. 237, col 1.

Page 222, col. 2. Is not "Guṇaprabha" an error for "Guṇabhadra?"

Page 223, col 1. The authorship of this commentary is doubtful; Mitra, Notices, VIII, p. 174, is not by any means "decisive for Ratna-śekhara's authorship." The compilers omit to mention that Mitra, Notices X, p. 151, describes a manuscript of the *avacûri* with a colophon ending with the words *lilekha Tilakodayaḥ*; and it seems to me very likely that Tilakodaya (Udaya-tilaka?) was not only the scribe, but also the compiler of the gloss, as so often happened in the making of *avacûris.*

Page 226, col 1. I do not understand the interrogation in line 23 from the top. All that is wrong is a misplaced *anusvâra*; read *Yatîndra-vara-Śhajakîrttayaḥ.*

The colophon of this article 1333 seems to have been quite misunderstood. It means apparently that Sahajakîrtti had two "brothers," Śrivar-dhana and Vararatna, whose disciples were Nemaranga and Kanakaranga. The latter's disciple, Dânaviśâla, was guru of Kṣamâkamala, Vidyâsoma, Gaṇeśa, and Lacchîrâma, for whom the manuscript was written.

Page 227, col. 2. "Śrîtajayapaṃhutastotra" is obviously a mistake for the well-known Tijaya-pahutta-stotra, commonly ascribed to Abhaya-deva.

Page 223, col. 1, sect. 11. The *darśana* here mentioned has nothing to do with the portraits in the preceding pages of the manuscript. It means a visit to a temple and adoration of the idols.

Page 228, col. 2. There seems no reason for classing the Jîcaraṇamâhâtmya of Harirâya

among Jain works. It appears to be a purely Vaiṣṇava book.

Page 237, col. 1. For "Khaṃde Lavâl°" read "Khaṃdelavâl.°" The family is well known.

The names "Holâde," "Pâtamade," etc., given in the index, are incorrect; the letters *de* stand for *devî*.

One would hardly think it necessary to point out that *Hariṣâjogya* means "intended for the use of Harisâ," if the index did not present us with the interesting entry "Hariṣâjogya, recipient of manuscripts from Pâtamade."

Page 241, col. 2. The colophon means that Pûjâ and his wife Pûjalâ-devî had a son Mânasiṃha, whose wife Devakî, a pious laywoman (*Śrâvikâ*), made a present of this book. The compilers have failed to see that *d* is an abbreviation for *devî*, and that *dharma-patnî* means 'lawful wife,'' and they have hence created the imaginary "Pûjalâde," "Pûṃjâ-dharma," etc.

Page 244, col. 2. For "Allauddin" read "'Alâ-ud-Dîn."

Page 245, cols. 1-2. Among the manuscripts of the Samyaktva-kaumudî mentioned, that described by Mitra, Notices, VIII, p. 231, has apparently been overlooked.

Page 296, col. 1. In article 1543, read "Vastupâla."

Page 297, col. 1. In article 1543, the mysterious *gânyânavijayena* is perhaps an abbreviated way of writing *ganinâ Jñânavijayena*, in popular spelling.

Page 304, col. 2. The colophon of article 1568 seems to mean that the manuscript was copied by Gangâdâs for the use of Mâîdâs.

Page 318, col. 1. If this colophon is correctly reported, it seems to mean that the scribe's name was Keśo, and that he worked for the service of "Kanakamṛgarâja" (*i.e.* probably Kanakasiṃha).

L. D. BARNETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR SIR,—ON p. 264, *ante*, in connection with Professor Pathak's Note on Vâmana's *Kâvyâlaṅkâra-sûtravṛitti* on p. 170 of the same Journal, Dr. Hoernle says incidentally that Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Haraprasâda Shastri's reading of *Subandhu* seems to be a mere conjecture, not supported by any manuscript evidence. I venture to think that there is enough manuscript evidence in support of M. M. Haraprasâda Shastri's reading. One of the manuscripts used for the *Kâvyamâlâ* edition of Vâmana's work (see p. 32) has the reading—*kṛita-dhiyâm-ity-asya cha Subandhu-sâchivyôpakshêpa-paratvât*. A palm-leaf manuscript, written in Grantha characters, found in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, reads thus:—*kṛita-dhiyâm-ity-asya Subandhu° &c.* It may also be mentioned here that the above Library contains four more manuscripts of the same work, two on palm leaves and two on paper, written in Grantha, Telugu and Nâgari characters, in all of which, curiously enough, a different reading, namely, *kṛita-dhiyâm-ity-asya budha° &c.*, is given. One of them has likewise the reading *chaṇḍaprabhâvô* in place of *chandra-prakâśô* of the other manuscripts. It will thus be seen that in none of the manuscripts of this Library is found the reading *Vasubandhu*. The reading *budha*, unless it can be taken for the name of a person, which is very doubtful, is not satisfactory, since there can be no *upakshêpa* or allusion here.

The case is, however, different with the reading *Subandhu*. In the well-known 10th verse of the introduction to his *Vâsavadattâ*, Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramâditya, *i.e.*, Chandragupta II, who was apparently his patron. And there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that he became the minister of Chandragupta's son Kumâragupta. But it may be urged against this supposition that Subandhu, who mentions Udyôtakara and, according to some manuscripts, Dharmakîrti's work, could not have been a contemporary of Kumâragupta (A.D. 413-455). This argument will no doubt carry much weight if the dates that have been assigned to those authors by some scholars can be accepted as finally settled. Such, however, does not appear to be the case. It is just possible that the half-verse given by Vâmana is a quotation from the introductory portion of some drama, giving the *Sûtradhâra's* words. The reading *chaṇḍaprabhâva* is noteworthy in view of the controversy about the term *chandra-prakâśa*.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.